



THE
First and second
volumes of *Chronicles*,
comprising

- 1 The description and historie of England,
- 2 The description and historie of Ireland,
- 3 The description and historie of Scotland:

First collected and published by Raphaell
Holinshed, William Harrison,
and others:

Now newlie augmented and continued
(with manifold matters of singular
note and worthe memoie)
to the yeare 1586. by
Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell Gent.
and others.

With conuenient tables at
the end of these
volumes.

Historia placeant nostrates ac peregrina



To the Right Honorable, and his singular good

Lord and Maister, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord Warden of

the cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham, all increase of the feare

and knowledge of God, firme obedience toward his Prince,

infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable

renowme here in this world, and in the world to come
life euerlasting.



Having had iust occasion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme last passed, and being earnestlie required of diuers my freends, to set downe some breefe discourse of parcell of those things, which I had obserued in the reading of such manifold antiquities as I had perused toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the first verie loth to yeeld to their desires: first, for that I thought my selfe vnable for want of skill and iudgment, so suddenlie & with

so hastie speed to take such a charge vpon me: secondlie, bicause the dealing therein might prooue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatise: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earnest studie of histories, as iudging the time spent about the same, to be an hinderance vnto my more necessarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the ministerie. But when they were so importunate with me, that no reasonable excuse could serue to put by this trauell, I condescended at the length vnto their yrkesome sute, promising that I would spend such void time as I had to spare, whilest I should be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon something or other that should satisfie their request; and stand in lieu of a description of my Countrie. For their parts also they assured me of such helps as they could purchase: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie successe, I went in hand withall, then almost as one leaning altogether vnto memorie, with my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in sunder. In this order also I spent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes insuing, being inforced thereto I say by other busineses which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and absent my selfe from my charge, though in the meane season I had some repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not so great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers haft would suffer. One helpe, and none of the smallest that I obtained herein, was by such commentaries as *Leland* had sometime collected of the state of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of sundrie volumes: secondlie, I gat some knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from sundrie places & shires of England, but so discordant now and then amongst themselues, especiallie in the names and courses of riuers and situation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole discourse of such points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or secretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherein they impugned ech other, choosing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one desirous to set forth the truth absolutelie, or such things in deed as were most likelie to be true. The last comfort arose by mine owne reading of such writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in speaking wherof, if I should make account of the successe, & extraordinarie coming by sundrie treatises not supposed to be extant, I should but seeme to pronounce more than may well be said with modestie, & say farder of my selfe than this Treatise can beare witnes of. Howbeit,

I re-

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

I refer not this successe wholie vnto my purpose about this Description, but rather giue notice thereof to come to passe in the penning of my Chronologie, whose crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the processe therefore of this Booke, if your Honour regard the substance of that which is here declared, I must needs confesse that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordship haue consideration of the barbarous composition shewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, sith there is no man of any so slender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, disorder, and euill disposition of matter comprehended in the same. Certes I protest before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choise of stile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatise in such precise order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it sufficient, truelie and plainelie to set forth such things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten sepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peraduenture the slacknesse shewed herein can better testifie: but howsoever it be done, & whatsoever I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the rest, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatise of mine will prooue a spur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choise of matter to handle the selfe same argument, if in my life time I doo not peruse it againe. It is possible also that your Honour will mislike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eyesight viewed such things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I must needs confesse, that vntill now of late, except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles soorthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuertheless in my report of these things, I vse their authorities, who either haue performed in their persons, or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before) whatsoever is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offense at my rash and retchlesse behauiour vsed in the composition of this volume, and much more that being scambled vp after this manner, I dare presume to make tendour of the protection thereof vnto your Lordships hands. But when I consider the singular affection that your Honour dooth beare to those that in any wise will trauell to set forth such profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to such a one as hath so manie and sundrie waies benefited me that otherwise can make no recompense, I can not but cut off all such occasion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, such as it is, and so penned as it is, vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in anie wise acceptable, I haue my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnancie to be seene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularlie to describe this Ile of Britaine; so I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amisse. As for the curious, and such as can rather euill fauouredlie espie than skilfullie correct an error, and sooner carpe at another mans doings than publish any thing of their owne, (keeping themselues close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common sort) I force not what they saie hereof: for whether it doo please or displease them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and such as are of experience to consider of my trauell, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatise, of whome my seruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompense, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almighty God preserve your Lordship in continuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue and learning) and the rest of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wish farder increase of his holie spirit, vnderstanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

*Your Lordships humble seruant
and household Chaplain. W. H.*

¶ The names of the Authors from whome this
Historie of England is collected.

A.

Aelius Spartianus.
 Aelius Lampridius.
 Affricus Menueusis.
 Alfridus Beuerlacensis.
 Aeneas Syluius Senensis.
 Auentinus.
 Adam Merimouth with additions.
 Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.
 Albertus Crantz. Alexander Neuill.
 Arnoldus Ferronius.
 Annius Viterbiensis.
 Amianus Marcellinus.
 Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Prin-
 ces de France.
 Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
 Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme
 Paradin.
 Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
 Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jaco-
 bum Meir.
 Antonius Sabellicus.
 Antonius Nebricensis. Aurea Historia.

B.

Biblia Sacra. Beda venerabilis.
 Berosus. Brian Tuke knight.
 Blondus Forliuensis.
 Berdmoudsey, a Register booke belonging
 to that house.

C.

Cæsars Commentaries.
 Cornelius Tacitus.
 Chronica Chromicorum.
 Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales
 belonging to the Abbey there.
 Chronicon Io. Tili.
 Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to
 that colledge, although compiled by some
 Northernman, as some suppose named
 Otherborne.
 Chronicles of S. Albon.
 Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales
 belonging to that house.
 Chronica de Teukesburie.
 Claudianus.
 Chronicon Genebrard.
 Chroniques de Normandie.
 Chroniques de Britaine.
 Chroniques de Flanders published by De-
 nis Sauvage.

*Continuation de Historie and Chroniques
 de Flanders by the same Sauvage.*
 Couper. Cuspinianus.

Chronica Sancti Albani.
 Caxtons Chronicles.
 Carion with additions.
 Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to
 an house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.
 Dion Cassius.
 Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Edmerus.
 Eusebius. Eutropius.
 Encomium Emma, an old Pamphlet writ-
 ten to hir, conteining much good matter
 for the vnderstanding of the state of this
 realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is
 not pretermitted, and so hath obtained
 by reason thereof that title.
 Enguerant de Monstrellet.
 Eulogium.
 Edmund Campian.

F.

Fabian. Froissart.
 Franciscus Tarapha.
 Franciscus Petrarcha.
 Flavius Vopiscus Siracusanus.
 Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Guiciardini Francisco.
 Guiciardini Ludouico.
 Gildas Sapiens.
 Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of
 Monmouth.
 Giraldus Cambrensis.
 Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.
 Galfridus Vinsauf.
 Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.
 Guilielmus Thorne.
 Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Gisbur-
 nensis.
 Geruasius Dorobernensis.
 Geruasius Tilberiensis.
 Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Nor-
 mania.
 Guilielmus Rishanger.
 Guilielmus Lambert. Georgius Lillie.
 Guilamme Paradin.

A.ij.

H.

The Authors names.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonensis.
Henricus Leicestrensis.
Hector Boece. Historie Daniou.
Historia Ecclesiastica Magdeburgensis.
Henricus Mutius.
Historia quadripartita seu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicle. Henricus Bradshaw.
Henricus Marleburgensis.
Herodianus. Humfrey Luyd.

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. Iulius Solinus.
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
Iohn Price knight. Iohannes Textor.
Iohannes Bodinus. Iohannes Sleidan.
Iohannes Euerfden a Monke of Berry.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptista Egnatius.
Iohannes Capgrau.
Iohannes Fourden. Iohannes Caius.
Iacob de Voragine Bishop of Nemo.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monsieur de Desse remained there.
Iohn Fox. Iohannes Maior.
Iohn Stow, by whose diligent collected summarie, I haue bene not onely aided, but also by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and necessarie register bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie. Iosephus.

L.

Liber constitutionum London.
Lucan. Lelius Giraldu.

M.

Marianus Scotus. *Matthaus Paris.*
Matthaus Westmonaster. alias Flores historiaram.
Martin du Bellay, alias Mons. de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus. *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Orosius *Dorobernensis.*
Osburnus Dorobernensis.
Otho Phrisingensis.

P.

Pausanias. *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunius. Pomponius Letus.
Philip de Cumeins, alias M. de Argenton.
Polydor Virgil. Paulus Iouius.
Platina. Philippus Melancthon.
Peucerus. Pomponius Mela.

R.

Rogerus *Honeden.*
Ranulfus Higden, alias Cestrensis the author of Polychronicon.
Radulfus Cogheshall. Radulfus Niger.
Register of the Garter.
Records of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. Robert Greene.
Radulfus de Diceto. Robert Gaguin.
Rodericus Archiepiscopus Toletanus.
Records and rolles diuers.

S.

Strabo. *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacensis.
Sidon Appollinaris. Simon Dunelmensis.
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

TRebellius Pollio.
Thomas More knight.
Thomas Spot. Thomas Walsingham.
Titus Liuius de Foroliusius de vita Henrici. 5. Titus Liuius Pataviensis.
Thomas Lanquet. Thomas Couper.
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. Theuet.
Thomas de la More. Tripartita Historia.

V.

Vlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazi.

W.

Wethamsted, a learned man, sometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.
William Harrison.
William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Besides these, diuers other bookes and treatises of historicall matter I haue seene and perused, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

FINIS.



**A Table of such Chapters as are contained
in the first booke of this Description.**

- 1 Of the diuision of the whole earth.
- 2 Of the position, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.
- 3 Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.
- 4 What fundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
- 5 Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.
- 6 Of the languages spoken in this Iland.
- 7 Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided.
- 8 The names of such kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.
- 9 Of the ancient religion vsed in Albion.
- 10 Of such Ilands as are to be seene vpon the coasts of Britaine.
- 11 Of riuers, and first of the Thames, and such riuers as fall into it.
- 12 Of such streames as fall into the sea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.
- 13 The description of the Sauerne, and such waters as discharge themselues into the same.
- 14 Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.
- 15 The description of the Humber or Isis, and such water-courses as doo increase hir chanell.
- 16 Of such fals of waters as ioine with the sea, betweene Humber and the Thames.
- 17 Of such ports and creeks as our sea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coasts of England.
- 18 Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland.
- 19 Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.
- 20 Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons.
- 21 How Britaine at the first grew to be diuided into three portions.
- 22 After what maner the souereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.
- 23 Of the wall sometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.
- 24 Of the maruels of England.



REGVM ANGLIÆ SERIES & catalogus.

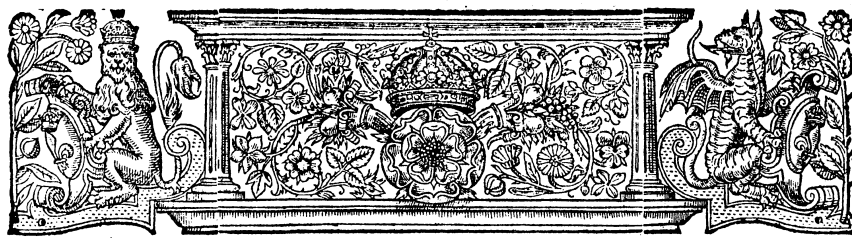
Wil. Conqu.
Wil. Rufus.
Henricus 1.
Stephanus.
Henricus 2.
Richardus 1.
Ioannes.
Henricus 3.
Eduardus 1.
Eduardus 2.
Richardus 2.
Henricus 4.
Henricus 5.
Henricus 6.
Eduardus 4.
Eduardus 5.
Richardus 3.
Henricus 7.
Henricus 8.
Eduardus 6.
Phil. & Mar.
Elisabeth.

Conquestor, Rufus, prior Henricus, Stephanusque,
Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde Richardus,
Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde :
Eduardus primus, Gnatuſque, Nepoſque ſequuntur :
His infœlicem Richardum iunge ſecundum :
Henricus quartus ſoboles Gandavi Ioannis,
Præcedit Gnato quinto, ſextoque Nepoti:
Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida Richardus,
Septimi & Henricus octauus clara propago :
Eduardus ſextus, regina Maria, Philippus :
Elisabeth longos regnet victura per annos,
Serâque promiſſo ſœlix potiatur olympo.

CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON Thomæ Newtoni Ceſtreſhyrij.

Loyduſ.
Lelanduſ.
Priſiuſ.
Stouſ.
Holinſhediuſ.
Lambarduſ.
Moruſ.
Camdenuſ.
Thinniuſ.
Halluſ.
Vocaliſ aliâſ
Hookeruſ.
Graftonuſ.
Foxiuſ.
Harrifonuſ.
Hardinguſ.
Gilduſ.
Staniberſtuſ.
Beda.
Neuilluſ.
Fleminguſ.
Parkeruſ.

Gramine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis,
Lacte, feris, armis, urbibus, arte, foris,
Quæ viget ac floret generoſa Britannia, quæque,
Obruta puluere ſqualluit ante ſitu :
Exerit ecce caput, genuinum natâ nitorem,
Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.
Et quod blæſa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua,
Illud habet reſtut pumice terſa nouo.
Loyduſ in hac pridem gnauuſ proluiſt arena,
Lelanduſ, Priſiuſ, Stouſ, Holinſhediuſ,
Lambarduſ, Moruſ, Camdenuſ, Thinniuſ, Halluſ,
Vocaliſ, Grafton, Foxiuſ, Harrifonuſ,
Hardinguſ, Gilduſ, Staniberſtuſ, Beda, Neuilluſ,
Doctâque Flemingi lima poliuit opus :
Nec te cane ſenex, magne ô Parkere, ſilebo,
Cui decuſ attulerat pontificaliſ apex.
Omnibuſ hiſ meritò eſt lauſ debita & optima merces,
Quòd patriæ accendant lumina clara ſua.
Longa dieſ opuſ hoc peperit, longa uſ ſenectuſ,
Et libri authoreſ perbeet, atque librum.



An Historicall description of the
Iland of Britaine, with a briefe reherfall of the
nature and qualities of the people of England,
and such commodities as are to be found in the
same. Comprehended in three bookes,
and written by W. H.

Of the diuision of the whole earth.
Chapter. I.



Noah first
diuided the
earth among
his sonnes.

Vnread that the earth
hath bene diuided into
three parts, euen sithens
the generall flood. And
the common opinion
is, that Noah limited
and bestowed it vpon his
three sons, Iaphet, Cham,
and Sem, preserved with
him in the Arke, giuing
vnto each of them such
portions thereof as to him seemed good, and neuer
thelesse retaining the souereigntie of the whole still vnto
himselfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how those
seuerall parts were bounded, and from whence they
tooke such names as in our times are attributed to each
of them. Certes the words, Asia, Europa, and Africa,
are denominations giuen but of late (to speake of) vnto
them, and it is to be doubted, whether sithens the time
of Noah, the sea hath in sundrie places wonne or lost,
added or diminished to and from each of them; or whe-
ther Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the
same westerlie regions of late discovered (and now cal-
led America,) was the third part (counting Asia for the
second) or the selfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato
and others, for want of traffike thither in their times,
supposed to be dissolued and sunke into the sea; as by
their writings appeareth.

The diuisi-
on of the
earth not
yet certein-
lye knowne.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Asia,
Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuision of
the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge
Iland that lieth east of the Atlantike sea, and where-
of the first is diuided from the second by Tanais (which
riseth in the rocks of Caucasus, and hideth it selfe in
the Speotinc mores) and the Ocean sea; and the last
from them both by the Mediterranean and red sea, other-
wise called Mare Erythraeum. But now all men, espec-
ially the learned, begin to doubt of the soundnes of that
partition; because a no lesse part than the greatest of the
three ioined with those Ilands and maine which lie vnder
the north and Southpoles, if not double in quanti-
tie vnto the same, are found out and discovered by the
diligence of our traouellers. Whereby it appeareth, that
either the earth was not exactly diuided in time past by
antiquitie; or els, that the true diuision thereof came
not to the hands and notice of their posteritie, so that
our ancestors haue hitherto as if were laboured in the
Cimmerian darkenesse, and were vtterlie ignorant of the
truth of that whereabout they indued to theu
their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some
peece of this confusion also is to be found amongst the

ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithstanding
their large conquests) did sticke in the same mire with
their successors; not being able (as appeareth by their
treatises) to deliuer and set downe the veritie. For Sa-
lust in his booke *De bello Iugurthino* cannot tell whether
Africa be parcell of Asia or not. And with the same scrup-
le Varro in his booke *De lingua Lat.* is not a little incum-
bred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is
diuided into Asia and Europa: so that Africa is excluded
and diuen out of his place. Silius also writeth of Africa,
(as one not yet resolved wherevnto to leane,) that it is;

Clarance
among the
writers a-
bout the di-
uision of the
earth.

Aut ingens Asiae latius, aut pars tertia rerum.

Wherein Lucane lib. 9. sheweth himselfe to be far of
another iudgement, in that he ascribeth it to Europa,
saieng after this maner:

*Tertia pars rerum Lybia: si credere fuma
Cuncta velis, si ventos celsumque sequaris,
Pars erit Europa, nec enim plus littora Nili
Quam Scythicus Tanais primis à gradibus abfunt.*

Whereby (I saie) we may well vnderstand, that in
the time of Augustus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Ro-
manes were not yet resolved of the diuision of the
earth. For my part, as I endeavour not to remove the
credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet
loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that
may be redressed) so I thinke good to giue forth a new
diuision more probable, & better agreeing with a truth.
And therefore I diuide the whole into five seuerall par-
cels, retaining the common diuision in the first three,
as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all
that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan streits,
and those Hyperborean Ilands which lie west of the
line of longitude, of late discovered by Frobisher, and
called by hir *Spaetie Metæ incognita*: but likewise so
manie Ilands as are within 180. degrees Westwards
from our beginning or common line of longitude,
whereby they are parted from those, which by this diuisi-
on are allotted vnto Asia, and the portion it selfe made
equipollent with the same for greatnes, & far exceeding
either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie so much in
quantitie as they both united and laid together. The fift
& last part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands an-
nexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South
pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Ma-
gellan streits; & from Africa by the sea which passeth by
the Cape of good hope; a countrie no lesse large for
limits and bounds than Africa or America, and there-
fore right worthy to be called the fift: howsoever it
shall please the curious to mislike of this diuision. This
also I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof doe not
extend it selfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth
as it were a long table betwene two seas, of which the
later is vnder the South pole, and as I may call it a
maine sea vnder the aforesaid picke, yet is it not with-
out

The earth
diuided into
five parts,
whereas
Belforrest
hath but
four, in
Prefat. lib. 4.

Cape di bona
Speranza.

The forme
of the fift
part.

out sundrie Ilands also adioining vnto it, and the inner most sea not destitute of manie, as by experience hath bene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our describers of the earth haue made it such in their descriptions, as hath reached little or nothing into the peaceable sea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuer and others, that it extendeth it selfe northwards into that tract, by no small number of leagues, euen in maner to the Equator, in so much that the western part thereof from America, is supposed to reach northward so far from the Antartike article, as Africa doth southwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no small portion of ground; & I maruell why not obserued by such as heretofore haue written of the same. But they excuse themselves by the ingratitude of the Portugals and Spaniards, who haue of purpose concealed manie things found out in their trauell, least they should seeme to open a gap by doing otherwise, for strangers to enter into their conquests. As for those Ilands also which lie in the peaceable sea, scattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the lesser Sumatra, Japan, Burneo, &c: with a number of other, I refer them still vnto Asia, as before, so as they be without the compasse of 90. degrees eastward from the line of longitude, & not about 180. as I doe the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the said proportion, wishing so little alteration as I may: and yet not yielding vnto any confusion, whereby the truth of the diuision should hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (speaking of our Iland) saith;

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos,

And some other authors not vnworthie to be read and perused, it is not certaine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Iule, with sundrie the like scattered in the north seas should be ascribed, because they excluded them (as you see) from the rest of the whole earth: I haue thought good, for facilitie sake of diuision, to refer them all which lie within the first minute of longitude, set downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reason requireth: so that the aforesaid line shall henceforth be their Mera & partition from such as are to be ascribed to America; albeit they come verie nere vnto the aforesaid portion, & may otherwise (with out prejudice) be numbred with the same. It may be that some will thinke this my dealing either to be superfluous, or to proceed from (I wot not what) foolish curiositie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardest of euerie attempt. But so much as my purpose is to leaue a plaine report of such matter as I doe write of, and deliuer such things as I intreat of in distinct and vpright order; though methow now and then doe faile, I will go forward with my inducours, referring the examination of my doings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other doe conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane season therefore it shall suffice to say at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the rest of the Ilands as hir daughters, lieng east of the line of longitude, be still ascribed vnto Europa: wherevnto some good authors heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall situations also haue not amisse referred them.

Of the position, circuit, forme and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.

Cap. 2.

How Britaine lieth from the maine.



Britannia or Britain, as we now terme it in our English tongue, or Brutania as some pronounce it (by reason of the letter y in the first syllable of the word, as antiquitie did sometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean sea, directlie ouer against that

part of France which containeth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greatest part of little Britaine, which later region was called in time past Armorica, of the situation thereof vpon the sea coast, vntill such time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by some of the Romane Emperours, or fleeing thither from the tyrannie of such as oppressed them here in this Iland) did settle themselves there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the west side, on the north the maine sea, euen to Thule and the Hyperbozeans; and on the east side also the Germane Ocean, by which we passe daile through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miserablie afflicted betwene the Spanish power and popish inquisition (as spice betwene the mortar and the pestell) but also into Germanie, Friceland, Denmarke, and Polande, carrying from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all such necessarie commodities as the severall countries do yield: though which meanes, and besides common amitie conserued, traffike is maintained, and the necessitie of each partie abundantly releued.

It containeth in longitude taken by the midst of the region 19. degrees exactlie: and in latitude 53. degrees, and thirtie min. after the opinions of those that haue diligentlie obserued the same in our daies, and the faithfull report of such writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatises to be perpetuallie remembred. Whobeit, whereas some in setting downe of these two lines, haue seemed to varie about the placing of the same, each of them diuersely remembryng the names of sundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to haue their severall courses: for my part I haue thought good to proceed somewhat after another sort; that is, by diuiding the latest and best chards each way into two equall parts (so nere as I can possiblie bring the same to passe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I produce Caerlile and Newcastle vpon Tyne, (whose longest day consisteth of thirtene houres, 48. minutes) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwike, Shesfield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is most easie and indifferent, and likeliest meane to come by the certaine stationing and situation of our Iland.

Touching the length and breadth of the same, I find some variance amongst writers: for after some, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the farthest part of Cornewall westwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathnesse by the Irish sea 800. Wherby Polydore and other doe gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. lesse than Caesar doth set downe, except there be some difference betwene the Romane and British miles, as there is indeed; wherof hereafter I may make some farther conference.

Martianus writing of the breadth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles; but Orofius hath 1200. in the whole compasse. Eddius also agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the breadth he commeth short of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion in Seuerus maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadest, of 289. and where it is narrowest, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the south coast to containe 7000 furlongs, the second; to wit, à Carione ad Promontorium 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to consist of 42000. But in our time we reckon the breadth from Douer to Cornewall, not to be about 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathnesse, no more than 500. which neuertheless must be measured by a right line, for otherwise I see not how the said diuision can hold.

The forme and fashion of this Ile is thre cornered, as some haue deuised, like vnto a triangle, bastard sword, wedge, or partesant, being broadest in the south part,

The longitude and latitude of this Ile.

Longest day.

The compasse of Britaine.

part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathnesse northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in manner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orchas in British Morwerdyh, which is not above 30. miles ouer, as daily experience by actuall trauell doth confirme.

Promontories of Britaine.

The old writers giue vnto the thre principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Island, thre seuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornwall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruifium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiuestum, Ocrinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leaue this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to seeke out their true places, wherof as yet I am in manner ignorant, I meane for the most part; because I haue no found author that doth leade me to their knowledge.

The distance from the maine.

Further more, the shortest and most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Island to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) vnto Calice a towne in Picardie 1300 miles from Rome, in old time called Petresia and Scalas, though some like better of blacknesse where the breadth of the sea is not above thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and vsed for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realms, so it hath not bene unknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part vsed these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuerse of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or some other places of the coast more toward the west, or betwene Hyde and Lid; to wit, Romneie marsh, which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to auoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrowe seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betwene the part of Holland also, which lieth nere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Island, are 900. furlongs, as Sossimus saith; and besides him, diuers other writers, which being conuerted into English miles, doe yeld 112. and foure odd furlongs, whereby the iust distance of the nearest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, doth certeinlie appere to be much lesse than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto set downe.

Of the ancient names or denominations of this Island.

Cap. 3.

Dis, Samothres.

The diligent perusal of their treatises, who haue written of the state of this our Island, I finde that at the first it seemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdom, wherof Dis otherwise called Samothres, one of the sonnes of Iaphet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long while called Samothra. Afterward in proceesse of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and each prince endeouored to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the sonne of Neptune, Amphitrite surnamed Marioticus (because his dominions laie among the Islands of the Mediterranean sea, as those of Plutus did on the lower grounds nere vnto thoe, as contrariwise his father Iupiter dwelled on the high hills nearer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulnesse of soile here, made a voyage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the

Neposius Marioticus.

The first conquest of Britaine.

port that went of this Island, it was not long after per he inuaded the same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection, in the 29. yeare after his grandfatheres decease, and finally changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothres did grow out of mind, and fall into utter forgetfulness. And thus was this Island bereft at one time both of his ancient name, and also of his lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Iaphet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeares and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appere.

Britaine under the Celts 341. yeares.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Island, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetchyng the same ab *Ollis*, or as he wresteth it, ab *Albis galis*. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gorthadamca liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Island should be called Vridania; Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, *tanquam libera Dania*, as another also doth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta signifieth soile or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse doe often fraie, because they wot not whither they go: euen so doe these men, whilst they seeke to extenuate the certaintie of our histories, and bring vs altogether to vncertainties & their coniectures. They in like maner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, *vnde Walli nisi a Gallis*, or from some Spanishe colonie, doe greatly betwaine their ouersights; but most of all they erre that endeouor to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Dioclesian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our historie, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust; but more of this hereafter.

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogether impertinent. Wherfore you shall vnderstand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of navigation (as navigation then went) he was reputed the most skillfull prince that liued in his time. And therefore, and likewise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as travelled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to saile in his time (which were for the most part flat boiformed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they vsed to naile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and such like, and with such a kind of naue (as they say) first Samothres, & then Albion arrived in this Island, which vnto me doth not seeme a thing impossible. The northierlie or artike regions, doe not naile their ships with iron, which they utterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks together verie artificiallie with ball-ropes, others, rinds of trees, or twigs of poplar, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, sith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neuertheless are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime vsed in our Britaine, and covered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, lib. 7. cap. 56. as also botes made of rushes and reeds, &c. Neither haue I iust occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which last Staurobates, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the first battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the river Indus, but to his losse, for he was overcome by hir power, & his naue either drowned or burned by the furie of hir souldiers.

Neptune God of the sea.

The manner of building of ships in old time.

Leſtrigo.

Janigenes
were the poſteritie of
Noah in Ita-
lie.

ſeptune
had ſeuen
ſonnes.

Lomnini.
Gerioncs.

Galathea.
Galates or
Kelts.

Bergion.

Pomponius
Mela cap. de
Gallia.

Strabo lib. 4.

But to proceed, when the ſaid Albion had governed here in this countrie by the ſpace of ſeven yeares, it came to paſſe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the ſaid Hercules paſſed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and upon this occaſion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthy to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celtes, that Leſtrigo and his iſſue (whom Olyſſis his grandfather had placed ouer the Janigenes) did exerciſe great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdome, but alſo in moleſtation of ſuch princes as inhabited round about him in moſt intolerable manner. Whereouer he was not a little incouraged in theſe his doings by ſeptune his father, who thirſted greatly to leaue his country, ſommes ſettled in the mightieſt kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceived this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatſoeuer, it would not be long yer they did by ſome meanes or other, not onelie eſtabliſh their ſeats, but alſo increaſe their limits to the better maintenance of themſelues and their poſteritie for euermore. To be ſhort therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conſpired and ſlaine the aforeſaid Olyſſis, onelie for that he was an obſtacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his ſonne, ſurnamed Laban, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres againſt them all, and going from place to place, he ceaſed not to ſpoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finally, hauing among ſundry other overcome the Lomnini or Gerioncs in Spaine, and vnderſtanding that Leſtrigo and his ſonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into thoſe parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celtes in his waie, he remained for a ſeaſon with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he alſo married his daughter Galathea, and begat a ſonne by her, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my ſaid Chronologie I haue ſpoken more at large.

In the meane time Albion vnderſtanding how Hercules intended to make warres againſt his brother Leſtrigo, he thought good if it were poſſible to ſtop him that tide, and therefore ſending for his brother Bergion out of the Dyabades (where he alſo reigned as ſupreame lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and ſailed ouer into France. Being arrived there, it was not long yer they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betwene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue loſt the day, for that they were in manner wearied with long warres, and their munition ſore waſted in the laſt viage that he had made for Spaine. Whereupon Hercules perceiuing the courages of his ſouldiours ſomewhat to abate, and ſeeing the want of artillerie like to be the cauſe of his ſatall daie and preſent ouerthrowe at hand, it came ſuddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himſelfe by throwing ſtones at his enimie, whereof there laie great ſtoze then ſcattered in the place. The policie was no ſoner publiſhed than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they ſo preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both ſlaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celtes deliuered from an uſurper (that daſſie incroched vpon him, building ſundry cities and holds, of which ſome were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other alſo euen in his owne kingdome on that ſide) and Leſtrigo greatlie weakened by the ſlaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like ſort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Olyſſis) is

feigned to throw downe ſtones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the deſenſe of his ſonne: which came ſo thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile ſhould haue deſcended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came ſo ſalt and with ſo great a violence.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus diſcomfited and ſlaine, yet the name that he gaue vnto this Iland died not, but ſtill remained vnto the time of Brito, who arriving here in the 1116. befoze Chriſt, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had bene called Albion, by the ſpace of about 600. yeares) but to declare his ſouereigntie ouer the reſt of the Ilands alſo that lie ſcattered round about it, he called them all after the ſame manner, ſo that Albion was ſaid in time to be *Britanniarum inſula maxima*, that is, The greateſt of thoſe Iles that beare the name of Britaine, which Plinie alſo confirmeth, and Strabo in his firſt and ſecond bookes denieth not. There are ſome, which utterly denieng that this Iland toke her name of Brito, doe affirme it rather to be ſo called of the rich mettals ſometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the ſame. Vibius Sequeſter alſo ſaith that Calabria was ſometime called Britannia, *Ob immenſam affluentiam totius deliria atque vbertatis*, that was to be found here in. Other contend that it ſhould be written with B (Britannia). All which opinions as I abſolutelie denie not, ſo I willinglie leane vnto none of them in peremptorie manner, ſith the antiquitie of our hiſtozie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the ſame cauſe I reiect them alſo, which deriue the aforeſaid denomination from Britona the nymphe, in following Tertoz (or Prutus or Prytus the ſonne of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Creta daughter to ſpars, and fled by ſea from thence onelie to eſcape the billantie of Minos, who attempted to rauish and make her one of his paramours: but if I ſhould forſake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elſewhere I haue made a more large reherſall.

It is altogether impertinent, to diſcuſſe whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument ſeene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the Weſt countrie (called *Promontorium Hercula* in old time) diuers of our Britiſh antiquaries doe gather great likelihoode that he ſhould alſo be here. But ſith his preſence or abſence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to ſearch out whether the ſaid monument was but ſome token erected in his honour of later times (as ſome haue bene elſewhere, among the Celtes framed, & thoſe like an old crible with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough ſkin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Iriſhmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but ſmallie available, and therefore I paſſe it ouer as not incident to my purpoſe. Neither will I ſpend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had bene ſometime a parcell of the maine, although it ſhould well ſeeme ſo to haue bene, becauſe that befoze the generall flood of Noah, we doe not read of Ilands, more than of hills and vallies. Wherefoze as Wilden Arguiſ alſo noteth in his philoſophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie like, that they were onelie cauſed by the violent motion and working of the ſea, in the time of the flood, which if S. Auguſtine had well conſidered, he would neuer haue asked how ſuch creatures as liued in Ilands far diſtant from the maine could come into the arke, *De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7.* howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the ſpedie and ſunclie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited

bited shortly after the diuision of the earth. For I read that when each capteine and his companie had their portions assigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his posteritie, they neuer ceased to trauell and search out the uttermost parts of the same, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had seene and betwed their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It shall suffice therefore onelie to haue touched these things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpose, to proceed with the rest concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto most of the Grækes for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to saie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the words of Aristotle in his *De mundo*, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithstanding that Brutus, as I haue said, had changed the same into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

After Brutus I do not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodosius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeoured, in the remembrance of the two aforesaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus saith. But as this deuise toke no hold among the common sort, so it retained still the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and first of his reigne, gaue forth an especiall edict, dated at Winchester, that it should be called Angles land, or Angel-land, for which in our time we do pronounce it England. And this is all (right honozable) that I haue to say, touching the severall names of this Iland, vntill the milking in the meane season their deuises, which make Hengist the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicause his ancefours descended from the Angles one of the fire nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwise called Jutons, Wites, Gotes or Gotes, and Wandals, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, bicause of Hengist the Saxon and his companie that first arrived here before anie of the other) and then to hauing now the monarchie and preheminece in manner of this whole Iland, called the same after the name of the countrie from whence he deriued his originall, neither Hengist, neither anie Quene named Angla, neither whatsoever derivation *ab Angulo*, as from a corner of the world bearing swaie, or hauing ought to doo at all in that behalfe.

What sundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.

Cap. 4.



A few or no nations can iustlie boast themselves to haue continued since their countrie was first replentished, without any mixture, more or lesse, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whose manifold commodities haue off allured sundrie princes and famous capteines of the world to conquer and subdue the same vnto their owne subiection. Spanie sorts of people therfore haue come in hither and settled themselves here in this Ile, and first of all other, a parcell of the linage and posteritie of Japhet, brought in by Samothies in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in procelle of time, and after they had indifferentlie replentished and furnished this Iland with people (which was done in the space of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repaired hither with a companie of his owne race proceeding

from Cham, and not onelie annexed the same to his owne dominion, but brought all such in like sort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miserable seruitude and most extreame thraldome. After him also, and within lesse than fire hundred and two yeares, came Brutus the sonne of Syluius with a great traine of the posteritie of the dispersed Troians in 324. ships: who rendering the like courtesie vnto the Chemminits as they had done before vnto the seed of Japhet, brought them also wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and dispossessing the peeres & inferiour owners of their lands and possessions, he diuided the countrie among such princes and capteines as he in his arriual here had led out of Grecia with him.

From henceforth I do not find any sound report of other nation whatsoever, that should aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the state of the land, vntill the Romanes emperours subdued it to their dominion, sauing of a few Galles, (and those peraduenture of Belgie) who first comming over to rob and pilfer vpon the coasts, did afterward plant themselves for altogether nere vnto the shore, and there builded sundrie cities and towne which they named after those of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cesar where he writeth of Britaine of set purpose, but also else-where, as in his second booke a little after the beginning: for speaking of Deuiaticus king of the Swessions living in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightiest prince of all the Galles, but also to hold vnder his subiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his sonne Galba was afterward dispossessed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to say with how manie sorts of people we were daillie pestered, almost in euerie stead. For as they planted their forwoyne legions in the most fertile places of the realme, and where they might best lie for the safegard of their conquests: so their armies did commonlie consist of manie sorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confused mixture of all other countries and nations then living in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it best, bicause they did all beare the title of Romans, to reueine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were twofull ghests to this our Iland: sith that with them came all manner of vice and vicious liuing, all riot and excess of behaviour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions: for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not seruitors.

How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scythian and Spanissh blood, should arrive here out of Ireland, & when the Picts should come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scythian Hyperbozeans, as yet it is vn certaine. For though the Scotissh histories do carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to saie frelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue stolne in hither within the space of 100. yeares before Christ, than to haue continued here so long as they themselves pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to settle themselves also in Britaine, so the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and steale out of Ireland, and were finally called in by the Picts (as the Romans named them, bicause they painted their bodies) to helpe them against the Britains, after the which they so planted themselves in these parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleansed of them. I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scythian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters; so they used commonlie to steale over into Britaine in leather skewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cessars time. For both

Per Timens, Ephorus, and some of the Grecians, know the name Britania, as appeareth also by Diodorus, &c. before the coming of Cesar.

Of this opinion is Bel-ford, lib. 3. cap. 44.

Britains.
Chemminits.

Romans.

Scots.
Picts.

Samothies.

W. y. Dio-

Diodorus lib. 6. and Strabo lib. 4. doe seeme to speake of a parcell of the Irish nation that should inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans flesh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamerinius in like sort doth note the Redthinks and the Irish (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enemies of our nation, before the comming of Caesar, as appeareth in his panegyricall oration, so that hereby it is found that they are no new ghestes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuersie doth rest in the time of their first attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certainlie I maruell much whie they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I see perforce that this shift should be too grosse for the maintenance of their desired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons translated the word Scotus for Irish: whereby it appeareth that those Irish, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doe speake, are none other than those Scots, of whom Ierome speaketh *Aduersus Iovinianum*, lib. 2. who vsed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate dishes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots so well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another proofe that the Scots and Irish are all one people. They were also called Scoti by the Romans, because their Iland & originall habitation thereof were unknowne, and they themselves an obscure nation in the sight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whatsoever Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter entrance, it is easie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redthinks and Pidonos) that they were settled in this Ile long before the time of Severus, yea of Caesar, and comming of the Scots. Which is proofe sufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the same. So that the controuersie lieth not in their comming also, but in the true time of their repaire and aduenture into this Iland out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the south parts of our countrie, as the writers doe report) and from whence they came at the first into the aforesaid Ilands. For my part I suppose with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eie vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath sent out manie companies to invade and spoile the same. It may be that some will gather, those to be the Picts, of whom Caesar saith that they stained their faces with blood and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and fearefull to their enemies; and so inferre that the Picts were naturall Britans. But it is one thing to staine the face onelie as the Britans did, of whom Propertius saith,

Nunc etiam infectos demum nutare Britannos,

And to paint the images and portraictures of beastes, fish and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial saith,

Barbara depictis veni Bascauda Britannis.

Certes the times of Samothec and Albion, haue some likelie limitation: and so we may gather of the comming in of Bute, of Caesar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finally of the Flemmings, (who had the Rolle in Wales assigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when first the Picts, & then the Scots should come ouer into our Iland, as they were obscure people, so the time of their arrivall is as far to me unknowne. Wherefore the resolution of this point must still remaine in tenebris. This neuertheless is certaine, that Maximus first ledgate of Britaine, and afterward emperour, droue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the south part of the maine, and finally diuided their region betwene the Britains and the Picts. He denounced warre also against the Irishmen, for receiuing them into their

land: but they craving the peace, yielded to subscribe, that from thenceforth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and so much the more, for that they were pronounced enemies to the Romans, and disturbers of the common peace and quietnesse of their prouinces here in England.

The Saxons became first acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they daily practised vpon our coastes (after they had once begun to aduenture themselves also vpon the seas, thereby to take out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the West parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had already spoiled in most lamentable and barbarous manner) howbeit they neuer durst presume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were sent for by Vortiger to serue him in his warres against the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholly to our owne defense and regiment. Being therefore come vnder Hengist in three bottoms or keeles, and in short time espieng the idle and negligent behaviour of the Britains, and fertilitie of our soile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conquest of such as at the first they came to aid and succour. Hereupon also they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countymen and neighbours, with their wives and children into this region, so that within a while these new comings began to molest the homelings, and ceased not from time to time to continue their purpose, vntill they had gotten possession of the whole, or at the leastwise the greatest part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane season being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogether out of the Iland to seek new habitations.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that succeeded) came at the first onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end, being let in by the Welshmen or Britons through an earnest desire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no lesse plagued the one than the other, their friends than their aduersaries, seeking by all meanes possible to establish themselves also in the sure possession of Britaine. But such was their successe, that they prospered not long in their deuise: for so great was their lordlinesse, crueltie, and insatiable desire of riches, beside their detestable abusing of chaste matrons, and yong virgins (whose husbands and parents were daily enforced to become their iudges and slaves, whilst they sat at home and fed like drone bees of the sweet of their trauell and labours) that God I say would not suffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he saw his time he removed their yoke, and gaue vs libertie as it were to breath vs, thereby to see whether this his sharpe scourge could haue moued vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and sinfull lines, or not. But when no signe thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vex vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our countymen than the Danes, or more heauie and intolerable to our Iland than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newstria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, because the Danes which subdued that region, came out of the south parts of the world: neuertheless, I suppose that the ancient word Newstria, is corrupted from West-ryc, because that if you make the situation, it lieth opposite from Austria or Ost-ryc, which is called the East region, as Weststria is the West: for Ric in the old Scythian tongue doth signifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-ryc, or Franc-reich, Westsaxon-reich, Ost-saxon-reich, Su-ryc, Angel-ryc, &c. is else to be seene. But howeuer this falleth out, these Normans

De the Picts.

The first by foreign aid.

Danes.

The Normans.

or Danish French, were dedlie aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betwene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Waren, and William Duke of Normandie, arrived in this land to visit him, & their friends, such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first soting that euer the French did set in this land, sithence the time of Echelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

The cause of the conquest by the Normans.

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outragious demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and upon occasion of the bzall hapning at Dover (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogether in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English priest then living in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their dissenting in manifest manner. Neuerthelesse, the Normans so belittled the king with their lieng and boasting, Robert the Archbishop being the chiefe instrument of their practise, that he beleued them, and thereupon bered sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Goodwijn of Kent was the chiefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and sone of his sonnes with him, whereupon he goeth ouer the sea, and sone after returning with his said sonnes, they invaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was ready to ioine with him in battell, it vtterlie refused to do: affirming plainelie, that it should be mere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarels: which answer entred so deepe into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose: they concluded at the vsshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate. By this means therfore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who goeth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saued a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England vnto Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlo of Lincoln, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselves, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Dover, because of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their harts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that brake out into a flame, so sone as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obtained, and to set his mischefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certeine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Earle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with

Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the French.

the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Allred the kings brother, which was altogether false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of John Scow my verie friend, wherein he saith thus, *Alfredus incaute agens in aduentu suo in Angliam a Danis circumuentus occiditur.* He addeth moreover, that giuing out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recouer his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yeldded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the same onelic of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Quene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this bzolle had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait vpon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembred still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this land. After which obtained, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and ouerthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slave than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthy businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Peere; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a paine to such of them as contended in their bauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their greedie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must needs obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vtterlie taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remoue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders. And this onelic I saie againe, because we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourable vnto him. Wh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburrows in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for surties to the Lords of the soile for their god behauiour in their offices! Wh what numbers of all degrees of English and Brittish were made slaues and bondmen, and bought and sold as oren in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation; so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this land hath not onelic bene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Saxons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelic to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vtterlie to haue bene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surmised the saint, in his time, after greuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latelie made Earle of Drenford, sone to Goodwijn Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaue with the sword) it could not haue bene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must

Earle Goodwijn slandered by the French writers.

The miserie of the English vnder the French.

The cause of our miserie.

In this booke the said Harald builded Portchester, which Caradoch ap Giffin afterward ouerthrew, and killed the garrison that Harald left therein.

W. H.

needs

needs haue suffered the bittermost confusion, and there-
by the memorie of the Britons utterlie haue perished a-
mong vs.

Thus we see how England hath six times bene subiect
to the reproch of conquest. And whereas the Scots seme
to challenge manie famous victories also ouer vs, be-
side grauous impositions, tributs, & dishonorable com-
positions: it shall suffice for answer, that they deale in
this as in the most part of their historie, which is to seeke
great honor by lieng, & great renowne by prating and
craking. Indeed they haue done great mischief in this
Iland, & with extreme crueltie; but as for any conquest
the first is yet to beare of. Diuers other conquests also
haue bene pretended by sundrie princes sithence the
conquest, onelie to the end that all pishinate lawes
and tenures of possession might cease, and they make
a new disposition of all things at their owne pleasure.
As one by king Edw. the 3. but it toke none effect. An-
other by Henrie the 4. who neuerthelesse was at the last
though hardlie draine from the challenge by William
Thorington, then chafe Justice of England. The third
by Henrie the 7. who had some better shew of right, but
yet without effect. And the last of all by M. Marie,
as some of the papists gaue out, and also would haue
had hir to haue obtained, but God also staied their mali-
ces, and hir challenge. But beside the six afore men-
tioned, Huntingdon the old historiographer speaketh of a
seuenth, likelie (as he saith) to come one daie out of the
North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, sith
nothing is to be had in those parts, but hunger & much
cold. See more hereof in the historie of S. Albons, and
afore said author; which lieth on the left side of the librarie
belonging now to Paules: for I regard no prophesies
as one that doubteth from what spirit they doe proceed,
or who should be the author of them.

Whether it be likelie that any giants
were, and whether they inhabited
in this Ile or not.
Cap. 5.

Besides these afore said nations,
which haue crept (as you haue
heard) into our Iland, we read
of sundrie giants that should
inhabit here. Which report as it
is not altogether incredible, sith
the posterities of diuers princes
were called by the name: so vnto
some mens eares it seemeth so strange a reherfall,
that for the same onelie cause they suspect the credit of
our whole historie, & reiect it as a fable, vnto which to be
read. They also condemne the like in all other histories,
especiallie of the North, where men are naturallie of
greatest stature, imagining all to be but fables that is
written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c:
of whom Saxo, Iohannes Magnus and Olaus doe make
mention, & whose bones doe yet remaine to be seene as
rare miracles in nature. Of these also some in their life
time were able to lift vp (as they write) a vessell of liquo-
r of 1000. weight, or an horse, or an ore, & cast it on their
shoulders (wherein their verie women haue bene like-
wise knowne to come nere vnto them) and of the race
of those men, some were seene of no lesse strength in
the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote
the same of his owne experience and knowledge. Of
the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall
vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome,
about the purchase of a dispensation to marrie with his
kinswoman (a woman also of much more than com-
mon stature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue
long for age, that can saie verie much euen by their

owne knowledge. Wherefore it appeareth by present ex-
perience, that all is not absolutelie vntrue which is re-
membred of men of such giants. For this cause ther-
fore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breue
discourse insuing, as inducuring thereby to proue, that
the opinion of giants is not altogether grounded vpon
vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to de-
light the cares of the hearers with the report of mar-
uellous things: but that there haue bene such men in
deed, as for their hugeness of person haue resembled
rather * high towres than mortall men, although their
posterities are now consumed, and their monstrous
races utterlie twome out of knowledge.

I do not meane herein to dispute, whether this name
Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for
their tyrannie and oppression of the people, than for their
greatnesse of bodie, or large steps, as Goropius would
haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater
than at this present) or because their parents were not
knowne, for such in old time were called *Terra filij*; or
whether the word Gigas doth onlie signifie *Indigenas*, or
homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all
men were of like quantitie in stature, and farre more
greater in old time, than now they be: and yet ab-
solutelie I denie neither of these, sith verie probable
reasons may be brought for eche of them, but especiallie
the last rehearsed, whose confirmation dependeth vpon
the authorities of sundrie ancient writers, who make
diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in strength
and manhood, and yet do not giue the same name vnto
them, because their quarrels were iust, and commonlie
taken in hand for defense of the oppressed. Examples
hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whose
wrestling declareth that they were equall in stature
& stomach. Such also was the courage of Antheus, that
being often overcome, and as it were utterlie banquis-
hed by the said Hercules, yet if he did ekesones returne
again into his kingdome, he forthwith recovered his
force, returned and held Hercules tacked, till he gat at
the last betwene him and home, so cutting off the far-
ther hope of the restitution of his armie, and killing fi-
nallie his aduersarie in the field, of which victorie Poli-
cian writeth thus:

*Incaluere animis dura certare palaestra,
Neptuni quondam filius atque Iouis:
Non certamen erant operoso ex are lebetes,
Sed qui vel vitam velferat interitum:
Occidit Antheus Ioue natum vinere fas est,
Esq; magistra Pales Graecia, non Lybia.*

The like do our histories report of Corineus and Go-
magor, peradventure king of this Ile, who fought a
combat hand to hand, till one of them was slaine, and
yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus
for giants, albeit that Hanaile in his Arditrenion
make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full
18. foot, if poetical licence doe not take place in his
report and assertion. But sith (I say againe) it is not
my purpose to stand vpon these points, I passe ouer
to speake any more of them. And whereas also I
might haue proceeded in such order, that I should first
set downe by manie circumstances, whether any gi-
ants were, then whether they were of such huge and in-
credible stature as the authours doe remember, and fi-
nallie whether any of them haue bene in this our I-
land or not, I protest plainlie, that my mind is not here
bent to deale in any such manner, but rather generallie
to confirme and by sufficient authoritie, that there haue
bene such mightie men of stature, and some of them al-
so in Britaine, which I will set downe onelie by sundrie
examples, whereby it shall fall out, that neither our
Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or
other ben altogether without them. First of all therefore,
& to begin with the scriptures, the most sure & certaine
ground of all knowledge: you shall haue out of them
such

Cap. 4
ver. 5

Anti.

*Ezay. 30.
ver. 25.

M. c
ver. 6
34.

Antheus,
Lucane lib.
4. in fine.

Deut
ver. 1
8g. 1
Bala

Corineus,
Gomagog.

Cap
ver. 4
Sol

Cap
26, 1

such notable examples set downe, as I haue obserued in reading the same, which vnto the godlie may suffice for sufficient profe of my position. Neuerthelesse, after the scriptures I will resort to the writings of our learned Diuines, and finally of the infidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing shall seeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauations.

Moses the prophet of the Lord, writing of the estate of things before the flood, hath these words in his booke of generations. In these daies saith he, there were giants upon the earth. Berofus also the Chaldee writeth, that nere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoeh, builded sometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who trusting to the strength and hugeness of their bodies, did verie great oppression and mischeise in the world. The Hebrewes called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father to Achimam, Schefchai and Talma, although their first originall was deriued from Henoch the sonne of Caine, of whome that pestilent race descended, as I read. The Moabites named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamsumimims, and it should seeme by the second of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatly replenished with such men, when Moses wrote that treatise. For of these monsters some families remained of greater stature than other vnto his daies, in comparison of whome the children of Israel confessed themselves to be but grasshoppers. Which is one noble testimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is so well taken for a man of huge stature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppressour of the people.

Furthermoze, there is mention made also in the scriptures of Og, sometime king of Basan, who was the last of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promise to be overcome by the Israelites, whose iron bed was afterward shewed for a wonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) containing 9 cubits in length, and 4. in breadth, which cubits I take not to be geometrical, (that is, each one so great as six of the smaller, as those were wherof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme, especiallie Augustine: whereas Origen, hom. 2. in Gen. out of whom he seemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no such meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes doth varie & differ from the standard. Oh how Goropius dalieeth about the historie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate against the beds head, & of hurting his ribs against the sides, and all to proue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and so he leaueth the matter as sufficientlie answered with a French countenance of truth. But see August. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Faustum Manich. lib. 12. Ambros. &c. and Iohannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpose of the capacitie of the Arke.

In the first of Samuel you shall read of Goliath a Philistine, the weight of whose brigandine or shirt of maile was of 5000. sciles, or 1250. ounces of brasse, which amounteth to 104. pound of Trote weight after 4. common sciles to the ounce. The head of his speare came vnto ten pound English or 600. sciles of that mettal. His height also was measured at six cubits and an hand by both. All which doe import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great stature & strength to weare such an armour, and betwixt so heauie a lance. But Goropius thinking himselfe still to haue Og in hand, and endeavouring to extenuate the fullnesse of the letter to his vttermost power, doth neuerthelesse earnestlie affirme, that he was not above three foot more than the common sort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and so he leaueth it as determined.

In the second of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Ishbenob the first, that would haue killed Dauid, had a speare, whose head

weighed the iust halfe of that of Goliath: the second called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. Par. 20. was nothing inferior to the first: the third hight also Goliath, the staffe of whose speare was like vnto the beame of a weauers loome, neuerthelesse he was slaine in the second battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the first was by Abisai Iobabs brother, and the second by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was slaine at Gath by Ionnathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of personage, but also of disfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Wherby it is euident, that the generation of giants was not extinguished in Palestine, vntill the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the flood, nor vtterlie consumed in Og, as some of our expositors would haue it.

How to come vnto our chistian writers. For though the authorities already alleged out of the twoz, are sufficient to confirme my purpose at the full; yet will I not let to set downe such other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader shall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumstances, mentioned in the scriptures, rather to haue some mysticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the sense of the text in this behalfe is to be taken simplicie as it speaketh. And first of all to omit that which Tertullian lib. 2. de resurrex. saith; S. Augustine noteth, how he with other saw the tooth of a man, wherof he took god aduiseiment, and pronounced in the end that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time. The like hercof also doth Iohn Boccace set downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, saieing that in the caue of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Ceryr as he gesseeth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was discovered, three of whose teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into English poise, doth yeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue ounces to the pound, that is 33. ounces euerie tooth.

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his skull was able to containe manie bushels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians iudged his bodie to be about 200. cubits: Those teeth, skull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be seene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse, whose bodie was found vpon this occasion. As some digged in the earth to laie the foundation of an house, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they saw the huge bodie of a man sitting in the caue, of whose greatnesse they were so afraid, that they ranne awaie, and made an outcrie in the citie, how there sat a man in such a place, so great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they should haue gone vnto a foughten field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they forthwith saw that he was dead, and yet sat as if he had been aliue, having a staffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the mast of a tall ship, which being touched fell by and by to dust, sauing the nether end betwixt his hand and the ground, whose hollownesse was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare by his arme that it should not fall in peeces: neuerthelesse, his bodie also being touched fell likewise into dust, sauing three of his aforesaid teeth, the forepart of his skull, and one of his thigh bones, which are referred to be seene of such as will hardlie beleue these reports.

In the histories of Bzabant I read of a giant found, whose bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, because they somewhat resembled those of two such beasts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betwixt Brussels and Aquaplin. As though

Cap. 6. ver. 5.

Anti. lib. 1.

1. cap. 13. ver. 33, & 34.

Deut. 3. ver. 11. Og of Basan.

Cap. 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliath.

Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c.

De ciuitate Dei lib. 15. cap. 9.

Iohannes Boccacius.

A carcase discovered of 200. cubits.

there were anie precise resemblance betwene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had ever bene any elephant of 27 foot in length. But see his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found upon the shoze of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which somewhat staith his iudgement, but not altogether remoueth his error.

Mat. West-
mon.
The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being measured it contained twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Aeneas.

Iohannes
Leland.
Masieus,
lib. 14.
Triuet.
Mat. West.
There was a carcase also laid bare 1170. in England upon the shoze (where the beating of the sea had washed awaie the earth from the stone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp, it contained 50. foot in measure, as our histories do report. The like was scene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

Hector
Boet.
In Perth moreover a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they shew in a church, under the name of little John (*per Antiphrafin*) being also 14. foot in length, as diuerse do affirme which haue beholde the same, and whereof Hector Boetius doth saie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hanch bones: which is toozthie to be remembred.

Gertiusus
Tiberien-
sis.
In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common sort of women liuing in those daies.

Geruasius
Tiberien-
sis.
Gervasius Tiberienensis, head Marshall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Atho 4. hoto that at Isoretum, in the suburbs of Paris, he saw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beside the head and the necke, which was missing & not found, the owner hauing peradventure bene beheaded for some notable trespasse committed in times past, or (as he saith) killed by S. William.

The Greeke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperor, who liued 1187. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, three foot higher than the Dutch man that shewed himselfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man married Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before assured to Alerius, whome he strangled, dismembred and drowned in the sea) the ladie not being aboue eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beside hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as she listed.

Zonaras speaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Iustine, who being bozne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie personage, was neuertheless almost two foot taller than the tallest woman of hir time.

Sir Thomas
Eliot.
A carcase was taken vp at Iuie church nere Salisbury but of late yeares to speake of, almost fourtene foot long. in *Dictionario Eliota*.

Ieland in
Combrit.
In Gillelland in Come Whitton parochie not far from the chapell of the Spoz, six miles by east from Carleill, a coffin of stone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like sort Leland speaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you shall read more in the chapter of our Ilands.

Richard
Grafton.
Richard Grafton in his Panuell telleth of one whose shinbone contained six foot, and thereto his skull so great that it was able to receiue five pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall symmetrie of these parts, his bodie must needs be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligently measured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, answereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the same place vnto the sole of the foot, measured by an imagined line, and seuered into so manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Drucerus in his lineall description of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this symmetrie is not taken by other than the well proportioned face,

The Sym-
metrie of
proportion
of the bodie
of a comelie
man.

for *Recta, orbiculata* (or *fornicata*) *prona, resupinata*, and *lachnata* (or *repanda*) do so far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beaultie of the comelie. Hereby also they make the face taken in strict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, from the highest part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, so that in the vse of the twoz face there is a difference, whereby the 9. part is taken (I say) from the crowne (called *Vertex*, because the haire there turneth into a circle) so that if the space by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or highest part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would easilie appeare, & shew it selfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the middle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wrist to the top of the same finger, a tenth part: the length of the shinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third joint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obseruations I willingly remember in this place, to the end that if anie such carcases happen to be found hereafter, it shall not be hard by some of these bones here mentioned, to come by the stature of the whole bodie, in certaine & exact maner. As for the rest of the bones, joints, parts, &c: you may resort to Drucerus, Cardan, and other writers, with the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpose. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the same. Finally the carcase of William conqueroz was scene not manie yeares since (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, by the iudgment of such as saw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which testimonies I note together, because they proceed from christian writers, from whence nothing should be farther or more distant, than of set purpose to lie, and feed the world with fables.

In our times also, and whilst Francis the first reigned ouer France, there was a man scene in Aquitaine, whome the king being in those parties made of his gard, whose height was such, that a man of common height might easilie go vnder his twist without stooping, a stature incredible. Moreover Calanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briar a giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whose skull was two cubits, and the breadth of his shoulders foure, as he himselfe beheld in the late second wars of France, & whereunto the report of Ioan Marius made in his booke *De Galliarum illustrationibus*, where he writeth of the carcase of the same giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the skull to the sole of the feet, doth yield sufficient testimonie. Also Calameus in his commentaries *De Biturigibus*, confirmeth no lesse, adding that he was found 1556. & so doth Baptista Fulgosius, lib. 1. cap. 6. saie eng farther, that his graue was scene not farre from Valentia, and discovered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The said Calanion in like sort speaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whose teeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Also of the sepulchre of another nere vnto Charnes castell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if cleight did not confirme it in our owne times, and these carcases were not reserved by the verie providence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by these reliques vnderstand, that such men were in old time in deed, of whose statures we now begin to doubt. Now to say somewhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be scene in the church of S. Laurence nere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decay, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another also

Syluester
Gyraldus,

Constans
fama Gal-
lorum,

Briar.

In vi
torij d
oro.

Phil

ts to be seene in Aldermarthe butie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetrie hath bene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an intage made according to that proportion, which is fixed in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as some say was found in the cloister of Poules, that was nere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I seene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I take no great heed, because I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the christian authors.

How it resteth furthermore that I set downe, what I haue read thereof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to reape renowne and praise, they do procure vnto themselves in the end nothing else but mere contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe do seeme almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiting your Honour in reading hereof, to let euery Author beare his owne burden, and euery ore his bundle.

Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Libya, nere to the streets of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) caused the sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the said giant laie buried there, whose corps was fiftie cubits long at the least, he was so far off from creditting the same, that he would not beleeue it, untill he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his souldiers to cast downe the hill made sometime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottom confined in stone, after the measure thereof taken, he saw it manifestlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made account of, which Strabo also confirmeth.

Pausanias reporteth out of one Miso, that when the bodie of Ajax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was adindged so broad as a pretty dish: also that the bodie of Asterius sometime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no lesse maruelous than the rest, all which Goropius still condemneth to be the bones of monsters of the sea (notwithstanding the manifest formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inscriptions found ingrauen in brasse and lead with them in their sepulchres) so far is he from being perswaded and led from his opinion.

Philostate. Philostate in *Heracles* saith, how he saw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, also the carcase of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue.

Linie in the seauenth of his first decade, speaketh of an huge person which made a challenge as he stood at the end of the Anien bridge, against any Romane that would come out and fight with him, whose stature was not much inferior to that of Goliath, of Artachas (of whom Herodotus speaketh in the historie of Xerxes) who was five common cubits of stature, which make but five of the kings standard, because this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Puffo, Secundilla, Cabaras, of which the first two liuing vnder Augustus were above ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine; and all remembred by Plinie; of Eleazar a Jew, of whom Iosephus saith, that he was sent to Tiberius, and a person of height five cubits; of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention lib. 12. cap. 13. *Disceides* of five cubits and an handfull, I say nothing, because Calanion of Spiteren hath alreadie sufficiently discoursed vpon

on these examples in his *De gigantibus*, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, supposeth himselfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a newo Jupiter *Alterum carasse Herculem*, as the said Calanion doth meretriciously charge and vnbraid him.

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which disclosed the body of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane standard, and by diuerse supposed to be the bodie of Orion or Ation. Heuertselesse I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did sweare *Per sua capita*, that it was either the carcase of some monster of the sea, or a forged deuise to bleare the peoples eyes withall, wherein it is wonderfull to see, how they please Goropius as one that first deriued his fantasticall imagination from their asseueration & oth. The said Plinie also addeth that the bodie of Orestes was seven cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reserved in conditorio *Sallustianorum* halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that any man was bidden to sweare.

Trallianus writeth how the Athenienses digging on a time in the ground, to late the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Island in the daies of an emperor, did find the bones of Macrotyris in a coffin of hard stone, of 100. cubits in length after the account of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our measure now in England. These verses also, as they are now translated out of Græke were found withall,

Sepulchrum ego Macrotyris in longa insula

Vita peracta annis mille quinquies: which amounteth to 81. yeares four moneths, after the Egyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperor, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Messana, containing 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet standing whole in his chaps. Eumachus also in *Perigela* telleth that when the Carthaginenses went about to digh in their prouince, they found two bodies in several coffins of stone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, such another was found in Bosphoro Cynimerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did cast those bones into the sea. In Dalmatia, manie graues were shaken open with an earthquake, in diuerse of which certein carcases were found, whose ribs contained 16. els, after the Romane measure, whereby the whole bodies were iudged to be 64. fith the longest rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as some robing symmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus saith that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Asians were generallie of huge stature, and commonlie of five cubits, and such was the height of Porus of Inde, whom the said Alexander vanquished and hurtherto in battell.

Suidas speaketh of Ganges, killed also by the said prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What should I speake of Artaceas a capitaine in the host of Xerxes, afore remembred, whose height was within 4. fingers breadth of five cubits, & the tallest man in the armie except the king himselfe. Herod. lib. 7. Of Adrianus whom Plinie remembreth I saie nothing. But of all these, this one example shall passe, which I do read of in Trallianus, and he setteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius the emperor saith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which each tooth (taken one with another) contained 12. inches ouer at the least. How forsomuch as in such as be full mouthed, each chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the least, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs must the wideness of this mans chaps be welnere of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips five at the least. A large mouth

A mouth of
fifteen foot
wide.

ter
dus

In vita Ser-
torij de An-
tho.

ans
Sal-

Philostate.

60

A counter-
fect made of
a monstrous
carcase by
one tooth ta-
ken out of
the head.

This man
was more
famous to
this monster
than our pa-
pits were to
the bodies of
the dead who
take them in
pieces to
make money
of them.

Grandiaque
efficit mira-
bilis ossa se-
pulchris.

mouth in mine opinion, and not to eat peason with La-
dies of my time, besides that if occasion serued, it was
able to receive the whole bodies of mo than one of the
greatest men, I meane of such as we be in our daies.
When this carcase was thus found, euerie man mar-
uelled at it, & good cause why. A messenger was sent to
Tiberius the emperour also to know his pleasure, whe-
ther he would haue the same brought ouer vnto Rome
or not, but he forbade them, willing his Legate not to
remoue the dead out of his resting place, but rather
somewhat to satisfie his phantasie to send him a tooth out
of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning
workman, commanding him to shape a carcase of
light matter, after the proportion of the tooth, that at the
least by such means he might satisfie his curious mind,
and the fantasies of such as are delited with nouelties.
So he thort, when the image was once made and set vp
on end, it appeared rather an huge colosse than the true
carcase of a man, and when it had stood in Rome untill
the people were wearie & throughlie satisfied with the
sight thereof, he caused it to be broken all to peeces, and
the tooth sent againe to the carcase fro whence it came,
willing them moreover to couer it diligentlie, and in
anie wise not to dismember the corpes, nor from thence
forth to be so hardie as to open the sepulchre anie more.
Pausan. lib. 8. telleth in like maner of Hiplodanus & his
fellowes, who liued when Rhea was with child of Olyris
by Cham, and were called to hir aid at such time as she
feared to be molested by Hammon hir first husband,
whilest she remained vpon the Thomaian hill, *In ipso
loco*, saith he, *spectantur ossa maiora multo quam vi humana
existimari possunt*, &c. Of Protophanes who had but one
great and broad bone in stead of all his ribs on ech side
I saie nothing, sith it concerneth not his stature.

I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of
such men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and o-
thers. As of Octas and Ephialtes, who were said to be
nine bygges or paces in heighth, and foure in bredth, which
are taken for so many cubits, because there is small dif-
ference betwene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit,
and finally of our Richard the first, who is noted to
beare an are in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie
weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and
whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus:

This king Richard I vnderstand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,
The head in sooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of steele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could speake also of Gerards staffe or lance, yet to
be seene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane,
which is so great and long that no man can betweld it,
neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of
set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder
is fired by the same. I haue seene a man my selfe of se-
uen fot in heighth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles
also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe
a fot higher, but through infirmite and wounds not
able to betweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good)
speake also of another of no lesse heighth than either
of these and liuing of late yeares, but these here remem-
bered shall suffice to proue my purpose withall. I might
tell you in like sort of the marke stone which Turnus
threw at Aeneas, and was such as that twelue chosen
and picked men (saith Virgil,

Quali a nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)

were not able so stir and remoue out of the place: but
I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that
these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God:
first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might;
and secondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie

is not to be accounted of as a part of our felicitie, sith
they which possessed the same, were not onelie tyrants,
boldly, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen
by the weake & feeble. Finally they were such indeed as
in whom the Lord delited not, according to the saieing
of the prophet Baruch; *Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui
ab initio fuerunt statura magnas, scientes bellum, hos non elegit
Dominus, neque illis viam disciplina dedit, propterea perierunt,*
10 *et quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam, interierunt propter suam
insipientiam*, &c. that is, There were the giants famous
from the beginning, that were of great stature and
expert in warre, those did not the Lord chuse, neither
gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they
were destroyed, because they had no wisdom, and pe-
rished through their owne foolishnesse. That the bodies
of men also do daile decay in stature, beside Plinie lib.
7. El dras likewise confesseth lib. 4. cap. 5. whose authoritie
is so good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who do as-
firme so much, whereas Goropius still continuing his
wonted pertinacitie also in this behalfe, maketh his
proportion first by the old Romane fot, and then by his
owne, & therevpon concludeth that men in these daies
be fullie so great as euer they were, whereby as in the
former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude a-
gainst the scriptures, chosen writers and testimonies
of the oldest pagans. But see how he would saue all at
last in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he saith, I
denie not but that od huge personages haue bene seene,
as a tooman of ten, and a man of nine fot long, which
I my selfe also haue beholden, but as now so in old time
the common sort did so much wonder at the like as
we do at these, because they were seldome seene, and
not commonlie to be heard of.

Of the languages spoken in this Iland. Cap. 6.



That language came first with
Samothes and afterward with
Albion, and the giants of his
company, it is hard for me to
determine, sith nothing of sound
credit remaineth in writing,
which may resolute vs in the
truth hereof. Yet of so much are
we certaine, that the speech of the ancient Brittons, and
of the Celts, had great affinity one with another, so
that they were either all one, or at leastwise such as et-
her nation with small helpe of interpreters might vn-
derstand other, and readilie discern what the speaker
meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts spake
Graeke, and how the British tong resembled the same,
which was spoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme
it: but I see that these men do speake without authori-
tie and therefore I reied them, for if the Celts which
were properlie called Galles did speake Graeke, why
did Cesar in his letters sent to Rome vse that lan-
guage, because that if they should be intercepted they
might not vnderstand them, or why did he not vnder-
stand the Galles, he being so skillfull in the language
without an interpreter? Yet I denie not but that the
Celtish and British speeches might haue great affini-
tie one with another, and the British aboue all other
with the Graeke, for both do appeare by certaine words,
as first in trifor thee, march for an horse, & trimarchia,
whereof Paulanias speaketh, for both. Athenens also writ-
teth of Bachanafus a capitaine of the Galles, whose
name is mere British, compounded of Bath & Ynad, &
signifieth a noble or comelie iudge. And whereas he saith
that the reliques of the Galles took by their first
dwelling about Ysher, and afterward diuided them-
selues in such wise, that they which went and dwelled
in Hungarie were called Sordai, and the other that
in the

Cap. 3. 36.

4. Efd. cap. 5.

British.

Small dif-
ference be-
tweene the
British and
Celtike lan-
guages.

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col
by
tin
sh
ch

Y's unita
fortior effe-
dem dispersa.

inhabited within the dominion of Tyrol) Wzenni, whose seat was on the mount Wzenhere parcell of the Alpes, what else signifieth the word Isaredich in Wzittish, from whence the word Scordisci cometh, but to be divided: Whereby then, and sundrie other the like testimonies, I gather that the Wzittish and the Celtish speeches had great affinity one with another, as I said, which Cesar (speaking of the similitude or likenesse of religion in both nations) doth also auerre, & Tacitus in *vita Agricola*, in like sort plainlie affirmeth, or else it must needs be that the Galles which invaded Italie and Greece were mere Wzittons, of whose likenesse of speech with the Greeke tong I need not make anie triall, sith no man (I hope) will readilie denie it. Appianus talking of the Wzenni calleth them Cymbzes, and by this I gather also that the Celts and the Wzittons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their owne language, or else that the Wzittons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie do not refuse to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the means by which the originall of euerie kingdome and nation is to be had and discerned, setteth downe three waies whereby the knowledg thereof is to be found, one is (saith he) the infallible testimonie of the sound writers, the other the description and site of the region, the third the reliques of the ancient speech remaining in the same. Which later if it be of any force, then I must conclude, that the speech of the Wzittons and Celts was sometime either all one or verie like one to another, or else it must follow that the Wzittons overslowed the continent under the name of Cymbzes, being peradventure associat in this voyage, or mixed by inuasion with the Danes, and Pozwegiens, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as most writers do remember. This also is evident (as Plutarch likewise confesseth in *vita Marij*) that no man knew from whence the Cymbzes came in his daies, and therefore I .ene that they came out of Wzitaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane even to the uttermost part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the names which were daile brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Dauir for Daci, Getz for Gothes, &c: for of their conquests I need not make rehearfall, sith they are commonlie knowne and remembred by the writers, both of the Greekes and Latines.

Wzittish corrupted by the Latine and Saxon speeches.

The Wzittish tong called Camberacc doth yet remaine in that part of the Iland, which is now called Wales, whither the Wzittons were driven after the Saxons had made a full conquest of the other, which we now call England, although the pssimate integritie thereof be not a little diminished by mixture of the Latine and Saxon speeches withall. Howbeit, manie poesies and writings (in making thereof that nation hath evermore delighted) are yet extant in my time, whereby some difference betwene the ancient and present language may easilie be discerned, notwithstanding that among all these there is nothing to be found, which can set downe anie sound and full testimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men haue bene most slacke and negligent. Giraldus in praising the Wzittons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Greeke or Latine. Which being rightly understood and conferred with the likenesse that was in old time betwene the Celts & the Wzittish tongs, will not a little helpe those that thinke the old Celtish to haue some fauour of the Greeke. But how soeuer that matter standeth, after the Wzittish speech came once vnto this Iland, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Pozmans, and Englishmen could make against that nation, in anie manner of wise.

The Wzittish tongue diff.

Pedigrees and genealogies also the Welsh Wzittons haue plentie in their owne tong, inasmuch that manie

of them can readilie deriue the same, either from Wzute or some of his band, euen vnto Aeneas and other of the Troians, and so forth vnto Noah without anie manner of stop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I must needs confesse that their ancient Bards were verie diligent in there collection, and had also publike allowance or salarye for the same; so I dare not absolutelie impugne their assertions, sith that in times past all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebrewes) did verie solemnelie preserve the catalogs of their descents, thereby either to shew themselves of ancient and noble race, or else to be descended from some one of the gods. But

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest Pontice longo

Sanguine censeri? aut quid auro ducere turmas?

Next vnto the Wzittish speech, the Latine tong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French was after by the Pozmans. Of this tong I will not say much, because there are few which be not full in the same. Howbeit, as the speech it selfe is easie and drlestable, so hath it peruered the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of Wzitaine in such wise, that in these our daies their old Wzittish denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet those of the new Latine left as most vncertaine. This remaineth also vnto my time, resolved from the Romans, that all our deeds, evidences, charters, & writings of record, are set downe in the Latine tong, though now verie barbarous, and therevnto the copies and court-rolles, and processes of courts and leets registred in the same.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scottishian or high Dutch, induced at the first by the Saxons (which the Wzittons call Saysonaec, as they do the speakers Sayson) an hard and rough kind of speech, God wot, when our nation was brought first into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and easie kind of utterance, and so polished and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be aduouched how there is no one speech vnder the sunne spoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phrases, or figures and flouris of eloquence, than hath our English tong, although some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, because the most of our words (as they do indeed) incline vnto one syllable. This also is to be noted as a testimonie remaining still of our language, deriued from the Saxons, that the generall name for the most part of euerie skillfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and e onlie inserted, as Scriuenhere, writehere, shiphere, &c: for scriuener, writer, and shipper, &c: beside manie other reliques of that speech, neuer to be abolished.

After the Saxon tong, came the Pozman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children also were by an especiall decre taught first to speake the same, and therevnto inforced to learne their constructions in the French, whensoever they were set to the Grammar schole. In like sort few bishops, abbats, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto anie ecclesiasticall function here among vs, but such as came out of religious howles from beyond the seas, to the end they should not vse the English tong in their sermons to the people. In the court also it grew into such contempt, that most men thought it no small dishonor to speake any English there. Which hauerie toke his hold at the last likewise in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euen the beerie carters began to way wearie of there mother tong, & laboured to speake French, which as then was counted no small token of gentilitie. And no maruell, for euerie French rascal, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie because he was proud, and could vse his owne language, and all this (I say) to exile

gent in per-
turies.

Latine.

The Saxon
tong.

The French
tong.

erile the English and British speaches quite out of the country. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, but most of all and by law in the midst of Edward the third, and then began the English to recouer and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, toles and words of art reteine still their French denominations euen to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, booke of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearse. Afterward also, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and John Gower, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of John Scogan, and John Lydgate monke of Berrie, our said tong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quene Elizabeth, wherein John Iewell B. of Sarum, John Fox, and sundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the ornaturne of the same, to their great praise and immortall commendation; although not a few other do greatlie seeke to staine the same, by fond affectation of foren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and sound of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English tong is found in one, and the south part of this Island; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaineth still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and iudgement. This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too smooth in utterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, besides Hebrew, Greeke & Latine, and speake it naturallie, as if we were borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few foren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that sauereth of English trueth. It is a pastime to read how Naralis Comes in like manner, speaking of our affaires, doth clip the names of our English lordes. But this of all the rest doth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger do hit upon some likelie pronuntiation of our tong, yet in age he swarneth so much from the same, that he is worse therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halseth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue seene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue inflicke marvelled.

The Cornish and Denonthe men, whose countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a speech in like sort of their owne, and such as hath in deed more affinity with the Armoicane tong than I can well discusse of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of British, albeit so far degenerating in these daies from the old, that if either of them do meete with a Welsh man, they are not able at the first to vnderstand one another, except here and there in some odd words, without the helpe of interpreters. And no manuell in mine opinion that the British of Cornetwall is thus corrupted, sith the Welsh tong that is spoken in the north & south part of Wales, doth differ so much in it selfe, as the English vsed in Scotland doth from that which is spoken among vs here in this side of the Island, as I haue said already.

The Scottish english hath bene much broader and lesse pleasant in utterance than ours, because that nation hath not till of late induozed to bring the same to any perfect order, and yet it was such in manner, as Englishmen themselves did speake for the most part

beyond the Trent, whether any great amende ment of our language had not as then extended it selfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottish language endeuoreth to come nere, if not altogether to match our tong in fineness of phrase, and copie of words, and this may in part appeare by an historie of the Apocrypha translated into Scottish verse by Hudion, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and containing fixe books, except my nicemorie do faile me.

Thus we see how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the south parts of the realme, we haue three severall tongs, that is to saie, English, British, and Cornish, and euen so manie are in Scotland, if you accompt the English speech for one: notwithstanding that for bredth and quantitie of the region, I meane onelie of the soile of the maine Island, it be somewhat lesse to see to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwaie called the Redshanks, or rough footed Scots (because they go bare footed and clad in mantels ouer their saffron shirts after the Irish maner) do inhabit, they speake good Irish which they call Gachtlet, as they saie of one Gathelus, whereby they shew their originall to haue in times past bene fetched out of Ireland: as I noted also in the chapter precedent, and whereunto Vincentius cap. de insulis Oceani doth yeld his assent, saieing that Ireland was in time past called Scotia; Scotia eadem (saith he) & Hibernia, proxima Britannia insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ secundior; Scotia autem a Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c. Out of the 14. booke of Iudorus intituled Originum, where he also addeth that it is called Hybernia, because it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elsewhere that it is so called by certeine Spaniards which came to seeke and plant their inhabitation in the same, where of in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

In the Isles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & such coastes of Britaine as do abutt vpon the same, the Gottish or Danish speech is altogether in vse, and also in Shetland, by reason (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaye held those Islands so long vnder their subiection, albeit they were otherwise reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, because that the berie soile of them is enemie to poison, as some write, although for my part I had neuer any sound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of our old speaches, and those five languages now vsuallie spoken within the limits of our Island.

Into how manie kingdoms this Island hath bene diuided. Cap. 7.



It is not to be doubted, but that at the first, the whole Island was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time, vntill ciuill discorde, grounded vpon ambitious desire to reigne, caused the same to be gouerned by diuerse. And this I meane so well of the time before the coming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & posteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncertaine into how manie regions it was seuered, after the first partition; so it is most sure that this latter disturbed estate of regiment, continued in the same, not onelie vntill the time of Caesar, but also in manner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full possession of this Island, who gouerned it by Legats after the manner of a prouince. It should seme also that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought those foure princes that vsurped in his time to obedience, than extinguished their titles, & such partition as they had made of the Island among themselves

The helpers
of our Eng-
lish tong.

Englishmen
apt to learne
any foren
tong.

The Cor-
nish tong.

Scottish
english.

The wild
Scots.

Redshanks,
Rough footed
Scots.

Irish Core,
Irish speech.

all
and
this
don

En

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An

Ar

Ed

Britaine at
the first one
entire king-
dome.

selues) each great citie had his freedome and severall kind of regiment, proper unto his selfe, beside a large circuit of the countrey appertinent unto the same, wherein were sundrie other cities also of lesse name, which ought homage and all subiection unto the greater sort. And to saie truth, hereof it came to passe, that each of these regions, whereinto this Island was then divided, took his name of some one of these cities; although *Civitas* after *Caesar* doth sometime signifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time *Tot civitates quot regna*, and contrariwise as may appeare by that of the *Trinobantes*, which was so called of *Trinobantum* the chiefe citie of that portion, whose territories contained all *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hertfordshire*, even as the iurisdiction of the bishop of *London* is now extended, for the oversight of such things as belong unto the church. Each of the governors also of these regions, called themselves kings, and thereunto either of them daile made warre upon other, for the enlarging of their limits. But for so much as I am not able to saie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned over their severall portions, I will passe over these ancient times, and come nearer unto our owne, I meane the 600. yere of *Christ*, whereof we have more certaine notice, & at which season there is evident proofe, that there were twelve or thirtene kings reigning in this Island.

Wales divided into three kingdoms.

We find therefore for the first, how that *Wales* had his three severall kingdomes, which being accompted together contained (as *Giraldus* saith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof there were in his time possessed by the French and English) although that whole portion of the Island extended in those daies no farther than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, and was cut from *Lhoegres* by the rivers *Sauerne* and *Dæ*, of which two streames this doth fall into the *Irish* sea at *Wellschetter*, the other into the maine *Ocean*, betwixt *Somersetshire* and *Southwales*, as their severall courses shall witness more at large.

Gwynedd.

In the beginning it was divided into two kingdomes onelie, that is to saie, *Venedotia* or *Gwynnedh* (otherwise called *Dehenbarth*) and *Demetia*, for which we now use most commonly the names of *South* & *Northwales*. But in a short proceesse of time a third sprung up in the verie middelt betwene them both, which from thenceforth was called *Powis*, as shall be shewed hereafter. For *Roderic* the great, who flourished 850. of *Christ*, and was king of all *Wales* (which then contained onlie six regions) leaving three sons behind him, by his last will & testament divided the countrey into three portions, according to the number of his children, of which he assigned one unto either of them, whereby *Morwing* or *Morwinner* had *Gwynnedh* or *Northwales*, *Cadelh* *Demetia* or *Southwales*, and *Anarall* *Powis*, as *Giraldus* and other do remember. Howbeit it came to passe that after this division, *Cadelh* furnished all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his successors after him until the time of *Tecuth* or *Theodor* (all is one) after which they were contented to keepe themselves within the compasse of *Demetia*, which (as I said) contained 29. of those 49. cantreds before mentioned, as *Powis* did six, and *Gwynnedh* fourtene, except my memorie do faile me.

Venedotia.

The first of these three, being called as (I said) *Northwales* or *Venedotia* (or as *Paulus Iovius* saith *Malfabrene*, for he divideth *Wales* also into three regions, of which he calleth the first *Dumbera*, the second *Bersfona*, and the third *Malfabrene*) lieth streake over against the Ile of *Anglesey*, the chiefe citie whereof stood in the Ile of *Anglesey* and was called *Aberfraw*. It containeth 4. regions, of which the said Island is the first, and whereof in the chapter ensuing I will intreate more at large.

Anglesey.

Arfon.

Deorioneth.

tioneth, and as it is severed from *Arfon* by the *Contwy*, so is it separated from *Egenia* (otherwise called *Stradclup* and *Igenia* the fourth region) by the river *Cluda*. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended also even unto the *Dæ* it selfe, and of these foure regions consisteth the kingdome of *Venedotia*, whereof in times past the region of the *Canges* was not the smallest portion.

Stradclup or Egenia.

The kingdome of *Powis*, last of all erected, as I said, hath on the north side *Gwinhedh*, on the east from *Chesler* to *Hereford*, or rather to *Deane forest* *England*, on the south and west the river *Wyl* and verie high hilles, whereby it is notable severed from *Southwales*, the chiefe citie thereof being at the first *Salopburg*, in old time *Bengwerne*, and *Pinwithig*, but now *Shrewsburie*, a citie or towne raised out of the ruines of *Vricoum*, which (standing 4. miles from thence, and by the *Sarons* called *Wrekencester* and *Wrokecester*, before they overthrew it) is now inhabited with more English, and where in old time the kings of *Powis* did dwell and hold their palaces, till Englishmen drove them from thence to *Matraull* in the same province, where they from thenceforth abode. Upon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from *Holt castle*, upon each side of the river, as the chanel now runneth, stood sometime the famous monastrie of *Bangor*, whilst the abated glorie of the *Britons* yet remained unextinguished, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned sort did preach the Gospel, and the unlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themselves, and to sustaine their preachers. This region was in like sort divided afterward in twaine, of which the one was called *Maillo* or *Mailrosse*, the other retained still his old denomination, and of these the first laie by south, & the latter by north of the *Sauerne*.

Powis.

Bangor.

Mailrosse.

As touching *Mailrosse*, I read moreover in the gess of *Fowkes de Warren*, how that one *William* sonne to a certaine ladie sister to *Waine Deverell*, the first lord of *Whittington*, after the conquest did win a part of the same, and the hundred of *Ellesmore* from the *Welshmen*, in which enterprise he was so desperately wounded, that no man might him live; yet at the last by eating of the shield of a wild boar, he got an appetite and recovered his health. This *William* had issue two daughters, to wit, *Helene* married to the heire of the *Alans*, and *Mellent* which refused marriage with any man, except he were first tried to be a knight of prowess. Whereupon his father made proclamation, that against such a daie & at such a place, whatsoever Gentleman could shew himselfe most valiant in the field, should marrie *Mellent* his daughter, & have with his castle of *Whittington* with sufficient livelihood to mainteine their estates for ever. This report being spread, *Fowkes de Warren* came thither all in red, with a shield of silver and pecoche for his crest, whereof he was called the red knight, and there overcoming the kings sonne of *Scotland*, and a *Baron* of *Burgundie*, he married the maid, and by his had issue as in the treatise appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrey there about; and much like unto this *Mellent* was the daughter sometime of one of the lords *Kosses*, called *Kudall*, who bare such good will to *Fitz-Henrie* Clarke of his fathers kitchen, that she made him carie his awate on horsebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood sake, which presentlie was tried. For being pursued & over taken, he made him light, & held his cloke whilst he killed and drove his fathers men to flight: and then awate they go, till his father conceiving a good opinion of *Fitz-Henrie* for this act, received him to his favour, whereby that familie came up. And thus much (by the waie) of *Mailrosse*, whereof this may suffice, with mine intent is not as now to make any precise description of the particulars of *Wales*; but onlie to shew how those regions late,

Fowkes de Warren.

Helene, Mellent.

The original of Fitz-Henries.

Demetia.

which sometime were knowne to be gouerned in that countrie. The third kingdome is Demetia, or South wales, sometime knowne for the region of the Syl lures, whereunto I also am perswaded, that the Wod lukes laie in the east part thereof, and extended their re gion euen vnto the Sauerne: but howsoeuer that mat ter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir south, the Irish sea on hir west parts, on the east the Sauerne onlie, and by north the land of Powisly, whereof I spake of late.

Cair Mari-
dunum.

Of this region also Caermarden, which the old wri ters call Maridunum, was the chiefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the last through foren and ciuill inuasions of enemies, the princes thereof were constrained to remoue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermaw), and si tuate neuertheless vpon the same riuer Towy, wher on Caermarden standeth in which place it is far better defended with high hills, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and deepe marishes. In this region also lieth Pembroke *alias* Penmoroc shire, whose fatwcons haue bene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewise is Wil ford hauen, whereof the Welsh wifards doe yet dreame strange toies, which they beleue shall one daie come to passe. For they are a nation much giuen to foxtelling of things to come, but moze to beleue such blind pro phesies as haue bene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not supposed to haue the spirit of prophesie.

Pictland.
Scotland.
Picts.
Scots.

That Scotland had in those daies two kingdoms, (besides that of the Pictades) whereof the one consisted of the Picts, and was called Wightland or Pictland, the other of the Irish race, and named Scotland: I hope no wise man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scottish sea also was so diuided, that the Picts laie on the east side, and the Scots on the west, ech of them being seuered from o ther, either by huge hills or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the south into the north betwene them. It seemeth also that at the first these two kingdoms were diuided from the rest of those of the Britons by the ri uers Cluda and Forth, till both of them desirous to in large their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Tweede, which then became march be twene both the nations. Wherefore the case being so plaine, I will saie no more of these two, but proceed in order with the rehearsall of the rest of the particular kingdoms of this our south part of the Ile, limiting out the same by thires as they now lie, so nere as I can, for otherwise it shall be impossible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likeliest quantities of these their seuerall portions.

Kent Hen-
ghist.

The first of these kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghist in the 456. of Christ, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantuarland, and as the limits thereof extended it selfe no farther than the said countie (the chiefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantuarbyry now Canturburie) so it indured well nere by the space of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vntied by Inas vnto that of the West Saxons, Athelstane his sonne, being the first Earle or Heretoch of the same. After Lam bert in his historie of Kent doth gather, by verie proba ble coniectures, that this part of the Island was first in habited by Samothes, and afterward by Albion. But howsoeuer that case standeth, sure it is that it hath bene the onlie doze, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conquest of the region, but first of all Caesar, who entred into this Island vpon the eighteenth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himselfe confes seth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that mo neth, twelue daies before the equinotiall (apparent) so that he did not tarrie at that time aboue eight or ten

daies in Britaine. And as this platfoyme cannot be de nied for his entrance, so the said region and east part of Kent, was the onlie place by which the knowledge of Christ was first brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of saluation, and from the darke nesse of mistie error, true conuersers vnto the light and bright beames of the shining truth, to our eternall be nefit and euerlasting comforts.

Southar.
Cta.Deu
Cta

The second kingdome contained onlie Sussex, and a part of (or as some saie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saxon first held: who also created his chiefe palace at Chichester, when he had destroyed Andredswald in the 492. of Christ. And after it had continued by the space of 232. yeares, it ceased, being the verie least kingdome of all the rest, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to saie truth, it contained little aboue 7000. families) & within a while after the creation of the kingdome of the Gewisses or West Sax ons, notwithstanding that before the kings of Sussex pretended and made claime to all that which laie west of Kent, and south of the Thames, vnto the point of Corinwall, as I haue often read.

The third regiment was of the East Saxons, or Trinobantes. This kingdome began vnder Erken wijn, whose chiefe seat was in London (or rather Col chester) and contained whole Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. It indured also much about the pzieke of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the East Angles onlie by the riuer Stoure, as Houeden and o thers doe report, & so it continueth separated from Sus folke euen vnto our times, although the said riuer be now growne verie small, and not of such greatnesse as it hath bene in times past, by reason that our countrie men make small accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by hourse and cart to be the lesse chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceiued, I will else where make manifest declaration.

Cassib.
Erkenwin.East
Oth.
Oth

The fourth kingdome was of the West Saxons, and so called, because it laie in the west part of the realme, as that of Essex did in the east, and of Sussex in the south. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdic, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the last all Wiltshire, Warke shire, Dorset, Southampton, Somersetshire, Gloucester shire, some part of Denonshire (which the Britons occu pied not) Cornewall, and the rest of Surrie; as the best authours doe set downe. At the first it contained onlie Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Warke shire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatsoeuer the kings of Sussex and the Britons held vnto the point of Corne wall, and then became first Dorchester (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Winchester the chiefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the monke came into England, the said Kinigils gaue him Dorchester, and all the land within seauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrales, by meanes where of he himselfe remoued his palace to Winchester.

Westar.

Cassib.

Meri
Crea

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Christ, and was called Northumberland, because it laie by north of the riuer Humber. And from the comming of Henghist to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the said Ida conuer ted it into a kingdome. It contained all that region which (as it should seeme) was in time past either wholie appertaining to the Brigants, or whereof the said Bri gants did possesse the greater part. The chiefe citie of the same in like maner was Pothe, as Beda, Capgrau, Leyland, and others doe set downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scottish sea, vntill the slaughter of Egfride of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gat hold of all, betwene the Forth and the Tweede, which afterward descending to the Scots by meanes of the vffer destruction of the Picts, hath not bene sithens vntied to the croone of

Brennia,
alias North-
umberland.
Ida.

of England, nor in possession of the more English, as before time it had bene. Such was the crueltie of these Brits also in their recouerie of the same, that at a certaine houre they made a Sicilian euen-song, and slew euerie English man, woman and child, that they could laie hold vpon within the aforesaid region, but some escaped narrowlie, and saved themselves by flight.

Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Aoda, that yelded vp all his portion, which lay betwene Humber and the Tine vnto his brother Ella (according to their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but retaining the rest still vnto his owne vse, he diminished not his title, but wrote himselfe as before king of all Northumberland. Wholbeit after 91. yeares, it was rebuited againe, and so continued vntill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Jda, or 878. of the birth of Iesus Christ our Saviour.

The seventh kingdome, called of the East-angles, began at Northwich in the 561. after Christ, vnder Mefa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Mflings. This included all Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Elie, and continuing 228. yeares, it flourished onelie 35. yeares in perfect estate of libertie, the rest being consumed vnder the tribut and ballage of the Mercians, who had the souereigntie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who spoiled it verie soze, so that it became moze miserable than any of the other, and so remained till the kings of the West-saxons united it to their crownes. Some saie that Grantcester, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruines) was the chiefe citie of this kingdome, and not Northwich. Wherein I may well shew the discord of writers, but I cannot resolute the scruple. Some take this region also to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yeld to their assertions. I meane it of Ieland himselfe, whose helpe I vse chiefe in these collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not resolute that he doth iudge aright.

The 8. & last was that of Mertia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatnesse exceeded all the rest. It toke the name either of Meare the Saxon word, because it was march to the rest (and trulie, the limits of most of the other kingdomes abutted vpon the same) or else for that the lawes of Martia the Quene were first vsed in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a mere coniecture of some, so the said kingdome began vnder Creodda, in the 585. of Christ, & indured well nere 300. yeares before it was united to that of the West-saxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Ceolulph an idiot in the same; but as he was some reiect for his follie, so it was not long after per the said Alfred (I saie) annexed it to his kingdome by his man-

hod. The limits of the Mercian dominions included Lincolne, Northampton, Chester, Darbie, Pottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Orford, Buckingham, Worcester, Bedford shires, and the greatest part of Shropshire (which the Welsh occupied not) Lancaster, Gloucester, Hereford (alias Hurchford) Warwick and Hertford shires: the rest of whose territories were holden by such princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the same. Moreover, this kingdome was at one time diuided into south and north Mertia, whereof this laie beyond and the other on this side of the Trent, which later also Oswald of Northumberland did giue to Weada the sonne of Penda for kinred sake, though he not long inioied it. This also is worthy to be noted, that in these eight kingdomes of the Saxons, there were twelue princes reputed in the popish Catalog for saints or martyrs, of which Alcmund, Edwine, Oswald, Oswijn and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigebert, Ethelbert, Edmond, and another Sigebert among the East-angles; Kenelme and Wistan in Mertia; and Saint Edward the confessor, ouer all; but how worthy, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforesaid kingdomes: and now will I speake somewhat of the diuision of this Iland also into prouinces, as the Romanes secured it whiles they remained in these parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue discharged whatsoeuer is promised in the title of this chapter.

The Romans therefore hauing obtained the possession of this Iland, diuided the same at the last into five prouinces, as Vibius Sequester saith. The first whereof was named Britannia prima, and contained the east part of England (as some do gather) from the Trent vnto the Tweede. The second was called Valentia or Valentiana, and included the west side, as they note it, from Lirpoe vnto Cokermouth. The third hight Britannia secunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laie southwards, betwene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was surnamed Flauia Cæsariensis, and contained all the countrie which remained betwene Douer and the Sauerne, I meane by south of the Thames, and whereinto (in like sort) Cornwell and Wales were orderlie assigned. The fift and last part was then named Maxima Cæsariensis, now Scotland, the most barren of all the rest, and yet not vnought out of the graedie Romanes, because of the great plentie of silly and foule, fine alabaster and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the same, for furniture of household and curious building, wherein they much delighted. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who liued in the daies of Valentine, and wrote *Notitiam prouinciarum* now extant to be read.

Limits of Mertia.

Britannia prima.

Valentia.

Britannia secunda.

Flauia Cæsariensis.

Maxima Cæsariensis.

A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, first from Samoths vnto the birth of our sauour Christ, or rather the comming of the Romans: secondlie of their

Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their seuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and lastlie of the Normans and English princes, according to the truth contained in our Histories.

Of the kings of Britaine, from Samoths to Brute.

Samoths.
Magus.
Sarronitus.
Druius.
Bardus.
Longho.
Bardus Iunior.
Lucus.
Celts.
Albion.
Celts after Albion slaine.

Galates.
Harbon.
Lugdus.
Beligius.
Iafus.
Allobrox.
Romus.
Paris.
Lemanus.
Olbius.
Galates 2.
Nannes.
Remis.
Francus.
Pictus.

After whom Brute entred into the Iland, either neglected

by the Celts, or otherwise by conquest, and reigned therein with his posteritie by the space of 6. yeares, in such order as followeth.
Brute.
Locrinus.
Gwendolea his widow.
Madan.
Mempricius.
Ebracus.
Brutus Iunior.
Leil.
Rudibras.
Bladunus.
Leir.
Cordeil his daughter.

Cunedach and Morgan.
Riuallon.
Gurgustius.
Sifillus.
Iago.
Kimmachus.
Gorbodug.
Ferres and Porrex.

These 2. being slaine, the princes of the land strake for the superiourtie and regiment of the same, by the space of 50. yeares (after the race of Brute was decayed) vntill Dunwallon king of Cornwell subdued them all, & brought the whole to his subiection, notwithstanding C. ij. ding

ding that the aforesaid number of kings remained still, which were but as bassals & inferiours to him, he being their chiefe and onlie sovereigne.

Dunwallon reigneth.
Belinus his sonne, in whose time Brennus usurpeth.
Gurgwinbatus.
Guirellinus.
Seifill.
Kymarus.
Owan *alias* Ellan.
Morwich *alias* Morindus.
Grandobodian *alias* Gorbonian.
Arcigallon.
Elidurus *alias* Hefidor.
Arcigallon againe.
Elidurus againe.
Vigen *alias* Higanus, & Petitur *alias* Peridurus.
Elidurus the third time.
Gorbodia *alias* Gorbonian.
Morgan.
Meriones *alias* Eighuans.
Idouallon.
Rhimo Rohugo.
Geruntius Voghen.
Catellus.
Coellus.
Pyrrho *alias* Porrex.
Cherinus.
Fulganus *alias* Sulgenis.
Eldadus.
Androgus.
Vrian.
Hellindus.
Dedantius Eldagan.
Clorenis Claten.
Gurguintus.
Merian.
Bledunus Bledagh.
Cophenis.
Owinus *alias* Oghwen.
Sifillus of Sifillus.
Blegabridus.
Arcimallus Archiuall.
Eldadus.
Ruthenis three moneths.
Rodingarus *alias* Rodericus.
Samulus Penysell.
Pyrrho 2.
Carporis *alias* Capporis.
Dynellus *alias* Dygnellus.
Hellindus a few moneths.
Lhoid.
Cassibellane.
Theomantius.
Cynobellinus.
Aruragus.
Marius.
Coellus.
Lucius.
Hitherto I have set forth the catalog of the kings of Britaine, in such sort as it is to be collected out of the most ancient histories, monuments and records of the land. Now I will set forth the order and succession of the Romane legates or deputies, as I have borrowed them first out of Tacitus, then Dion, and others: howbeit I cannot warrant the just course of them from Iulius Agricola forward, because there is no man that rehereth them orderlie. Yet by this my doing herein, I hope some better table may be framed hereafter by other, whereof I would be glad to understand whensoever it shall please God that it may come to passe.
Aulus Plautius.
Ostorius Scapula.
Didius Gallus.
Auitus.
Veranius a few moneths.
Petronius Turpilianus.

Trebellius Maximus.
Veitius Volanus.
Petilius Cerealis.
Iulius Frontinus.
Iulius Agricola.
Hitherto Cornelius Tacitus rehereth these vicereints or deputies in order.
Salustius Lucullus.
Cneius Trebellius.
Suetonius Paulinus.
Calphurnius Agricola.
Publius Trebellius.
Pertinax Helrius.
Vipius Marcellus.
Clodius Albinus.
Heraclius.
Carus Tyrannus.
Iunius Seuerus, *alias* Iulius Seuerus.
Linius Gallus.
Lollius Urbicus.
Maximus.
Octavianus.
Traherus.
Maximinianus.
Gratianus.
Aetius.
Other Legates whose names are taken out of the Scottish historie but in uncertein order.
Fronto sub Antonino.
Publius Trebellius.
Aulus Victorinus.
Lucius Antinoris.
Quintus Bassianus.

Wales.

1.

The Romans not regarding the gouernance of this land, the Britons ordeine a king in the 447. after the incarnation of Christ.

Vortiger.
Vortimer.
Aurelius Ambrosius.
Vther.
Arthur.
Constantine.
Aurelius Conanus.
Vortiporius.
Maglocunus.
Caretius.
Cadwan.
Cadwallon.
Cadwallader.
The kingdom of Wales ceaseth, and the gouernance of the countie is translated to the westsaxons by Inas, whose second wife was Denwalline the daughter of Cadwallader: & with hir he not onlie obtained the principalltie of Wales but also of Cornuwall & Str-mozica now called little Britaine, which then was a colome of the Britons, and vnder the kingdom of Wales.

Kent.

2.

Engist in the 9. of the recouerie of Britaine proclaimeth himselfe king of Kent, which is the 456. of the birth of our Lord & sauour Iesus Christ.

Engist.
Hofije *alias* Ofca.
Ofca his brother.
Ermenricus.
Athelbert.
Eadbaldus.
Ercombert.
Ecbert.
Lothar.
Edrijc.
The seat void.

Withredus.
Adelbert Junior.
Eadbert.
Alrijc.
Eadbert.
Guthred.
Alred.

As the kingdom of Wales was united into that of the westsaxons by Inas, so is the kingdom of Kent, at this present by Ecbert in the 827. of Christ, who putteth out Alred and maketh Adelstane his owne base sonne Hertoch of the same, so that whereas it was before a kingdom, now it becometh an Hertochie or Dukedome, and so continueth for a long time after.

Southsex.

3.

Ella in the 46. after Britaine giuen ouer by the Romanes createth a kingdom in Southsex, to wit, in the 492. of Christ whose race succeedeth in this order.

Ella.
Eccyssa.
Ceaulijn.
Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Kinwalch.
Ethelwold.
Berthun.
Aldwijn.

This kingdom endured not berie long as ye may see, for it was united to that of the westsaxons by Inas, in the 468. of the world, which was the 723. of Christ, according to the vsuall supputation of the church, and 232. after Ella had created the same, as is aforesaid.

Estsex.

4.

Erkenwijn in the 527. after our sauour Christ beginneth to reigne ouer Estsex, and in the 81. after the returne of Britaine from the Romane obedience.

Erkenwijn.
Sledda.
Sebertus.
Sepredius and Sywardus.
Sigebert fil. Syward.
Sigebert.
Swithelijn.
Sijgar and Sebba.
Sebba alone.
Sijgar.
Offa.
Scredus.
Ethelwold.
Albert.
Humbanna.
Sinthredus.

In the 303. after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the westsaxons united the kingdom of Estsex into his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our sauour Christ. I cannot as yet find the exact yeeres of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am constrained to omit them altogether, as I have done before in the kings of the Britons, untill such time as I may come by such monuments as may restore the defect.

Westsex.

5.

Cerdije entreteth the kingdom of the westsaxons, in the 519. of the birth of Christ, & 73. of the abiection of the Romane seruitude.

Cerdije *alias* Cercir.
Cenrijc.
Ceaulijn.
Kilric *alias* Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Ceulwalch.
Sexburgh.

The seat void.

Centwinus.
Cadwallader.
Inas.
Ethelard.
Cuthredus.

Sigebert.
Kinwulf.
Brithrijc.
Ecbert.
Ethelwulf.
Ethelbald.
Ethelbert.
Ethelfrid.
Alfrid.
Edward 1.
Adelstane.
Edmund.
Eadred.
Edwijn.
Edgar.
Edward 2.
Eldred.
Edmund 2.
Canutus.
Harald.
Canutus 2.
Edward 3.
Harald 2.

The saxons having reigned hitherto in this land, and brought the same into a perfect monarchie, are now dispossessed by the Normans, & put out of their hold.

Bernicia.

6.

Ilda createth a kingdom in the North, which he extended from the Hamber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our sauour Christ.

Ida.
Iadda.
Clappa.
Tidwaldus.
Fretwulfus.
Tidrijc.
Athelfrid.
Edwijn.
Kinfrid.
Oswald.
Oswy.
Egfrid.
Alfrid.
Osfred.
Kinred.
Osfijc.
Kilwulf.
Edbert.
Offulle.
Ethelwold.
Elred.
Ethelred.
Alfwold.
Osfred.

Ethelred.

<p>Ethelred. Oibald. Eardulf. Aldeſwold. Eandred. Edeſred. Redwulf. Edeſred againe. Oſbright. Ecbert. Riccius & Dane. Ecbert againe. ¶ Alfride king of the Weſſſaxons ſubdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our ſauour Chriſt, and 33. after Ida.</p> <p>Deira. 7.</p> <p>¶ Ella brother to Adda is ouer the ſouth humbers, whoſe kingdome reched from Hum-ber to the Theſe, in the 590. after the incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt our ſauour.</p> <p>Ella. Edwijn. Athelbright. Edwijn againe. Oſijc. Oſwald. Oſwijn. ¶ Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuiſion of the kingdome of the Nothumbers betwene the ſons of Ida was of the ſmalleft continuance, & it was vnitd to the Nothumbers (whereof it had bene 3 ſate in time paſt a member) by Oſwijn</p>	<p>in the 91. after Ella, when he had moſt traitorouslie ſlaine his brother Oſwijn in the year of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the coming of Chriſt) and contained that cuntry which we now call the biſhoprike.</p> <p>Eſtanglia. 8.</p> <p>¶ Offa of Weſt created a kingdome ouer the Eſtanglia or Weſſings in the 561. after the natiuitie of Chriſt, and 114. after the deliuerie of Biſtaine.</p> <p>Offa. Tirellius. Redwaldus. Corpenwaldus. The ſeat void. Sigebert. Egicus. Anna. Adeler. Ethelwold. Adwulf. Beorne. Ethelred. Ethelbert. ¶ Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and vniteth Eſtanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Chriſt, after it had continued in the poſteritie of Offa, by the ſpace of 228. years and yet of that ſhort ſpace, it enuoyed onlie 35. in libertie, the reſt being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia & foreſaid.</p>	<p>Mercia. 9.</p> <p>¶ Creodda beſinneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our ſauour Chriſt, and 138. after the captiuitie of Biſtaine ended.</p> <p>Creodda. Wibba. Cherlus. Penda. Oſwy. Weada. Wulfſus. Ethelred. Kinred or Kindred. The ſeat void. Kilred. Ethebald. Beorred. Offa. Egferth. Kinwulf. Kenelm. Kilwulf. Bernulf. Ludicane. Willaf. Ecbert. Willaf againe. Bertulf. Butred. Kilwulf. ¶ Alfride vniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the Weſſſaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfrid the Dane had gotten hold therof, and placed one Cleolulphus there-in, but he was ſome expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other aſore rehearſed.</p>	<p>* The ſucceſſion of the kings of England from William baſtard, vnto the firſt of <i>Queene ELIZABETH.</i></p> <p>William the firſt. William his ſonne. Henric 1. Stephen. Henric 2. Richard 1. Iohn. Henric 3. Edward 1. <i>alia</i> 4. Edward 2. Edward 3. Richard 2. Henric 4. Henric 5. Henric 6. Edward 4. <i>alia</i> 7. Edward 5. Richard 3. Henric 7. Henric 8. Edward 6. Marie his ſiſter. Elizabeth. ¶ Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certaine order than hath bene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions ſince the conqueſt few men haue erred that haue beſed any diligence, yet in the times before the ſame, fewer haue gone any thing neere the truth, though great ouerſight & negligence. Their ſeuerall perſons alſo doe appere in my Chronologie inſuing.</p>
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Of the ancient religion
uſed in Albion.
Cap. 9.

Samothet.

It is not to be doubted, but at the firſt, and ſo long as the poſteritie of Iaphet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothet, and publiſhed wiſh his lawes in the ſecond of his arrivall, was exerciſed among the Britans. And although peraduenture in proceſſe of time, either through curioſitie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlineſſe) it might a little decaie, yet when it was at the loweſt, it farre exceeded the beſt of that which afterward came in wiſh Albion and his Chemminites, as may be gathered by vieſo of the ſuperſtitious rites, which Cham and his ſucceſſours did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

Sarron.

What other learning Magus the ſonne of Samothet taught after his fathers death, when he alſo came to the kingdome, beſide this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot eaſilie ſay, but that it ſhould be naturall philoſophie, and aſtrologie (whereby his diſciples gathered a kind of ſoreknowledge of things to come) the verie vie of the word Magus (or Magulus) among the Perſians doth yeeld no vncertaine teſtimonie.

In like manner, it ſhould ſeeme that Sarron ſonne vnto the ſaid Magus, diligentlie followed the ſteps of his father, and thereto beſide his owne practice of teaching, opened ſcholes of learning in ſundry places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby ſuch as were his ſubiect, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithſtand-

ing, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druiydes, were generallie called Samothet, or Semnothet, of Samothet ſkill among the Grecians, as Ariſtotele in his *De magia* doth confeſſe; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth thereto, that they firſt brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Grekes.

Samothet.
Semnothet.

Druiyus the ſon of Sarron (as a ſcholar of his fathers owne teaching) ſeemed to be erquiſit in all things, that pertained vnto the diuine and humane knowledge; and therefore I may ſafelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the ſkill of philoſophie and the quadrifals, but alſo in the true theologie, whereby the right ſervice of God was kept and preſerued in puritie. He wrote moreover ſundry precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reſerued verie religiouſlie, and had in great eſtimation of ſuch as ſought vnto them.

Druiyus.

Howe and in what order this prince left the ſtate of religion, I meane touching publike orders in adminiſtration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not read: howbeit this is moſt certaine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began ſomewhat to decaie. For ſuch is mans nature, that it will not ſuffer any god thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or ſubtraction of this or that, ſo or from the ſame) ſo to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for ſuch as doe come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and reſtore the ſame againe vnto the former perfection.

Corruptors
of religion.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the ſoule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, merittull as a father in ſhewing fauor vnto the goodlie, and iuſt as an vpright iudge in puniſhing the wicked; that the ſecrets of mans hart are not vnknoſt, and onelie knowne to him; and that as

Ceſar.

Ceſar.

Strabo. li. 4.
Socion. lib.
succell.
Cicero di-
uinar. 1.

the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise haue an end, when he shall see his time. He taught them also with more facilitie, how to obserue the courses of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmetically industrie, to find out the true quantities of the celestiall bodies by geometrical demonstration, and thereto the compasse of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the same by philosophical contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his successors, for vnto the immortallitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which translation Ouid saith;

*Morte carent anime, semperque priore relicta
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitantque recepta.)*

The second or succedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deserued by his merits, whilst he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is said by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his soule thrust into the bodie of a swanne, that of Agamemnon conueied into an eagle, of Ajax into a lion, of Atlas into a certaine weasler, of Therfites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dieng a child, after sundrie chaunges into a man, whereof he himselfe saith;

*Ipse ego namq, fui puer olim, deinde puella,
Arbutum & volucris, mutus quod in aequore piscis.*

Plinius, lib.
16. cap. vlti-
mo.

Metempsi-
chosis.

For said they of whom Pythagoras also had, and taught this error, if the soule appertained at the first to a king, and he in this estate did not leade his life worthe his calling, it should after his decease be put vp in the bodie of a slave, begger, cocke, otter, dog, ape, horse, asse, worme, or monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and punishment, for a certaine period of time. Beside this, it should peraduenture susteine often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doings here on earth, till it should finally be purified, and restored againe to an other humane bodie; wherein if it behaued it selfe more orderlie than at the first: after the next death, it should be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or reuolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer stand still, nor long yeeld one representation and figure. For this cause also, as Diodorus saith, they used to cast certaine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceased friends, whereby they might vnderstand of the estate of such as trauelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Apostles wrote vnto S. Nicholas to be a speech-man for him that is buried, in whose hand they bind a letter, and send him with a new paire of shoes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their next death they should deale with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They brought in also the worshipping of manie gods, and their seuerall sacrifices: they honoured likewise the oke, whereon the mistle groweth, and daile deuised infinit other rites (for error is neuer assured of hir owne doings) whereof neither Samos, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them any prescription.

The hono-
red whereon
mistle did
grow, and so
doe our for-
erers euen
to this daie
thinking
some spirits
to deale a-
bout & same,
for hidden
treasure,

These things are partly touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Socion, Laertius, Theophrast, Aristotle, and partly also by Caesar, Mela, Val. Max. lib. 2. and other authors of later time, who for the most part doe confesse, that the chiefe schoule of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (saith Plinie) was so hotlie professed and followed, vt dedisse Persis videri possit, lib. 30. cap. 1. and whither the Druiydes also themselves, that dwelt among the Galles, would often resort to come by the more skill, and sure vnderstanding of the mysteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, so we likewise had from

them some vse of Logike & Rhetorike, such as it was which our lawiers practised in their ples and common causes. For although the Greeks were not unknowne vnto vs, nor we to them, euen from the verie coming of Brute, yet by reason of distance betwene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common accesse one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whose entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in more securitie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in sacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our ples also out of France, Luuenal is a witness, who saith;

Gallia caudicibus docuit sacunda Britannos.

Wherby as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, so we had also some Sophistrie from them; but in the worst sense: for from France is all kind of forgery, corruption of maners, and craftie behaviour not so some as often transported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of so great authority in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them also in the Isles of Wight, Anglesey, and the Orkades, in which they held open scholes of their profession, alowe as it were from the resort of people, where in they studied and learned their songs by heart. Wherby this chiefe college of all I say, remained still in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations also (beside the Galles) would of custome repaire, when soeuer any controuersie among them in matters of religion did happen to be moued. At such times also the rest were called out of the former Ilands, whereby it appeareth that in such cases they had their synods and publike meetings, and therewith it grew finally into custome, and after that a prouerbe, euen in variances falling out among the princes, great men, and common sorts of people liuing in these west parts of Europe, to yeeld to be tried by Britaine and hir three Ilands, because they honoured hir priests (the Druiydes) as the Athenians did their Areopagites.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to say the truth, generally in all places where the Druiyde religion was frequented, such was the estimation of the priests of this profession, that there was little or nothing done without their skillfull aduise, no not in ciuill causes, pertaining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publike and priuate, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of young men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Touching their persons also, they were exempt from all temporall seruices, impositions, tributes, and exercises of the wars: which immunitie caused the greatest companies of scholars to flocke vnto them from all places, to learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remained with them seuen, eight, ten, or twelue years, still learning the secrets of those vnwritten mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonly pronounced in verse. And this policie, as I take it, they used onely to preserve their religion from contempt, wherein it might easilie haue fallen, if any books thereof had happened into the hands of the common sort. It helped also not a little in the exercise of their memories, whereunto books are vtter enemies, inso much as he that was skillfull in the Druiyde religion, would not let readilie to rehearse manie hundreds of verses together, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole pprocess of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, so in ciuill affairs, historicall treatises, and setting doctone of lawes, they used like order and letters almost with the Grecians. Whereby it is easie to be seene, that they reitained this kind of writing from Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Iland hath not

Logike and
Rhetorike
out of Gal-
lia.

Estimation
of the Drui-
ydes or
Druiyde
priests.

Immunitie
of the clear-
est greater
under do-
ctrine than
under the
gospel.

not bene boid of letters and learned men, euen sith it was first inhabited. I would ad some thing in particular also of their apparell, but sith the dealing withall is nothing profitabie to the reader, I passe it ouer, signifieng neuerthelesse, that it was distinguished by sundrie deuises from that of the common sort, and of such estimation among the people, that whosoever ware the Druiyish wead, might walke where he would without any harine or annoyance. This honour was giuen also unto the p̄ests in Rome, insomuch that when Volusius was eriled by the Triumvirate, and saw himselfe in such danger, as that he could not escape the hardest, he gat the wead of a p̄est vpon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and so escaped the danger and the furie of his aduersaries: but to proceed with other things.

Bardus.

Gen. 4.21.

The Bardes degenerate.

After the death of Druius, Bardus his sonne, and first king of the Celts, succeded not onelie ouer the said kingdome, but also in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wrapping vp of the said religion, after the afore remembred sort into verse, was first deuised by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no lesse indowed with a singular skill in the practise and speculation of musike, of which two many suppose him to be the verie author and beginner, although vniuersitie, sith both poetrie and song were in vse before the flood, as was also the harpe and pipe, which Jubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great skill in musike. But to proceed, as the cheefe estimation of the Druiydes remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, so did the same of the Bardes (which were so called of this Bardus for their excellent skill in musike, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of song, which at the first contained onelie the high mysteries and secret points of their religion. There was little difference also betwene them and the Druiydes, till they so farre degenerated from their first institution, that they became to be minstrels at feasts, drunken meetings, and abhominable sacrifices of the idols: where they sang most commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puissant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond vfrage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, was not yet ertingished among the Britons of Wales, where they call their poets and Musicians Bardes, as they do also in Ireland: which Sulpicius also writing to Lucane remembreth, where he saith that the word Bardus is more Celtike, and signifieth a singer. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beside themselves to be but rude and barbarous; and thereto mistaking vterlie the rough musike of the Bardes, entred so farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they ascribed the word Bardus vnto their foles and idiots, whereas contrariwise the Scythians and such as dwell within the northweast part of Europe, did vse the same word in verie honourable maner, calling their best poets and heroicall singers, Singebardos; their courageous singers and capitains that delisted in musike, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodbardos, & one lame musician Lamibard aboue all other, of whose skillfull ditties Germanie is not vnfurnished, as I heare vnto this date. In Quiza queia or new Spaine, an Island of the Indies, they call such men Boitios, their times Arcitos; and in stead of harps they sing vnto timbrels made of shels such sonnets and ditties as either pertaine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of ancesstrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be small difference betwene their Boitios and our Bardes. If small of our sort, Lucane in his first booke twiteth thus, among other like sayings well toward the latter end;

Lucan. li. i.

*Vos quod qui fortes animas; belloq; perempti
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis animi;*

*Plurima securi fudisti carmina Bardī,
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistram
Sacrorum Druiyda, positis recepistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos, & celi munera vobis,
Aut solis nosse datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus, vmbra
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Diisque profundis
Palidaregna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longa canitis si cognita, vite
Mors media est, certe populi, quos despicit arctos,
Fœlices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces
Mortis: & ignaum est reditura parcere vite.*

Thus we see as in a glasse the state of religion, for a time, after the first inhabitation of this Island: but how long it continued in such soundnesse, as the originall authors left it, in good sooth I cannot say, yet this is most certeine, that after a time, when Albion arriued here, the religion earli imbraced fell into great decaye. For whereas Iaphet & Samoths with their children taught nothing else than such doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his disciples vterlie renouncing to follow their steps, gaue their minds wholie to seduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his posteritie not onelie corrupted this our Island, with most filthy trades and practises; but also all mankind, generallye where they became, with vicious life, and most vngodlie conuersation. For from Cham and his succedors proceeded at the first all sorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull lust, without respect of sex, age, consanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable root, or streames deriued from a most filthy and horrible stinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithstanding all these his manifold lewdnesse, such was the folke of his Egyptians (where he first reigned and taught) that whilst he liued they alone had him in great estimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickednesse, calling him Chemelenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but also after his death reputed him for a god, calling the highest of the seven planets after his name, as they did the next beneath it after Osyris his sonne, whom they likewise honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

That doctrine Cham and his disciples taught.

Chemelenua, Cham Min, Cham made a god.

Certes it was a custome begonne in Egypt of old time, and generallye in vse almost in euerie place in processse of time (when any of their famous worthy princes died) to ascribe some forme or other of the stars vnto his person, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their translation in heauen, so that he which had any starres or forme of starres dedicated vnto him, was properlie said to haue a seat among the gods. A tole much like to the catalog of Romish saints, (although the one was written in the celestially or immateriall orbes, the other in sheeps skins, and verie brittle paper) but yet so esteemed, that euerie prince would off hazard and attempt the bittermost adventures, thereby to win such fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue such place in heauen, among the shining starres. Howbeit, euerie of those that were called gods, could not obtaine that benefit, for then should there not haue bene stars enow in heauen to haue serued all their turnes, wherefore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a second calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. Semones dici voluerunt (saith Fulgentius in vocibus antiquis) quos calo nec dignos ascriberent, ob meritum paupertatem; sicut Priapus Hyppo. Fortunus, &c. nec terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratia venerationem, as also a third place that is to say an earth, where those gods dwelled which were noble men, officers,

Translation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

Cytil. aduersus Iul. lib. 6. sect. 3.

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ell.

officers, god gouernours and labogturs to the people, and yet not thought worthe to be of the second or first companie, which was a litle diuision.

Thus we see in generall maner, how idolatrye, honoring of the starres, and byod of inferiour gods were hatched at the first, which follieth in procelle of time came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Jupiter, &c: as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I haue already somewhat digressed from my matter, I will go yet a little farther, and shew forth the originall use of the word Saturne, Jupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor shall see a little more into the errors of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point also of the root of all the confusion that is to be found among the ancient histories. Certes it was used for a few yeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yere after the flood) that the beginners of such kingdoms as were then created should be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe that Nimbroc was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Egypt: and so forth other of sundrie other countries. Their eldest sonnes also that succeeded them, were called Ioues; and their nephewes or sonnes sonnes, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euerye kingdome had a Saturne, Jupiter and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anye other.

In like sort they had such another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto them for a time) as before the flood, to the end the earth might be thoroughlie replenished, and the soner furnished with inhabitants in euerye part thereof. The sister therefore and wife of euerye Saturne was called Rhea, but of Jupiter, Iuno, Isis, &c. Beyond these also there was no latter Parole that would indeuour to deriue the petigree of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his dutie to be sufficientlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might cease, and shut vp all his tranell. They had likewise this opinion grounded amongst them, that heauen & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themselves did meane, sith these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, the Sunne, Pater Deorum, and such like, were onelie ascribed vnto Noah: as * Terra, (the Earth) Vesta, Aretia, the Moone, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we see, how Saturne is reputed in euerye nation for their oldest god, or first prince, Jupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therefore sith these names were dispersed in the beginning ouer all, it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient histories, and the doings of one of them so mixed with those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish them in sunder. This haue I spoken, to the end that all men may see that gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the posteritie of Cham did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their coming, it is not likelie that anye grosse idolatrye or superstition did enter in among vs, as desiring of mortall men, honoring of the starres, and erection of huge images, beside force, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Chemminites are worthe called the authors. Neither were these errors anye thing amended, by the coming in of Brute, who no doubt added such deuises vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned before in Græcia, from whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Priamus, (a man of exceeding age) & made him his priest and bishop thorough out the new conquest, that he had achieved in Britaine.

After Brute, idolatrye and superstition still increased more and more among vs, in so much that beside the Druiish and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that came in with Albion and Brute himselfe: our countrymen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie inuen-

ted at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortall God (of whom Samothres and his posteritie did preach in times past) now they honored the said Samothres himselfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Jupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallye Hercules, vnto whom they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, towne and houses, with their limits and bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and ports vnto Botolph & Giles) because fortitude and wisdom are the cheefe byholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols whose names I now remember not. In lieu moreouer of shepe and oxen, they offered mankind also vnto some of them, killing their offenders, prisoners, and oft such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shutting vp great numbers of them together in huge images made of wicker, reed, haie, or other light matter: and then setting all on fire together, they not onelie consumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers, captiues, &c; but also their owne children with fire, in such manner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the prophane histories doe generallie leaue it euident, as a thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of which later Virgil saith;

Sanguine placatus ventos & virgine caesa, &c.
As Silius dooth of the first, where he telleth of the vsuall maner of the Carthaginienles, saing after this maner;

Præa reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.
But to proceed with our owne gods and idols, more pertinent to my purpose than the reherfall of forreine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius, when the light of saluation began strongly to shine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the Christians discovered 25. Flamings or idol-churches, beside three Archflamines, whose priests were then as our Archbishops are now, in that they had superiour charge of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours, and subiect to their iurisdiction in cases of religion, and superstitious ceremonies.

Of the quantities of their idols I speake not, sith it is enough to saie, that they were monstrous, and that each nation contended which should honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iust height of the god or goddesse whom they did represent. Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Jupiter of 40.; the idol of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70. (whose toe few men could sadam;) Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. fot; another made vnder Nero of 110. fot; but one in France passed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at Aruernum in ten years space, of 400. fot. Whereby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, so without measure were they also in their proportions, and happie was he which might haue the greatest idol, and lay most cost thereon.

Whereto we haue heard of the time, wherein idolatrye reigned and blinded the hearts of such as dwelled in this Island. Now let vs see the successe of the gospell, after the death and passion of Iesus Christ our sauour. And euen here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, whereupon some repose great assurance (conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paule the Apostle should preach the word of saluation here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie,

Which were properlie called, Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

Isis, Io, and Iuno all one.

Cœlum or Cœlus, Ogyges, Sol, Pater deorum, * Tydea, Vesta, Terra, Luna, Aretia, Deorum mater.

From whence Brute did learne his religion.

Dis or Samothres made a god.

Mela, Diodorus, Strab. 4, Plin, Caesar, 5.

PtoL. Luc. centis.

Monstrous proportions of idols.

Theodoret, Sophronius.

little, which fell as I do read in the 57. of Christ. But
sith I cannot vouch the same by the words of Theodo-
ret, to be spoken moze of Paule than Peter, or the rest, I
will passe ouer this coniecture (so far as it is ground-
ed vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authorities,
whereof we haue moze certaintie. First of all therfore
let vs see what Fortunatus hath writtten of Pauls com-
ming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found
of other by-writers in other points of moze assurance.
Certes for the presence of Paule I read thus much:

*Quid facer ille simul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Christi praecordia fundens,
Europam & Asiam, Lybiam, sale dogmata complens,
Arctos, merides, hic plenus vesper & ortus,
Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quidq. Britannia habet terras atque ultima Thule, &c.*

That one Iosephus preached here in England, in the
time of the Apostles, his sepulchre yet in Aualon, now
called Glessenburgh or Glassenburie, an epitaph affir-
med thereunto is profe sufficient. Howbeit, sith these
things are not of competent force to persuaide all men,
I will ad in few, what I haue read elswhere of his arri-
uall here. First of all therfore you shall note that he
came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ,
when the persecution began vnder Nero, at which time
Philip and diuers of the goodlie being in France (the-
ther he came with other christians, after they had soue-
red the word of God in Scythia, by the space of 9. yeares)
seuered themselves in sunder, to make the better shift
for their owne safegard, and yet not otherwise than
by their flight, the gospell might haue due furtherance.

Whereby then it came to passe, that the said Philip vpon
good deliberation did send Iosephus ouer, and with him
Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and mini-
ster the sacraments there according to the rites of the
churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came
not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which
was saith Malmesburie 103. before Faganus and Di-
naw did set forth the gospell amongst them. Of the com-
ming of Zelotes you may read moze in the second
booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this
manner: *Operipretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galilee or-
tum, qui propter flagrantem in magistrum suum ardorem, sum-
mamq. euangelicam rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus est
hic referre, accepit enim in celitus adueniente spiritu sancto, Ae-
gyptum Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Ly-
biam omnem euangelium depredicans percurrit, eandemque do-
ctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum insulasque Britanni-
cas perferit.* And this is the effect in a little rowne, of that
which I haue read at large in sundrie writers, beside
these two here alledged, although it may well be gather-
ed that diuers Britains were converted to the faith,
before this fiftie foure of Christ. Howbeit, whereas
some write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it
cannot as yet take any absolute hold in my iudge-
ment, but rather that they were baptised and remain-
ed, either in Rome, or else where. And of this sort I
suppose Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one,
who was a British ladie indeed, and not onelie excel-
lentlie scene in the Greeke and Latine tongues, but also
with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as
one hauing had conuerfation and conference with
them at Rome, from whence he did write his second
epistle vnto Timothie, as I read. Of this ladie moze-
ouer Marcial speaketh, in reioicing that his poesies were
read also in Britaine, and onelie by hir meanes, who
used to cull out the finest & honestest of his epigrams
and send them to hir friends for tokens, saleng after
this maner, as himselfe doth set it do done:

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.

Furthermoze making mention of hir and hir issue, he
addeth these words:

*Claudius caruleis cum sit Rufina Britannia
Edita, cur Latine pectora plebis habet?*

Li. II. Epig.
54

*Quale decus forma? Romanam credere mitis
Italides possunt, Attides esse suam.
Dij bene, quod sancto peperit facunda marito,
Quot sperat, generos, quotque puella maris.
Sic placeat superis, ut coniuge gaudeat vno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.*

The names of hir three children were Pudentiana,
Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the
death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cap-
padocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where
they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the
saints. But to leaue this impertinent discourse, and
proceed with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare
of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperor) that
nine scholars or clerkes of Grantha or Granta (now
Cambridge) were baptised in Britaine, and became
preachers of the gospell there, but whether Taurinus bi-
shop or elder ouer the congregation at Porke (who as
Vincentius saith, was executed about this time for his
faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie
find; but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no
Britaine at all, but *Episcopus Eboracensis*, for which such as
perceiue not the easie corruption of the word, may
some write *Eboracensis*, as certeinlie mine autho: out of
whom I alledge this authoritie hath done before me.
For Vincentius saith flat otherwise, and therfore the
Chronologie if it speake of anie Taurinus bishop of
Porke is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other
also embraced the religion of Christ verie zealouslie
before these men. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding,
the glad tidings of the gospell had neuer free
and open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in
which the verie enemies of the word became the appa-
rent meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue
it set forth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the empe-
rour had giuen out a decre, that the Druiid religion
should euerie where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose
surname is now perished) toke aduise of his counsell
that was best to be done, & wrote in this behalfe. And
his did Lucius, because he knew it impossible for man
to liue long without any religion at all: finally finding
his possibilitie & subiects utter enemies to the Romane
deuotio: (so that they made so many gods as they listed,
& some to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung)
and therunto being picked forwards by such christians
as were conuerfiant about him, to chuse the seruice of
the true God that liueth for euer, rather than the slavish
seruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie resolved with
himselfe in the end, to receiue and embrace the gospell
of Christ. He sent also two of his best learned and grea-
test philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then bishop
there in the 177. of Christ, not to promise any subiecti-
on to his sea, which then was not required, but to say
with such as were picked in mind, Acts. 2. verse. 37.

Quid faciemus viri fratres? I meane that they were sent to
be perfectlie instructed, and with farther commission, to
make earnest request vnto him and the congregation
there, that a competent number of preachers might be
sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent aduise and tra-
uell, the foundation of the gospell might surelie be laid
ouer all the portion of the Ile, which contained his king-
dome, according to his mind.

When Eleutherus vnderstood these things, he reioiced
not a little for the great godnesse, which the Lord had
shewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards
calling the brethren together, they agreed to ordaine,
euen those two for bishops, whom Lucius as you haue
heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finally after they
had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall
praiser vnto God and earnest supplication for the good
successe of these men, they sent them home againe with
no small charge, that they should be diligent in their
foundation, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their
custo:

Lib. 10. cap.
17.
Taurinus.

* This is
contrarie to
the common
talk of our
Atheists
who say, Let
vs liue here
in wealth,
credit and
authoritie
vpon earth,
and let God
take heauen
and his reli-
gion to him-
selfe to doe
withall
what he
listeth.

Lucius ope-
neth his
ears to good
counsell, as
one desirous
to serue God
& not prefer
the world.

The pur-
pose of Luci-
us opened
vnto the con-
gregation at
Rome by E-
leutherus.

1 Samo.
made a

lorus.
24.

ur. 5.

Iosephus.

Philip.
Freculphus
To. 2. lib. 2.
cap. 4.
Nennius.
Nicepho-
rus lib. 2.
cap. 40.

Isidorus lib.
de vita &
obit. di. 1.
parum.
W. Malmes-
de antiq.
Glascow
monast.

u.

From
stions
6.

Claudia Ru-
fina a Brie-
tish ladie.

2. Tim. 4.

doret.
oni-

cullorie.

The first of these was called Eluanus Aualonius, a man borne in the Ile of Aualon, and brought up there under those godlie pastours and their disciples, whom Philip sent ouer at the first for the conuersion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was there to surnamed Belga, because he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained up also in one scholl with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their bozie ages, and men of such grauitie and godlinesse, that Eleutherus supposed none more worthy to support this charge, than they: after whose comming home also, it was not long per Lucius and all his household with diuers of the nobilitie were baptised, beside infinit numbers of the common people, which daillie resorted vnto them, and voluntarie renounced all their idolatrie and paganisme.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderstanding the successe of these learned doctours, and supposing with himselfe, that they two onlie could not suffice to support so great a charge as should concerne the conuersion of the whole Island; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare ensuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinaus) Aaron, and diuerse other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. These men therefore after their comming hither, consulted with the other, and forthwith wholie consented to make a diuision of this Island amongst themselves, appointing what parcell each preacher should take, that with the more profit and ease of the people, and somewhat lesse trauell also for themselves, the doctrine of the Gospell might be preached and receiued. In this distribution, they ordeined that there should be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as chiefe elder and bishop, for that present time, worthy lie called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Poike, at the first comming of the Saxons; and also Guchelmus, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid against the Scots and Mandals that plagued this Ile, from the Tweede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus also Eluanus succeeded, who conuerted manie of the Druydes, and builded the first librarie nere vnto the bishops palace. The said Lucius also placed another at Poike, whither they appointed Theodofius: and the third at Caerltheon vpon the riuer Wlke, builded sometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgan-tia, but now Chester (in which three cities there had before time bene three Archflamines created vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerva, but now rased to the ground, and three other churches builded in their steads by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent access vnto those places, and therewithall vnderstand for certaintie, whither to resort for resolution, if after their conuersion they should happen to doubt of any thing. In like sort also the rest of the idoll-temples standing in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for christian congregations to assemble in, as our writers doe remember. In the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my native citie to speake a little: for although it may and doth seeme impertinent to my purpose, yet it shall not be much, and therefore I will sone make an end. There is a controuersie moued among our historiographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London stood at Westminster, or in Cornhill. For there is some cause, why the metropolitan church should be thought to stand where St. Peters now doth, by the space of 400. & od yeeres before it was remoued to Canturburie by Austine the monke, if a man should leane to one side without anie conference of the asseuerations of the other. But herein (as I take it) there lurketh some scruple, for beside that St. Peters church stood in the east end of the citie, and that

of Apollo in the west, the word Cornhill (a denomination giuen of late to speake of to one street) may easily be mistaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney proceedeth from the Saxons, who called the west end of the citie by that name, where Westminster now standeth, because of the wildnesse and busshinesse of the soile; so I doe not read of anie street in London called Cornhill before the conquest of the Normans. Wherefore I hold with them, which make Westminster to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the ruines of that Flamine 264. yeeres, as Malmesburie saith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arrivall of Augustine. Read also his appendix in lib. 4. Pontif. where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Augustine in the 596. of Christ; which is a manifest accompt, though some copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifest corruption and error.

Thus became Britaine the first prouince that generally receiued the faith, and where the gospell was first preached without inhibition of his prince. Holvbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people embraced the word with gladnesse, yet was not the successe thereof either so vniuersall, that all men beleued at the first; the securitie so great, as that no persecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his decease; or the proceeding of the King so seuer, as that he enforced any man by publike authoritie to forsake and relinquish his paganisme: but onelie this freedome was enioied, that who so would become a christian in his time, might without feare of his lawes profess the Gospell, in whose testimony, if need had bene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue shed also his blood, as did his neece Emerita, who being constant about the common sort of women, refused not after his decease by fire, to yeld his selfe to death, as a sweet smelling sacrifice in the nostrils of the Lord, beyond the sea in France.

The faith of Christ being thus planted in this Island in the 177. after Christ, and Faganus and Dinaw with the rest sent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to passe in the third yeare of the Gospell receiued, that Lucius did send againe to Eleutherus the bishop, requiring that he might haue some breefe epitome of the order of discipline then vsed in the church. For he well considered, that as it availeth little to plant a costlie vineyard, except it afterward be cherished, kept in good order, and such things as annoie, daillie removed from the same: so after baptism and entrance into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of christians, except we doe walke in the spirit, and haue such things as offend apparentlie, corrected by seuer discipline. For otherwise it will come to passe, that the weeds of vice, and vicious liuing, will so quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good seed sowne in our minds, and either inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickednesse with deeper securitie than before, or else to become mere Atheists, which is a great deale worse.

For this cause therefore did Lucius send to Rome, the second time, for a copie of such politike orders as were then vsed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus considering with himselfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore those constitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and seeing also that beside the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be so perfect in all points, but that as time serueth, they will require alteration: he thought it best not to late any more vpon the necks of the new conuerts of Britaine as yet, than Christ and his apostles had already set downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his messengers, he sent letters by them vnto Lucius and his nobilitie, dated in the consulships of Commodus and

A zealous
prince man-
keth feruent
subjects.

Faganus.
Dinaus.
Aaron.

Radulphus
de la noir
alias Niger.

3. Cheefe
Bishops in
Britaine.

Theonus.
Theodofius
London.
Poike.
Caerltheon.

Britaine
the first prou-
ince that
receiued the
Gospell ge-
nerallie.

Emerita
neece vnto
Lucius.

Lucius sen-
deth againe
to Rome.

Ro. 8. ver. 1

The wise-
dome of
Eleutherus.

The
most
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Though
most princes
cannot heare
that storie.

Epistle of
Eleutherus
vnto Lucius.

Psal. 24.

Psal. 45.

Psal. 71.

Here
wanteth.

Psal. 55.

Psal. 11.

Albane.
Amphiba-
lus.
Iulius.
Aaron.

and Vesprianus, wherein he told them that Christ had left sufficient order in the scriptures for the government of his church already in his word, and not for that onlie, but also for the regiment of his whole kingdom, if he would submit himselfe, to yeeld and follow that rule. The epistle it selfe is partly extant, and partly perished, yet such as it is, and as I haue faithfully translated it out of sundrie verie ancient copies, I doe deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his comoditie, in the historie of our nation.

You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the statutes of the emperours to be sent ouer vnto you, and which you desire to practise and put in vze within your realme and kingdom. The Romane lawes and those of emperours we may easily re- p-
proue, but those of God can neuer be found fault with- all. You haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Christ, you haue with you both volumes of the scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the counsell of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods sufferance rule your kingdom, for you are Gods vic- car in your owne realme, as the roiall prophet saith; The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the com- passe of the world, and they that dwell therein. Again, Thou hast loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with oile of gladnesse about thy fellowes. And againe, according to the saying of the same prophet; Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, & thy iustice vnto the kings sonne. The kings sons are the christian people & stocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdom. The gospel saith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, so doth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdom of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to his fa- cred church: to chearish and mainteine, to rule also and gouerne them, defending each of them from such as would doe them wrong, and keeping them from the ma- lice of such as be their enemies. * Vnto the nation whose king is a child, and whose princes rise by earlie to banquet and sed, which is spoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through folie, sinne & vnsedfastnesse, of whom the pro- phet saith; The bloudthirstie and deceitfull men shall not liue forth halfe their daies. * By feeding I vnderstand gluttonie; by gluttonie, lust; & by lust all wickednesse & sinne, according to the saying of Salomon the king; Wisdome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwel- leth with a man that is subiect vnto sinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the possession of his realme. You shalbe a king whilst you rule well, but if you doe otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, but you shall vtterlie forgo it, which God for- bid. The almightie God grant you so to rule the king- dome of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforesaid kingdom. Who with the Sonne and the Ho- lie-ghost, &c.

Vnto out of the epistle that Eleutherus sent vnto Lucius, wherein manie pretie obseruations are to be collected, if time and place would serue to stand vpon them. After these daies also the number of such as were ordeined to saluation, increased daile more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good successe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of persecution, there were no small number of martyrs that suffered for the same, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, because of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the sight of worldlie men.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdom, and afterward to become first a bishop, then a preacher of the gospel, and afterward a pope: but to the end such as hold this opinion may once vnderstand the botome of their errors, I will set downe the mat- ter at large, whereby they shall see (if they list to looke) how far they haue bene deceived.

I find that Chlorus had issue by his second wife, Chlorus had three sons, & a daughter by Helena. two sonnes, Dalmatius (who had a sonne called also Dal- matus and staine by the souldiours) Constantius fa- ther to Gallus, and Iulian the apostata; besides foure o- ther whose names as yet I find not. But being at the first matched with Helena, and before she was put from him by the roiall power of Dioclesian, he had by hir three sonnes (beside one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the first is perished, the second was called Lucius, & the third Constantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whome the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne be- twene him and his elder brother, did kill his said bro- ther, either by a fraie or by some other meanes, where- vpon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appoin- ted him from thenceforth to remaine in Aquitaine in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie so- row, had now good leasure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his prosperitie had peradventure neuer regard of hell: finally he fell so far into the confu- sion of his estate, that at the last he renounced his paganisme, and first became a christian, then an elder, and last of all a bishop in the church of Christ. He erected also a place of prayer wherein to serue the li- uing God, which after sundrie alterations came in pro- cess of time to be an Abbaie, and is still called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the first founder ther- of, and the originall beginner of anie such house in those parts.

In this also he and diuers other of his friends conti- nued their times, in great contemplation and prayer, and from hence were translated as occasion serued, vnto sundrie ecclesiasticall promotions in the time of Constant. his brother. So that euen by this short nar- ration it is now easie to see, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons: Vnto Hermannus Schedelius addeth also how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his sister; and nere vnto the citie Augusta conuerted the Carinians vnto the faith of Christ, and there likewise (being put to death in Castro Martis) lieth buried in the same towne, where his feast is holden vpon the third daie of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be seene at Gloucester. That Schedelius erreth not herein also, the ancient re- niments of the said Abbaie, whereof he was the origi- nall beginner, as I said, doe yeeld sufficient testimonie, beside an hymne made in his commendation, intituled *Gaude Lucionum, &c.* But for more of this you may resort vnto Boucher in his first booke, and fifth chapter of the Annales of Aquitaine, who neuertheless maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The said Schedelius furthermore setteth downe, that his sister was martyred in Trinecastell, nere vnto the place where the said Lucion dwelled, whereby it appeareth in like sort, that she was not sister to Lucius king of Bri- taine, of which prince Alexander Neckham in his most excellent treatise *De sapientia diuina*, setteth downe this Distichon: *Prima Britannorum fides lux Lucio esse: Fortur, qui rexit omnia Britania.*

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kindred vnto Paule the apostle, as Auentie inferreth, except he meane it of some other Lucius; as of one whome he nameth Cyrinenis. But then will not the hi- storie agree with the conuersion of the Rhetians and Vinde-

Lucion be- cometh a christian.

Lucion a bishop.

Hermannus Schedelius, Bruschius cap. 3.

Festum Lucionis. John Boucher.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Vindelicians, whereof Schedelius and other doe mention. But as each riuer the farther it runneth from the head, the more it is increased by small riuulets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and stinking gutters, that descend into the same: so the puritie of the gospell, preached here in Britaine, in procelle of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most execrable heresie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing traueled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the easterlie regions of the world, was there at the last made an elder or bishop, by some of the monkes, vnto whose profession he had not long before wholie addicted himselfe. Finally returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holynesse than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an house of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferous seed of his hereticall prauities ouer all this Island, whereby he seduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Iesus Christ his sonne. By this means therefore he brought assurance of saluation into question, and taught all such as had a diligent respect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the same, whereas to such as regard this latter, there can be no quietnesse of mind, but alwaies an vniuersall opinion of themselves, whereby they cannot discern, neither by prosperitie nor aduersitie of this life, whether they be worthy loue or hatred. Whereby it becometh the godlie to repose their hope in that grace which is freely granted through Iesu Christ, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in Iohn and by his son, to the end that we may at the last find the testimonie of his spirit working with ours, that we are his chosen children, whereby commeth peace of conscience to such as doe beleue.

Thus we see how new deuises or orders of religion and heresie came in together. I could thew also what Comets, and strange signes appeared in Britaine, much about the same time, the like of which with diuers other haue bene perceiued also from time to time, & thence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I passe them ouer, onelie for that I would not seeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehearsal of anie new inconueniencies.

To proceed therefore with my purpose, after these, there followed in like sort sundrie other kinds of monasticall life, as Anachorites, Heremites, Cyrilline and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the heremetical profession was onelie allowed of in Britaine, untill the coming of Augustine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine sect, framed after the order of the house which Benedict surnamed Nursinus did first erect in Monte Cassino, about the 524. of Christ, & was finally so well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I suppose) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In procelle of time how Benedict Bishop also our countryman restored the said Benedictine profession greatlie decayed in England, our histories are verie plentifull, which Bishop went oft into Italie, and at one time for a speciall confirmation of his two monasteries which he had builded at other mens costs vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda doth remember. So fast also did these and other like humane deuises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houses at the least, of which 373. might depend 200. li. by the yeere at the least, as appeareth by the record of their suppression, which also noteth the totall summe of their reuenues to amount vnto 32000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men contained in the same, to be

10000. which would make a pratie armie, wherevnto if you adde those 45. of late standing in Scotland, you shall see what numbers of these dens of spiritual robbers were maintained here in Britaine. What number of saints also haue bene hatched in them I could easilie remember, and beside those 160. which Capgrauce setteth down, & other likewise remembered in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Ercester, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furnish by a calendar, though the yeere were twice as long.

As touching Pelagius the first heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notable knowne) and parent of Monachisme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singular learning, deepe iudgement, and such a one, as vpon whome for his great gifts in teaching and strictnesse of life, no small peece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisdom of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God: and what is learning except it be handmaid to veritie and sound iudgement? Wherefore euen of this man, we may see it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by wit and worldly policie, rather than by the scriptures or guidance of the spirit: Better it is saith he, to heare a rude and simple idiot preach the truth, without appearance of skill and learned eloquence, than a profound cleark to set forth error, with great shew of learning, and boast of filed utterance. Gerson in like sort hath said fullie asmuch. These follies of Pelagius were blased abroad about the 400. of Christ, and from thenceforth holo his number of monkes increased on the one side, and his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vnskillfull and ignorant.

This also is certeine, that within the space of 200. yeeres and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered together in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors of their founder, (who taught such an estimation of merits and bodilie exercise) as Paule calleth it that thereby he sought not onlie to impugne, but also preuent grace, which was in deed the originall occasion of the erection of his house) were yet farre better and more goodlie than all these religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professors liued to themselves, their toombs and the licentious fruition of those parts, that are beneath the bellie. For these laboured continually for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier (as did Scapions monkes, which were 10000. ouer whom he himselfe was Abbat) and likewise for the better maintenance of such learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their liues also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onelie they seemed intolerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their succor & defense, but were such a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no maruell, though afterward they were raised by the roots.

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Christ in Britaine, so the living God hath had a season also to purge and cleanse the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, with Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning for the most part vnto the monasticall trades, did not so much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as mainteine the same, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricke seemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus also praied, as Palladius byeld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the uttermost of his power. Wherefore God wrought this purgation of his house at the first, rather by taking atwaie the wicked and pompous schoolmasters of error out of this life:

hoping

Heresie and monasticall life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius.

Bangor.

Anachorites, Heremites, Cyrillines, Benedictines.

Monkes and Heremites onelie allowed of in Britaine.

The number of religious houses in England at their dissolution.

Augustine the monke

Roger Bakon his saying of the preachers of his time who were the best lawyers and the most diuines.

August

Boke than 2100. monkes in the College of Abbate of Bangor in whose territories the parish of Duncannon standeth.

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 34

Monks Cant. etc. pla

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

SENENS Sub. p. 11. in v. in Patric.

Mea Pict. Calen nien

hoping that by such meanes, his people would haue giuen care to the godlie that remained. But in proceſſe of time, when this his mercifull dealing was forgotten and our countreimen returned to their former disorders, he brought in the Saxons, who left no idoll vnho- noyed, no not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the wo- men builded temples, and made a beaſtie image (*Cum pene intus*), and as if he had bene circumciſed) whom they called Ithypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius At- vatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in ma- 10 ner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie ſhame vnto the moſt ancient and ſober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could alſo take no place, and the ſhepe of his paſture would receiue no wholeſome fodder, it pleaſed his maieſtie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in ſo much that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome alſo, brought in by Auguſtine and his monkes, whereby it was to be ſene, how they fell from 20 the truth into hereſie, and from one hereſie ſtill into an other, till at laſt they were drowned altogether in the pits of error digged vp by Antichriſt, welſ in deed that hold no water, which notwithstanding to their fol- lowers ſeemed to be moſt ſound doctrine, and ciſterns of liuing water to ſuch as embraced the ſame.

Auguſtine
the monke.

Auguſtine.

This Auguſtine, after his arrivall, converted the Saxons in deed from paganiſme, but as the proverbe ſaith, bringing them out of Gods bleſſing into the warme ſunne, he alſo imbued them with no leſſe hurt- full ſuperſtition, than they did know before: for beſide the onelie name of Chriſt, and externall contempt of their priſtinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I ſaie) made an exchange from groſſe to ſubtil treacherie, from open to ſecret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of chriſtians, thinking this ſufficient for their ſoules health, and the ſtabliſhment of his monachiſme, of which kind of pro- feſſion, the holie ſcriptures of God can in no wiſe like 40 or allow. But what cared he: ſith he got the great ſilly for which he did caſt his hoke, and ſo great was the ſilly that he caught in deed, that within the ſpace of 1000. yeares, and leſſe, it denoured the fourth part & more of the beſt ſoile of the Iſland, which was wholie beſtowed vpon his monkes, & other religious broders that were hatched ſince his time, as may hereafter appeare in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, towneſ, &c. In the meane ſeaſon what ſucceſſe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were ſpoiled by enemies, their houſes burned by caſualtie, and beſtzen conſu- med with peſtilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houe- den, Geruſe, and the reſt of their owne hiſtoriogra- phers. And ſo ſore did the peſtilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whoſe daies the preſts, clerks and monkes ſang their ſervice together in the quire, that (of I wrote not how manie) there remained onelie ſiue aline, which was a notable token of the fu- rie and wrath of God conceived and executed againſt that malignant generation. It came alſo to paſſe at the laſt, that men died to praie for helpe at the ſaid Au- guſtines tumb (although afterward Thomas Becket a new ſaint did not a little deface his glozie) among which king Athelſtane was one, whom Elnothus the abbat ſtated ſo long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his ſoldiours waiting for his coming, and ſuppoſing the monkes to haue murdered him, be- gan to giue an aſſault and ſet fire vpon the houſe.

Monkes of
Canturbu-
rie plagued.

Meates,
Pictes,
Caledo-
nians.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, in the ſouth part of Albion, the Meates, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scottiſh ſea, receiued alſo the faith, by preaching of ſuch chriſtian elders as aduentured thither daile, who trauelled not without great ſucceſſe and increaſe of perfect goodlines in that part of the Iſle. Certes this prosperous attempt paſſed all mens expe-

ctation, for that theſe nations were in thoſe daies re- puted wild, ſavage, and more unfaithfull and craftie than well-minded people (as the wild Iriſh are in my time) and ſuch were they (to ſaie the truth) in deed, as nei- ther the ſugred courtieſie, nor ſharpe ſwordes of the Ro- mans could mollifie or reſtraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cauſe alſo in the end, the Romane emperours did utterlie caſt them off as an vnprofitable, brutiſh, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall hereafter to be deſcribed, ſeparated that rude companie from the more mild and ciuill poztion.

This conuerſion of the north parts fell out in the ſixt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in thoſe quarters, and 170. after the death of our ſauour Jeſus Chriſt. From thenceforth alſo the chriſtian religion con- tinued ſtill among them, by the diligent care of theſe paſtors and biſhops (after the uſe of the churches of the ſouth part of this Iſland) till the Romane ſhepherd ſought them out, and found the meanes to pull them in- 20 to him in like ſort with his long ſtaffe as he had done our countreimen, whereby in the end he aboliſhed the rites of the churches of Aſia there alſo, as Auguſtine had done already in England: and in ſtead of the ſame did furniſh it vp with thoſe of his pontificall ſe, al- though there was great contention, and no leſſe blood- ſhed made amongſt them, before it could be brought to paſſe, as by the hiſtories of both nations yet extant may be ſene.

Scotland
conuerſed to
the faith of
Chriſt.

In the time of Coeſtline biſhop of Rome, who ſaie 30 in the 423. of Chriſt, one Paladius a Greccian bozne (to whom Cyrill wrote his dialog *De adoratione in ſpiritu*) and ſometime diſciple to Iohn 24. biſhop of Ieruſalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to ſuppreſſe the Pelagian hereſie, which not a little moleſted the or- thodoxes of that Iſland. And hauing done much good in the extinguiſhing of the aforeſaid opinion there, he went at the laſt alſo into Scotland, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but af- ter he had trauelled ſomewhat in conſultation of the Pe- lagians in thoſe parts, he ſhould eaſilie perſuade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would ſaie haue done before, 40 hand in the ſouth. But as Faſtidius Priſcus archbiſhop of London, and his Suffragans reſiſted him here; ſo did the Scottiſh prelates withſtand him there alſo in this behalfe: howbeit, becauſe of the authoritie of his commiſſion, grauitie of perſonage, and the great gift which he had in the beine of pleaſant perſuaſion (where- by he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the ſtones with his harpe, and Hercules ſuch as heard him by his ſong) they had him not onelie then in great ad- miration, but their ſucceſſors alſo from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather alſo for that he came from Rome) to take him for their cheſt apoſtle, reckoning from his coming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Chriſt, as the truth of their hiſtorie doth verie well confirme.

Paladius.

The firſt at-
tempt of the
biſhop of
Rome to
bring Scota-
land vnder
his obedi-
ence.

Faſtidius Pri-
ſcus archbi-
ſhop of Lon-
don.

Thus we ſee what religion hath from time to time bene receiued in this Iſland, & how and when the faith of Chriſt came firſt into our countrie. Howbeit as in proceſſe of time it was overſhadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantaſticall imaginations of man, ſo it daile wared woyle & woyle, till that it plea- ſed God to reſtore the preaching of his goſpell in our daies, whereby the man of ſinne is now openlie reuea- led, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the ſmall overthow of the Romiſh ſathan, and his popiſh adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermoſt of their power, yielding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghoſt. But ſuch is their peruerſe igno- rance (notwithſtanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him already 2. Theſ. 2. calling him (as I ſaid) the man of ſinne, and ſaieing that he ſitteth as God in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe

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himselfe in his challenge of power, as if he were God, under pretense of zeale vnto true religion) that they will not giue care vnto the truth, but rather that their eares and their eyes from hearing and reading of the scriptures, because they will not be dyatone out of his snares and bondage.

Of the manifold conuerfions and alterations of the estate of the common-wealth of Britaine, fithens the time of Samothcs.

Here is a certaine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they suffer some notable alteration. And as in the aforesaid season there is set a time of increase and decaye, so we find that before the execution of Gods purpose doth come to passe, in changing the estate of things, sundrie tokens are sent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and visit our offenses. This is partlie verified by Ioachim Camerarius, who in his first booke *De ostentis* intreating of the same argument, telleth of a strange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any such plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Persians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians; also of the beard that suddenly grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophesse, so often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. Nam (saith he) *descriptas esse diuinitus atates quibus idem humanarum rerum status duraret, quibus finitis, praeclari prius quam existeret nouationem in deterius euenturam rerum, quaeque indices minus ac minus numini cordi essent. Euntur igitur cometæ diuinitus, et renouantur dum supra nos conspiciuntur quamdiu placuit Deo inferuntur.* Plato referreth such changes as happen in common-wealths to a certaine diuine force that resteth hidden in sundrie odd numbers, whereof their periods do consist. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & measure, & that after an incomprehensible maner vnto our fraile & humane capacitie. Neuerthelesse, he appointed not these three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we must not ascribe these changes to the force of number with Plato, much lesse then vnto destinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called destinie as S. Augustine saith, for of other destinie it is impietie to dreame. Aristotle ascribing all euents vnto manifest causes precedent, doth scoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in sundrie causes of the alteration of the state of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as inturie, oppression, ambition, treason, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great necessitie and miserie in manie. But whatsoeuer Aristotle gesseth at these things by humane reason as at the first causes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as sinne, which being suffered and come to the fall, is cut downe by the iustice of the high God, the chiefe cause of all, who foreseeing the wickednesse of such as dwell on earth, doth constitute such a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as best standeth with the execution of his purpose, and correction of our errors. The causes therefore that Aristotle doth deliuer, are nothing else but the meanes which God vseth to bring his purposes to passe; and yet they deserue the name of causes, in that they preced those effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than secondarie or third causes no man can iustlie call them. Bodinus in his historicall method, cap. 6. making a large discourse of the conuerfions of commonwealths, doth seeme at the first to denie the force of number, but after a while he maruellet that no Grecian or Latine Academicke, hath hitherto made any discourse of the excellencie of such numbers as appertaine to the estate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Whereby he sheweth himselfe vpon

the sudden to alter his iudgement, so that he setteth downe certaine numbers as fatal; to wit, five vnto women, and seauen and nine vnto men, which (saith he) haue *Magnam in tota rerum natura potestatem*, meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their first erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for sicknesse, health, change of habitation, wealth, and losse, &c. and for the confirmation of the same, he setteth downe sundrie examples of apparant likelihoode, either by multiplication of one by the other, or diuision of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforesaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, where by he bringeth or rather restoreth an old kind of arithmancie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we christians, in respecting of causes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cause of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto these points in any wise as causes: for we know and confesse that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaseth him. Neuerthelesse, I hope we may without offense examine how these assertions hold, so long as we vse them rather as *Indices* than *Causas mutationum*. And therefore haue I attempted to practise at this present the example of Bodinus, first in the alterations of our ciuill estate passed; and secondlie, of the like in cases of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the first comming in of Samothcs into our Ile, thereby somewhat to satisfie my selfe, and recreate the readers; but still protesting in the meane season that I utterlie denie them to be any causes, or of themselves to worke any effect at all in these things, as Bodinus would seeme to uphold. As for those of other countries, I referre you to Aristotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, thereby to be farther resolved, if you be desirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpose; first because the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it shall not be amisse to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, so that if you diuide the same by nine, you shall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. reuolution of the same number. Secondlie, for so much as the confusion of tongues was the originall cause of the disperfion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it shall not be amisse also to examine the same. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the said 133. by seauen, you shall find the quotient 19. without any odds remaining. From hence also vnto the comming of Samothcs into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the second of his arrivall in this land, we find by exact supputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or seauen the which such a conclusion as maketh much for this purpose. Doubtlesse I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, sith alteration of ordinances is the chiefe and principall token of change in rule and regiment; although at this present the circumstances hold not, sith he dispossessed none, neither inroched vpon any. From Samothcs vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, so that he arriveth here in the 335. or 48. septenarie, which also concurreth with the 590. after the flood. In like sort the regiment of Albion continued but seauen yeares, and then was the souereingtie of this Ile restored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our estate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betwene whose time and death of Albion there passed full 601. yeares (for he spent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion) so that if you account him to come hither in the 601. you shall haue 86. septenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his posteritie in Ferrer and Porcer, and pentarchie of 1271. same,

Fatal numbers.

taine, are 630. yeares, or 70. nouenaries, than the which where shall a man find a more precise period after this method or prescription, for manie and diuers considerations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewise 49. yeares, or 7. seauen septenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his subiecti- on, and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled against Beline his brother, whereupon ensued cruell bloodshed betwene them. So that here you haue 14. septenaries, as you haue from those warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Caesar into this Island (whereat our seru- tude and miserable thalldome to the Romans may toozthlie take his entrance) 48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man should imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Caesar we haue 54. or sixe nouenaries to Christ, whose death and passion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and sure faith take hold of the same, and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Christ to our countrie deliuered from the Ro- mane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Bri- tains chose them a king, and betooke themselves to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts, which daillie made haucke of their countrie; the said Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. septenarie after Christ) did send for the Saxons, who arrived here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great compa- nies, for our aid and succour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our utter decaye and ruine, in that they made a conquest of the whole Ile, and draue vs out of our linings. Hereby we see therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finished in the tenth nouenarie, the sequele is too plaine. In like sort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the com- ming of the Saxons, the Danes entred, who miserable afflicted this Ile by the space of 182. yeares or 46. sep- tenaries, which being expired, they established them- selues in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time la- sting not long, the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare, and thus you see how these numbers do hold exactly vnto the conquest. The like also we find of the continuance of the Normans or succession of the Con- querour, which indured but 89. yeares, being extingui- shed in Stephen, and that of the Saxons restored in Henrie the second, although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries, which is a small thing, sith vpon diuers occasions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or prologed, as in direction and pro- gression astronomicall is often times perceiued. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Johns daies, whereupon ensued the resignati- on of his crownes and dominions to the pope, are eight septenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the deposi- tion of Richard. 2. and usurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. septenaries. From hence to the conspira- cie made against Edward. 2. after which he was deposed & murdered are 117. yeares, or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betwene the houses of York and Lancaster (wherein foure score and od persons of the blood totall were slaine and made atwaie first and last, and which warres begonne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, whose murder seemed to make free passage to the said house) are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the translation of the crowne from the house of Lancaster to that of York, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two septenaries, and last of all to the vni- on of the said houses in Henrie the eighth, is an exact quadrat of seven multiplied in it selfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part suffice,

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Christ to the faith first preached in Britaine (by Iosephus ab A- ramathia, and Simon Zelotes) as some write 70. yeares or 10. septenaries. Thence also to the baptism of Luci- us, and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuersion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After these the Saxons entred and changed the state of religion for the most part into paganism, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 273. yeare after Lucius had bene baptized, which is 39. septenaries, if I be not deceived. In the 147. or 21. septenarie, Augustine came, who brought in po- perie, which increased and continued till Wickliffe with more boldnesse than anie other began to preach the gospel, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Augustine, and yeld 85. nouenaries exad- lie. From hence againe to the expulsion of the pope 175. yeares, or 25. septenaries, thence to the receiuing of the pope and popish doctrine 21. yeares or 3. septenaries, wherevnto I would ad the time of restoring the gospel by Quene Elizabeth, were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden myserie or thing contained in these numbers, yet the same extendeth not vnto the di- uine disposition of things, touching the gift of grace and free mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor measure shall be able to aspire.

Of such Islands as are to be seene vpon the coasts of Britaine.

Cap. 10.



There are nere vnto, or not be- rie farre from the coasts of Bri- taine many faire Islands, wher- of Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) seeme to be the chiefe. But of the rest, some are much larger or lesse than o- ther, diuers in like sort enuiro- ned continuallie with the salt sea (whereof I purpose onelie to intreat, although not a few of them be I- lands but at the fiond) and other finallie be clipped part- lie by the fresh and partlie by the salt water, or by the fresh alone, whereof I may speake afterward.

Of these salt Islands (so I call them that are en- uironed with the Ocean waues) some are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and pasture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, be- cause they are onelie replenished with conies, and those of sundrie colours (cherished of purpose by the owners, for their skins or carcases in their prouision of house- hold) without either man or woman otherwise inha- biting in them. Furthermore, the greatest number of these Islands haue towones and parish-churches, with in their severall precincts, some moe, some lesse; and be- side all this, are so enriched with commodities, that they haue pleasant hauens, fresh springs, great store of fish, and plentie of cattell, whereby the inhabitants doe reape no small aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine; because mine informati- ons are not so fullie set downe, as the promises of some on the one side, & mine expectation on the other do ex- tend vnto. Notwith- stant, first of all that there are certeine which lie nere together, as it were by heapes and clu- sters, I hope none will readilye denie. Of these also those called the Neshada, Insula Scylurum, Sileultra, Syllana, now the Sorlings, and Isles of Silley, lying be- yond Cornwall are one, and confessedly in number one hundred and fouertie and seapen (each of them bearing grasse) besides themselves and shallowes. In like sort the companie of the Hebrides in old time subiect vnto Ire- land are another, which are said to be 43. situate vpon the west side of this Island, betwene Ireland & Scot- land, and of which there are some that repute Anglesey, Mona

Henrie. 8.
Marie.

Neshada.
Insula
Scylurum.
Sileultra.
Syllana.
Sorlinga.
Silley.
Hebrides.
Hebudes.
Meunian.
Orchades.

The description of Britaine.

30

Mona Cesaris, and other lieng betwene them to be parcell, in their corrupted indgement. The third cluster or bunch consisteth of those that are called the Orkades, and these lie upon the north-west point of Scotland, being 31. *alias* 28. in number, as for the rest they lie scattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courses shall come about. There are also the 18. Shetland Isles, and other yet farther distant from them, of which Iohn Frobisher I doubt not touched upon some in his voyage to *Meta Incognita*: but for so much as I must speake of the Shetlands hereafter, I do not meane to spend anie time about them as yet.

There haue bene diuers that haue written of purpose, *De insulis Britannia*, as Caesar doth confesse. The like also may be seene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that should set forth an exact treatise of each of them in order, and among other tell of certaine desert Isles beyond Scotland dedicated to sundrie gods and goddesses, but of one especiallie, where Briareus should hold Saturne and manie other spirits fast bound with the chaines of an heauie slaue, as he heard, of which some die now and then, by meane whereof the aire becommeth maruellouslie troubled, &c: as you may see in Plutarch *De cessatione oraculorum*, &c. But sith those booke are now perished, and the most of the said Islands remaine utterly vnknowne, euen to our owne selues (for who is able in our time to say where is Glota, Hucrion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Aseara, Barfa, Isandium, Iedelis, Xantissima, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros, Ednos, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c?) whose names onelie are left in memoire by ancient writers, but I saie their places not so much as heard of in our daies. I meane (God willing) to set downe so manie of them with their commodities, as I do either know by Leland, or am otherwise instructed of by such as are of credit. Herein also I will touch at large those that are most famous, and besides passe over such as are obscure and vnknowne, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined course (for I neuer failed it) by the south part of the Island into the west. From thence in like sort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the east side into the fall of the aforesaid streame, where I will strike saile, and safelie be set a shore, that haue often in this voyage wanted water, but offener bene set a ground, especiallie on the Scottish side.

In beginning therefore, with such as lie in the mouth of the aforesaid riuer, I must needs passe by the How, which is not an Island, and therefore not within the compasse of my description at this time, but almost an Island, which parcels the Latins call Peninsulas, and I doe english a Byland, using the word for such as a man may go into drie-footed at the full sea, or on horsebacke at the low water without anie boat or vessel: and such a one almost is Rochford hundred in Essex also, yet not at this time to be spoken of, because not the sea onelie but the fresh water also doth in maner enuiron it, and is the chiefe occasion wherefore it is called an Island. This How lieth between Cliffe (in old time called Clouetho, to wit, Cliffe in How) or in the hundred of How, & the midwaie that goeth along by Rochester, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beside pilfering sea-men shall find durt ynow.

Pert unto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the same denomination, an Isle supposed to be foure miles in length, and two in bredth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Connos, conteining seauen miles in length, and three in bredth, wherein is a castell called Quinborow, and a parke, beside foure townes, of which one is named Minster, another Eastchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole soile being thoughtlie sed with shepe, verie well

wooded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirtene miles by water from Rochester, but the castell is situate, and by south thereof are two small Islands, whereof the one is called Elmescie, and the more easterlie Hertie. In this also is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lath of Scraie, notwithstanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuersham, and Shepey reteineth one especiall Bailie of his owne.

From hence we passe by the Reculvers (or territorie belonging in time past to one Raculphus, who erected an house of religion, or some such thing there) vnto a little Island in the Stoure mouth. Hereupon also the Thanet abbatte, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapi, other Athanatos, because serpents are supposed not to liue in the same, howbeit sith it is not enuironed with the sea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Island in this place, albeit I will not let to bozole of my determination, and describe it as I go, because it is so fruitfull. Beda noteth it in times past to haue contained 600. families, which are all one with Hydlands, Ploughlands, Carucates, or Teneuwares. He addeth also that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantsume, which is about thre furlongs broad, and to be passed over in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore saith, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much lesse in bredth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much about seauen miles from Nordmuth to Sandwich, and foure in bredth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the south to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland also noteth. This Island hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwise it is verie fruitfull, and beside that it wanteth few other commodities, the finest chalke is said to be found there. Herein also did Augustine the monke first arrive, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and afterward in pcesse of time, sundry religious houses were erected there, as in a soile much bettered (as the superstitious supposed) by the steps of that holy man, & such as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. parish churches at the least in the Isle of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchington, S. Iohns, Wood of Woodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minster, S. Gyles, and all Saints, whereof M. Lambert hath written at large in his description of Kent, and placed the same in the Lath of saint Augustine and hundred of Kingflos, as may easilie be seene to him that will peruse it.

Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Repraester, stood also in this Island, but now thorough alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is that quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in these daies Richborow, and as it should seme builded vpon an indifferent soile or high ground. The large briches also yet to be seene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old British workmanship. But as time decateth all things, so Rutupium named Ruptimuch is now become desolate, and out of the dust thereof Sandwich produced, which standeth a full mile from the place where Repraester stood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherein Gwallon or Gawan was slaine; at which time the said rebell came against his soueraigne with 70000. Brits, Scots, Irish, Norwegians, &c. and with Ethelbert the first christian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto bene found there, as is baillie that of the Romanes, whereof manie peeces of silver and gold, so well as of brasse, copper, and other metall haue often bene shewed vnto me. It should appere in like sort, that of this place, all the whole coast of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which some doe not a little confirme by these words of Lucane, to be read in his first booke some after the beginning:

The last
berle of
couple of
first of all
other.

Elmescie,
Hertie.

Strucey,
Thanet.

Scot
Isles
taken.

Thorn

Yallin

Post.

Rutupium.

Wig
Gui

How.

Greane.

Shepey.

The description of Britaine.

31

*Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinæ littora ferunt,
Pnda Calidonis saltu turbata Britannos.*

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doe worke,
And Calidons of British blood,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast néere Andredeswald, which in time past was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or forrest, as Leland also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouse in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my journey toward the Wight, I must needs passe by Selesey, which sometime (as it should seeme) hath bene a noble Island, but now in maner a Byland or Peninsula, wherein the chiefe see of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of thre hundred twentie nine yeares, and under twentie bishops.

Pert unto this, we come unto those that lie betwene the Wight and the maine land, of which the most easterlie is called Thorne, and to saie truth, the verie least of all that are to be found in that knot. Being past the Thorne, we touched upon the Haling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is situate of the same denomination beside another, whose name I remember not. By west also of the Haling lieth the Port (the greatest of the thre already mentioned) and in this standeth Portmouth and Kingsted, whereof also our Leland, saith thus: Port Ile is cut from the thore by an arme of the maine haven, which breaketh out about thre miles above Portmouth, and goeth up two miles or more by moorish ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portmouth. Then breaketh there out another cræke from the maine sea, about Avant haven, which gulleth up almost to Portbridge, and thence is the ground disseuered, so that Portmouth standeth in a corner of this Ile, which Island is in length six miles, and thre miles in bredth, verie good for grasse and coine, not without some wood, and here and there inclosure. Beside this, there is also another Island north north-west of Port Ile, which is now so lowne and washed awaye with the working of the sea, that at the spring tides it is wholie couered with water, and thereby made unprofitable. Finally being past all these, and in compassing this gulf, we come by an other, which lieth north of Hirst castell, & south-east of Baie haven, whereof I find nothing worthe to be noted, saving that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographical tables of all those Islands which enuiron our Albion.

The Wight is called in Latine *Pellis*, but in the British speech Guidh, that is to saie, Cefe or easie to be scene, or (as D. Caius saith) separate, because that by a breach of the sea, it was once diuided from the maine, as Sicilia was also from Italie, Angleset from Wales, Foulenesse from Essex, & Quinborough from Kent. It lieth distant from the south shore of Britaine (where it is fardest off) by five miles & a halfe, but where it cometh nereest, not passing a thousand paces, and this at the cut ouer betwene Hirst castell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doe report. It containeth in length twentie miles, and in bredth ten, it hath also the north pole eleuated by 50. degrees and 27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in distance, and 50. od minuts from the west point, as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the description of Ptolomie, and such as follow his assertions in the same. In forme, it representeth almost an eg, and so well is it inhabited with mere English at this present, that there are thirtie six townes, villages and castels to be found therein, beside 27. parish-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parsons, the rest either such pore Vicars or Curats, as the livings left are able to sustaine. The names of the parishes in the Wight are these.

1	Portport, a chap.	15	Portteffon.	p.	
2	Cairthorpe.	b.	16	Portmouth.	p.
3	Portthwood.	b.	17	Portley.	b.
4	Arriun.	b.	18	Shallstete.	b.
5	Goddehill.	b.	19	Whippingham.	p.
6	Whitwell.	b.	20	Wotton.	p.
7	S. Laurence.	p.	21	Chale.	p.
8	Highton.	p.	22	Kingston.	p.
9	Wading.	b.	23	Shorwell.	p.
10	Portchurch.	b.	24	Catrombe.	p.
11	S. Helene.	b.	25	Brosie.	p.
12	Pauerland.	p.	26	Birton.	p.
13	Calborne.	p.	27	Wentred.	p.
14	Bonechurch.	p.			

32. signifie
eth paro-
nages, Cl. vi.
carages.

It belongeth for temporall iurisdiction to the countie of Hamshire, but in spirituall cases it yeldeth obedience to the see of Winchester, whereof it is a Deane-rie. As for the soile of the whole Island, it is verie fruitful, for notwithstanding the thore of it selfe be verie full of rocks and craggie clifles, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, coine, pasture, medow ground, wild foule, fish, fresh riuers, and pleasant woods, whereby the inhabitants may liue in ease and welfare. It was first ruled by a seuerall king, and afterwards wonne from the Britons by Vespasian the legat, at such time as he made a voiage into the west countrie. In process of time also it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Sussex, who held the souerainty of the same, and kept the king thereof under tribute, till it was wonne also from them, in the time of Adewold, the eight king of the said south region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reuered the souerainty of that Ile to himselfe and his successors for evermore. At this time also there were 1200. families in that Island, whereof the said Ceadwalla gaue 300. to Wilfride sometime bishop of Exeter, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the gospell also to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner performed, but according to the prescriptions of the church of Rome, whereunto he yeldest himselfe vassall and feudarie: so that this Ile by Wilfride was first conuerted to the faith, though the last of all other that hearkened vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the parricide was the first Saxon prince that aduentured to flie into the Wight for his safegard, whither he was driuen by Kenwalch of the West Saxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him to go into this place for succour, as did also king Iohn, in the rebellious stir of his Barons, practised by the clergie: the said Island being as then in possession of the Forsts, as some doe write that haue handled it of purpose. The first Earle of this Island that I doe read of, was one Baldwin de Betoun, who married for his second wife, the daughter of William le Grosse Earle of Aumarle; but he dieng without issue by this ladie, she was married the second time to Earle Maundeile, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finished Skip-ton castell, which his wiues father had begun about the time of king Richard the first. Whereby it came to passe also, that the Forsts were Earls of Aumarle, Wight, and Deuonshire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, sole heire to all those possessions came to age, with whom king Edward the third so preuailed through monie & faire words, that he gat the possession of the Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himselfe & his successors, vntill Henrie the first, about the twentieth of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp sonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwick king thereof and of Gardesey and Gardesey with his owne hands, and therunto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwick with the titles of Comes comitum Anglia, lord Spenser of Aburgauenie, and of the castell of Bristow (which castell was sometime taken from his ancestors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enjoy the

these great honors, sith he died 1446. without issue, and seven yeeres after his father.

Brunt
Keyfy.

After we be past the Wight, we go forward and come unto Poole haue, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keyfy, in which was sometime a parish church, and but a chapell at this present, as I heare. There are also two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

Portland.

We haue (after we are passed by these) another Ile, or rather Wyland also vpon the coast named Portland not far from Weymouth or the Cotoy, a prettie fertile peere though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure score households in it. There is but one street of houses therein, the rest are dispersed, howbeit they belong all to one parish-church, whereas in time past there were two within the compass of the same. There is also a castell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the bishop of Winchester be patrone of the church, the parsonage whereof is the fairest house in all the peere. The people there are no lesse excellent slingers of stones than were the Bailears, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the same with their slings, and therefore their parents vied to hang their meate verie high vpon some bough, to the end that he which strake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas such as missed were sure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vse for the defense of their Island, and yet otherwise are verie couetous. And whereas in time past they liued onlie by fishing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet doe they burne much colow dong dyed in the sunne, for there is I saie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would some grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the soile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long since this was vnto the maine, and likelie yer long to be cut off againe.

Jardsey.
Gardesey.

Being past this we raise another, also in the mouth of the Cotoy, betwene Colford and Lime, of which for the smallnesse thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I cast about to Jardsey, and Gardesey, which Iles with their appurtenances appertained in times past to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Quene, as parcell of Hamshire and iurisdiction of Winchester, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a composition made betwene H. Iohn of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the said prince began so fast to decrease, as Thomas Sulmo saith.

Jardsey.

Of these two, Jardsey is the greatest, an Island hauing thirtie miles in compasse, as most men doe compute. There are likewise in the same twelue parish-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is distant from Gardesey full 21. miles, or therabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a blowe dic fast done there in Quene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Massie wife vnto an honest minister or priest, being great with childe by hir husband, was burned to ashes: through the exceeding crueltie of the Deane and Chapter, then contending manifestlie against God for the maintenance of their popish and antichristian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at such time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellic broke, and there issued a godly man-child from hir, with such force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduersarie to another to looke vpon, whose eyes being after a while satisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcase of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was consumed to ashes, whom that furious element would gladly haue left vntouched, & whereunto it mis-

Horrible
murder.

Gardesey.

trusted (as you heare) an hurtlesse passage. In this latter also, there haue bene in times past, fine religious houses, and nine castles, howbeit in these daies there is but one parish-church left standing in the same. There are also certeine other small Islands, which Henrie the second in his donation calleth Insuletta, beside verie manie rocks whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein sometime was a monastrie) is fast vpon Jardsey, another is named the Corner, which hath a castell not passing an arrow shot from Gardesey. The Serke also is betwene both, which is six miles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Isthmus or Strialand, wherein was a religious house, & therewithall great store of conies.

There is also the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure miles in compasse, and therein was sometime a Canonrie, that afterward was conuerted into an house of Franciscanes. There are two other likewise nere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whose names I haue no notice. There is also the rockie Ile of Burho, but now the Ile of rats, so called of the huge

plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwise it be replenished with infinit store of conies, betwene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the same which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among those few houses that are to be seene in this Island. Some are of the opinion that there hath bene more store of building in this Ile than is at this present to be seene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but herof I find no perfect warrantise that I may safelye trust vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increased so fast that they drave away the people. Varro speaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderites were driven out of Thracia by the increase of mice & frogs; and so manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now pertaining to Spaine) that the people began to starue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of grasse. And because the Islanders were not able to overcome them, Augustus was constrained to send an armie of men to destroye that needlesse brood. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 55. A towne also in France sometime became desolate onelie by frogs and todes. Another in Africa by locusts and also by grasshoppers, as Amicia was by snakes and adders. Theophrast telleth of an whole countrie consumed by the palmer-worm, which is like vnto an huge caterpillar. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Ethiopia made void of people by ants and scorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that cite through multitudes of bees, as waspes had almost driven the Ephesians out of Ephesus. But this of all other (whereof Alianus intreateth) is most wonderfull, that when the Cretenses were chased out of a famous cite of their Island by infinit numbers of bees, the said bees conuerted their houses into hives, and made large combs in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they referred their honie. Which things being duly considered, I doe not denie the possibilitie of the expulsion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burho by rats, although I say that I doe not warrant the effect, because I find it not set downe directlie in plaine words.

Beside this there is moreover the Ile of Alderney a verie prettie plot, about seven miles in compasse, wherein a yeere not long since was found a coffin of stone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whose fore teeth were so big as a mans fist, as Leland doth report. Certes this to me is no maruell at all, sith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them already in the beginning of this booke. Such a tooth also haue they in Spaine whereunto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Christophers tooth, but it was one of his eie teeth, if Ludouicus Viues say true, who went thither to offer vnto the same

S. Hilaries.

Corner.

Serke.

Brehoc.

Gytho.

Herme.

Burho, ab.
as the Ile of
rats.

Turkie co-
nies.

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. &c

Virgilius
Aen. 12.

Bruchse

Causes of
the desolati-
on of sundrie
citties and
townes.

Down
Island.

Alderney.

Comment.
Brit.

S. Nic
Island

Greec
this
am.

The description of Britaine.

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same. S. August. *de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 9.* writeth in like sort, of such another found upon the coast of Vtica, and thereby gathereth that all men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre exceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in comparison of such as liued in the toars of Troy. See his first Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Aeneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and ouerthrew him. Virgil also noteth no lesse, in his *stone denise*, but Lucuenall briefely comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satya, where he saith:

*Saxa inclinat per humum quæ sita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domestica editione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, qualis est Tarnus, et Aiax,
Et quo Tyrides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneas: sed quem valeant emittere dextra
Illis dissimiles, et nostro tempore nata.
Nam genus hoc visio iam decresebat Homero,
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos,
Ergo Deus quicumque aspexit, ridet, et edit.*

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a prettie towne with a parish church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants doe reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwile supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Isles is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Cardsey and Jardssey, vntill the time of King Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Cardsey also was fore spoiled by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one castell remained therein vntouched.

Beyond this, and nearer vnto the coast of England (for these doe lie about the verie middest of the British sea) we haue one Island called the Bruch or the Bruchsey, lieng about two miles from Poole, whither men saile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Nert to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Isles, as Alleton rocke nere vnto Peritorie, Bozellan Ile a mile from Peritorie by south, Blache rocke Ile southeast from Peritorie toward Teygne mouth, and also Chester, otherwise called Wlegimundham: but how (to saie truth) where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuertheless sith Leland noteth them together, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

From hence the next Ile is called Mount Island, or shertwile Spoutland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well nere three miles in compass. This Island hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there: notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yeare, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath also a fresh well coming out of the rocks, which is worthe to be noted in so small a compass of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the creeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Lough as some call it, there is another little Island of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betwene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine Portmontorie is such another named the Greefe, wherein is great store of gullies & sea foule. As for this Portmin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from Lards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Portmin is not far distant, and wherein is a pore fisher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pendiniant in the point of Falmouth haue) we

came at last to saint Michaels mount, whereof I find this description reade to my hand in Leland.

The compass of the root of the mount of saint Michael is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the south part is pasturable and breedeth conies, the residue high and rockie soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from halfe eb to halfe flow, the entrance beginning at the foot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and graces westward, first; and then eastward to the utter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chapell of S. Michael, and in the east side another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on foot. On the north northwest side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Penfard; are seene at the lowe water marke, diuers roots and stubs of trees, beside helven stone, sometimes of dozes & windowes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie bene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt water doth now rule and beare the maiesticie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Spowthole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Spowthole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Port Enis, that is, *Portus insula*, whereof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes nere vnto the same there hath bene found of late, speare heads, battell ares, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and scarceleie hurt with rust or other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Island, but chesleie betwene Spowthole and Penfard.

Having thus passed ouer verie nere all such Isles, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Jardssey) and carieth vs yet more westlerlie among the flats of Sypley. Such force doth the south east wind, often shewe vpon poze traouellers in those parts, as the south and south west doth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skilfull of our robes and harborowes. Whobet such was our successe in this voyage, that we feared no rocks, more than did King Athelstane, when he subdued them (and some after builded a colledge of preests at S. Burton, in performance of his vow made when he enterprised this voyage for his safe returne) noz ante tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Perusing therefore the perils wherinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Syllane Islands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twentie English miles, as some men do account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundred and fortie seauen in sight, wherof each one is greater or lesse than other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatnesse and commodities exceed all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situate in manner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the middest of them, which is not without perill to such as with small aduilement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my counting, either to name or to describe all these one hundred and fortie seauen, according to their estate; neither haue I had ante information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Wolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthe to haue ante time spent about

S. Michaels mount.

S. Clements Ile.

Syllane Isles or Sypley.

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Aen. 12.

Bruchsey.

Mount Island.

S. Nicholas Island.

Greefe, This Portmin.

The description of Britaine.

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their particular descriptions, I will onelie touch the greatest, and those that lie together (as I said) in manner of a rounde.

S. Maries Ile.

The first and greatest of these therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about five miles ouer, or nine miles in compasse. Therein also is a parish-church, and a poze towne belonging thereto, of threecore houtholds, beside a castell, plenty of coyne, conies, wild swans, puffers, gullies, cranes, & other kinds of foule, in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we sailed southwards by the Iporman rocke, and S. Maries found vnto Agnus Ile, which is six miles ouer, and hath in like sort one towne or parish within the same of five or six houtholds, beside no small store of hogs & conies of sundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long since this Ile was left desolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feast holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drownded, and not one person left aliue. There are also two other small Ilands, betwene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing woorthie relation: for as both of them ioind together are not comparable to the said Annot for greatnesse and circuit, so they want both hogs and conies, whereof Annot hath great plenty. There is moreover the Minwifand, from whence we passe by the Smithy found (leaving these little Ilands on the left hand, vnto the Suartigan Iland, then to Roufuiar, Roufuiar, and the Cregwin, which seauen are (for the most part) replenished with conies onelie, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, saving of a short kind of grasse, & here & there some firs wheron their conies doe feed.

Agnus Ile.

Annot.

Minwifand.
Smithy
found.
Suartigan.
Roufuiar.
Roufuiar.
Cregwin.

Leaving therefore these desert peeces, we incline a little toward the north-west, where we stumble or run vpon Moncarthar, Inis Welseck, & Suedhiall. We came in like sort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are so manie monstrous rats, that if anie hoxses, or other beasts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are sure to be deuoured & eaten vp, without all hope of recoverie. There is moreover the Anwall and the Brier, Ilands in like sort void of all good furniture, conies onelie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, castell, and parish-church) bringeth forth no lesse store of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.

Moncarthar.
Inis Welseck.
Suedhiall.
Rat Iland.
Anwall.
Brier.

By north of the Brier, lieth the Rusco, which hath a Labelle or Iyland stretching out toward the south-west, called Inis widdo. This Rusco is verie nere to great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreover an hold, and a parish within it, beside great store of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Pert vnto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherein is a parish-church dedicated to that Saint, beside conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later there is some indifferent store) the Notho, the Auing, (one of them being situat by south of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which is a iust halfe lesse than the Notho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furnished with a parish-church, and no small plenty of conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it selfe being next vnto the Rusco for greatnesse, and verie well furnished with conies & fresh springs. Also betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, smaller, which reach out of the north-east into the south-west, as Knolworth, Sniuiluer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Archurs Iland, Guiniliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whose estates are diuers: howbeit as no one of these is to be accounted great in comparison of the other, so they all yeld a short grasse meet for sheepe and conies, as do all the rest. In the greater Iles likewise (whose names are commonlie such as those of the townes or churches standing in the same) there are (as I here) sundry lakes, and those neuer without great plenty of wild foule, so

Rusco.
Inis widdo.

Round Iland.
S. Lides.
Notho.
Auing.
Tyan.

S. Martines.

Knolworth.
Sniuiluer.
Menwetham.
Vollis. 1.
Surwihe.
Vollis. 2.
Archurs Ile.
Guiniliuer.
Nenech.
Gothrois.

that the Iles of Sylley, are supposed to be no lesse beneficiall to their lordes, than anie other whatsoeuer, within the compasse of our Ile, or nere vnto our coasts. In some of them also are wild swine. And as these Iles are supposed to be a notable safegard to the coast of Cornewall, so in diuerse of them great store of tin is likewise to be found. There is in like manner such plenty of fish taken among these same, that beside the feeding of their swine withall, a man shall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten groates. Howbeit their chiefe commoditie is made by Reigh, which they drie, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Britaine, where they exchange it there, for salt, canuas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they doe stand in need of. A like trade haue some of them also, with Buckhozne or dried whiting, as I heare. But sith the author of this report did not flatlie auaunt it, I passe ouer that fish as not in season at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richest and most wealthie Iles of Sylley, from whence we must direct our course eastwards, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe vnto the west point of Wales, continuing still our volage along vpon the west coast of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey whereat the kingdomes part, & from which forth on we must touch such Ilands as lie vpon the west and north shore, till we be come againe vnto the Scottish sea, and to our owne dominions.

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From the point of Cornewall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (so called, as some thinke, because Helenus the son of Priamus who arrived here with Bute lieth buried there, except the sea haue washed awaie his sepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Ilands at all that I doe know or heare of, but one litle Iyland, Cape or Peninfula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet sith I haue spoken of it, you shall vnderstand, that it is called Pendinas, and beside that the compasse thereof is not aboute a mile, this is to be remembered farther thereof, how there standeth a Pharos or light therein, for ships which saile by those coasts in the night. There is also at the verie point of the said Pendinas, a chappell of saint Nicholas, beside the church of saint Ia, an Irish woman saint. It belonged of late to the Lord Woke, but now (as I gesse) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is also a blockhouse, and a pære in the eastside thereof, but the pære is sore choked with sand, as is the whole shore furthermore from S. Iles vnto S. Carantokes, inasmuch that the greatest part of this Iyland is now couered with sands, which the sea causth vp, and this calamitie hath indured little aboute fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants doe affirme.

Callid Guine in Sylley.

Helenus.
Priamus.

Pendinas.

There are also two rocks nere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common sort doe repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one desirous to note all, I thinke it not best that these should be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepeholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes being in dead parcels of ground and low lilles fit for little else than to beare grasse for cattell, whereof they take those names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all such places. Of these also Stepeholme lieth south of the Flatholme, about foure or five miles; the first also a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they doe seeme to be the broadest.

It should seeme by some that they are not woorthie to be placed among Ilands: yet other some are of opinion, that they are not altogether so base, as to be reputed amongst flats or rocks: but whatsoeuer they be, this is sure, that they oft annoie such passengers and merchants as passe and repasse vpon that riuer. Neither

Barri.

Barri is
flight ft
from ti
shore.

Dunw

Calde

Londy

Schal

Schoi

Lime
Ram

Barri.

D. flaine
vltip.Barri is a
flight shot
from the
shore.

Dunwen.

Caldee.

nus.
nus.

Londy.

inax.

Schalmey.

Schoncold.

Limen or
Ramley.

do I read of any other Isles which lie by east of these, save onlie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a flight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift or chine upon the side, whereunto if a man doe laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellowes, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compasse, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henroffer, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire mills, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be buried to the maine within a short season. Beyond these & toward the coast of Southwailes lie two other Islands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish church with a spire steeple, and a pretty towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of one Dauid in Wales. Leland supposeth the ruines that are found therein to haue bene of an old priore sometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monastrie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of this Island the parson of the said towne is not onlie the capitaine, but hath thereto twelfe, distressed, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little above sixteen miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldee, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Denonshire. Whereouer in this Island is great plentie of shepe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage; likewise much Sampere upon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrells. And albeit that there be not scarce fourtie households in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie powdered) may keepe off thousands of their enemies, because it is not possible for anie aduersaries to assaile them, but onlie at one place, and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voiage also we met with two other Islands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Kat Ile; the first is but a little plot lieng at the point of the Waie, before we come at the Bloukehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford haueu upon the east side. By north also of Shepes Ile, and betwene it & Stache rocke, which lieth in the verie middell of the haueu, at another point is Kat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the lesse lie north-west of Milford haueu a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, because they be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile joineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Milford haueu. Beside these also we found the Wateholme, Stockeholme, Midland, and Gresholme Isles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Waie, where we saw saint Wydes Island, and an other in the Sound betwene Ramley and the point, of all which Isles and such rockes as are offensive to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

Limen (as Prolomie calleth it) is situat ouer against S. Davids in Wales (whereunto we must needs come, after we be past another little one, which some men do call Gresholme) & lieth betwene west of Schalmey. In a

late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramley: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I can not learne more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (ithens I described the Holmes) and for temporall iurisdiction a member of Penbroke shire, as it is vnto S. Davids for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England lib. 8. saith that it contained three Isles, whereof the bishop of S. Davids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Davids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Cairmarden doth the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for shepe and horses, but not for other horned beasts which lacke their upper teeth by nature (whose substance is converted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore can not bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Island in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shot ouer, and environed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herringes.

After this, proceeding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countrie leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leauing the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Isles, which doe lie upon the mouth of the Sodi, one of them being distant (as we guessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost woorthie to be remembered. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie parishioners, except they be shepe and conies. The quantitie thereof also is not much above six acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Pendlin, Myrach, or Mereroffe, situat in manner betwixt Tudfall or Tuidall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for horses, whereof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren, a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Bardsey an Island lieng ouer against Periuirle the south-west point or promontorie of Southwailes (where Merlin Syluestris lieth buried) and wither the rest of the monks of Bangor did flee to save themselves, when 2100. of their fellowes were slaine by the Saxon princes in the quarell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester rased to the ground, and not since reedified againe to anie purpose. Prolomie calleth this Island Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein also is a parish church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the north-east, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod, a notable rocke situat ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some towne or village. Certes we could not well discern whether of both it was, because the wind blew hard at south-west, the morning was mistie, and our mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, hasted awaie vnto Anglesey, whither we went apace with a readie wind & men at our owne desire.

This Island (which Tacitus mistaketh no doubt for Mona Cælaris, and so doth Prolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is situat about two miles from the shore of Southwailes. Paulus Iouius gesseth that it was in time past ioined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and onelie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peradventure was from Italie by the violence of the Levant or passage of some king that reigned there. Thereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constrained at the first to make a bidge ouer into the same, till the breach waxed so great, that no such passage could anie longer be maintained. But as these things doe either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile: so (in coming to me

Mawr.

Tudfall.

Pendlin.

Guelyn.

Anglesey
cut from
Wales by
working of
the sea.

Angleſei.

my matter) Angleſei is found to be full ſo great as the
Wight, and nothing inferior, but rather ſurmount-
ing it, as that alſo which Cæſar calleth Mona in fruit-
fulneſſe of ſoile by manie an hundred fold. In old time
it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to
Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their
prouiſion of corne. In like maner the Welſhmen
themſelues called it the mother of their countrie, for gi-
uing their minds wholie to paſturage, as the moſt eaſie
and leſſe chargeable trade, they bitterlie neglected til-
lage, as men that leaned onlie to the fertilitie of this
Iſland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to
receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus ſaith that the
Ile of Angleſei was no leſſe ſufficient to miniſter
graine for the ſuſtentation of all the men of Wales,
than the mountaines called Eleri or Snowdoni in
ſouthwales were to yeld plenty of paſture for all the
cattell whatſoener within the aforeſaid compaſſe, if
they were brought together and leſt vpon the ſame. It
contained moreover ſo manie towneſhelues, as
there be daies in a yeare, which ſome conuerting into
Centredes haue accounted but for three, as Gyraldus
ſaith. Whobeit, as there haue bene 3 ſay 363. towneſ-
in Angleſei, ſo now a great part of that reckoning is
utterlie thronke, and ſo far gone to decaye, that the ve-
rie ruines of them are vnderneath to be ſene & diſcerned:
and yet it ſeemeth to be meetlie well inhabited. Leland
noting the ſmalneſſe of our hundredes in compariſon to
that they were in time paſt, addeth (ſo far as I remem-
ber) that there are ſix of them in Angleſei, as Menay,
Maltraich, Liou, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaichin:
herevnto Lhoid ſaith alſo how it belonged in old time
vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or ſouthwales, and
that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the
ſouthweſt ſide of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held
euermore their palaces, whereby it came to paſſe, that
the kings of ſouthwales were for a long time called
kings of Aberfraw, as the Welſhmen named the
kings of England kings of London, till better inſtru-
ction did bring them farther knowledge.

There are in Angleſei many towneſ and villages,
whoſe names as yet I cannot orderlie attaine vnto:
wherefore I will content my ſelfe with the rehearſall
of ſo many as we believed in ſailing about the coaſts,
and otherwiſe heard report of by ſuch as I haue talked
withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gef-
ni (which riſeth at northeaſt about Gefni or Geuenni,
20. miles at the leaſt into the land) we paſſed firſt by
Hurdwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beau-
marais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby
runneth a rill into a creeke) Cornew, Holihed (ſtan-
ding in the promontorie) Gwiſen, Aberfraw, and Cair
Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter ſtand as it
were in a nake betwene the Geuenni water, and the
Fraw, wherevpon Aberfraw is ſituate. Within the
Iſland we heard onlie of Gefni afore mentioned, of
Griffith ſtanding vpon the ſame water, of Tefni, of La-
nerdhimedh, Lachtenfarwy and Bodedrin, but of all
theſe the choſe is now Beaumarais, which was buildd
ſometime by king Edward the firſt, and therewithall a
ſtrong caſtell about the yeare 1295. to keep that land
in quiet. There are alſo (as Leland ſaith) 31. pariſh
churches beſide 69. chappels, that is, a hundredth in all.
But herof I can ſaie little, for lacke of full inſtruction.
In time paſt, the people of this Ile uſed not to ſeueral
their grounds, but now they dig fronte hillocks, and
with the ſtones thereof they make rude wallies, much
like to thoſe of Deuonſhire, ſith they want hedge-
bote, ſtre bote, and houſe bote, or (to ſaie at one word)
timber, buſhes and trees. As for wine, it is ſo plenti-
full and good cheape there moſt commonlie as in Lon-
don, though the great recourſe of merchants from
France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforeſaid Iſland.
The ſleth likewiſe of ſuch cattell as is bred there, wher-

of we haue ſtoze yearelie brought vnto Cole ſaſtre in
Cheſter, is moſt delicate, by reaſon of their excellent pa-
ſture, and ſo much was it eſteemed by the Romans in
time paſt, that Columella did not onlie commend
and preferre them beſore thoſe of Liguria, but the em-
perours themſelues being nere hand alſo cauſed their
prouiſion to be made for mete out of Angleſei, to ſad
vpon at their ſtone tables as the moſt excellent beſe.
It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to
meane the Ile of Engliſhmen, becauſe they toan it in
the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle
of Cheſter, and Hugh of Shrewſburie. Whobeit they
recovered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when
they ſpoiled the citie of Gloceſter, ranſacked Shrewſ-
burie, and returned home with great botie and pillage,
in which bolage alſo they were holpen greatly by the
Irishmen, who after three yeares ioined with them a-
gaine, and ſue the earle of Shrewſburie (which then
liued) with great crueltie. The Welſhmen call it Tire-
monne and Mon, and herein likewiſe is a promontorie
or Wyland, called Holie head (which hath in time paſt
bene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke that dwel-
led there) from whence the readieſt paſſage is common-
lie had out of ſouthwales to get ouer into Ireland, of
which Ile I will not ſpeake at this time, leaſt I
ſhuld bereaue another of that trauell. Yet Plinie ſaith,
lib. 4. cap. 16. that it lieth not farre off from and ouer a-
gainſt the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the weſt
coaſt of our Iſland, and euen ſo farre as Dunbritton,
and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons
named it Enyllnach, or holie Ile, of the number of
carcaſes of holie men, which they affirme to haue
bene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little,
wherein women had offended, that they might not
come thither, or at the leaſt wiſe returne from thence
without ſome notable reproch or ſhame vnto their bo-
dies. By ſouth alſo of Hilarie point, ſomewhat incli-
ning toward the eaſt, lieth Inis Lygod, a ſmall thing
(God foot) and therefore not worthie great remem-
brance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing
elſe enforced the memorizall thereof, but onlie the
number and certeine ſale of ſuch ſles as lie about
our Iſland. I might alſo ſpeake of the Ile Mail Royn-
ad, which lieth north weſt of Angleſei by ſire miles; but
becauſe the true name hereof, as of manie riuers and
ſtreames are to me vnknoſtome, I am the more willing
to paſſe them ouer in ſilence, leaſt I ſhould be noted to
be farther corrupter of ſuch words as I haue no ſkill to
deſtiner and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude
with the deſcription of the whole Iſland, this I will ad-
moreouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are
the beſt milſones of white, red, blew, and greene græts,
(eſpectallie in Tindaichin) ſo there is great gaines to
be gotten by fiſhing round about this Ile, if the people
there could vſe the trade: but they want both cunning
and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for
tempozall regiment, it apperteineth to the countie of
Cairnarvon, ſo in ſpiritual caſes it belongeth to the bi-
ſhoppe of Bangor. This is ſinallie to be noted of An-
gleſei, that ſundrie earthen pots are often found there
of dead mens bones conuerted into aſhes, ſet with the
mouthes downeward contrarie to the uſe of other na-
tions, which turned the bryns vppwards, whereof let this
ſuffice.

Having thus deſcribed Angleſei, it reſteth to report
furthermore, how that in our circuit about the ſame,
we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth north-
weſt thereof almiſt ouer againſt Butricke mouth, or the
fall of the water, that paſſeth by Butricke. The Britons
called it Ynis Ader, that is to ſay, the Ile of birds in
old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid,
that is the Ile of porpoſes. It hath to name likewiſe
Yſterid, and Adros. Being paſt this, we came to the
ſecond lieng by north eaſt, ouer againſt the Hilarie
point

Lygod.

Seriall
Prefixe

Credin

Dolie head,
or Cair kybi.Enyllnach,
holie Ile.

Hilber

Ancient
buriall.Euboi
MeuaAdar.
Moil.
Rhomaid.
Yſterid.
Adros.

Lygod.

Seriall.
Prestholme

Credine.

ie head,
air kiby.finach,
the

Hilberie.

H. 22

Eubonia.
Meuania.aid.
id.

point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to say, the Ile of Giffie, and of these two this latter is the smallest, neither of them both being of any greatnesse to speake of. Ynis Seriall. Prestholme lieth ouer against Penmon, or the point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne (as I told you) of the same denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland, whereof I maruell. It is part cell of Flintshire, and of the iurisdiction of S. Asaph, and in fertilitie of soile, and breed of cattell, nothing inferior vnto Anglesey his mother: although that for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie short thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The last Iland vpon the coast of Wales, hauing now left Anglesey, is called Credine, and although it lie not properlie within the compasse of my description, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, sith the cause thither from Denbighland, is commonlie ouerflowne. It is partlie made an Iland by the Conwey, and partlie by the sea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we passed forth to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compass: or more, a sandie soile, but yet verie batable for sheepe and cattell, it is well replenished also with fresh wels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie stone, which is oft brought thence to Chester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are also two parish churches in the same, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, because they be so oft spoiled by pirats, although the lord of the same be verie wealthye thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good pensworths, as theenes commonlie do of such prizes as they get by like shepat, notwithstanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onlie at one place. Howbeit they are constrained to vse it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came to the cape of Ile Wye, or Hilberie, and point of Wylleale, from whence is a common passage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. houres sailing, if the weather be not tedious. This Iland at the full sea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the streame betwene foure sadams deepe, as ship-boates haue oft sounded, but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the sand. The Ile of it selfe is verie sandie a mile in compasse, and well stored with conies, thither also went a sort of superstitious soles in times past, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whose offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Chester, was cherished and mainteined.

The next Iland vpon the coast of England is Span or Mona Caesaris, which some name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monaoida, as some thinke, though other ascribe that name to Anglesey, which the Welshmen do commonlie call Môn, as they do this Manaw, It is supposed to be the first, as Hirtha is the last of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betwene them of 300. miles. But Plinie saith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, lib. 2. cap. 75. It lieth also vnder 53. degrees of latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minuts, abutting on the north side vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furnessels on the east, Prestholme and Anglesey on the south, and Alder in Ireland on the west. It is greater than Anglesey by a third, and there are two riuers in the same, whose heads do ioine so nere, that they do seeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Ethicus, &c. call it Eubonia, and other following Orofius, Meuania or Mauania, howbeit after Beda and the Scottish histories, the Meuania are all those Isles aforesaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmesburie, lib. 1. de regibus, befinde this our Mona) will haue Anglesey also to be one. Wherefore it seemeth hereby that a number of our late writers ascribing the said name vnto Mona onely, haue not bene a little decciued, Iornandes lib. de Ge-

is speaketh of a second Meuania; Eabet & aliam Meuaniam (saith he) necnon & Orchadas. But which should be prima, as yet I do not read, except it should be Anglesey; and then saith Malmesburie well. In like sort Propertius speaketh of a Meuania, which he called Nebulosa, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Umbria where he was borne, lib. 4. eleg. De urbe Romæ. Wherefore there needeth no vse of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euidet out of Orofius, lib. 1. capite 2. that Scots dwelled sometime in this Ile, as also in Ireland, which Ethicus also affirmeth of his owne time, and finally confirmeth that the Scots and Irish were sometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in breadth, and is in maner of like distance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

In this Iland also were some time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the west halfe, and the rest in the other. But now through loining house to house & land to land (a common plague and canker, which will eat by all, if prouision be not made in time to withstand this mischance) that number is halfe diminished, and yet many of the rich inhabitants want roome, and wote not how and where to bestowe themselves, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reason that men were greater in bodie, than they haue bene in time past, but onelic for that their insatiable desire of enlarging their priuate possessions increaseth still vpon them, and will do more, except they be restrained: but to returne to our purpose. It was once spoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelstane, chasie by Anlafus in his flight from the bloudie battell, wherein Constantine king of Scotland was overcome: secondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the possession of the English, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Iland vnder their dominion, almost from their first actiual in this Iland, and as Beda saith till Edwine king of the Northumbrians wan it from them, and vniited it to his kingdome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots gat the possession thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwaies wan it from them, who also kept it (but with much trouble) almost 370. yeares vnder the governance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwaie inuested vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recovered it from them, with all the rest of those Isles that lie vpon the west coast, called also Sodorpenes in the daies of Magnus king of Norwaie. And sithens that time the Scottish princes haue not ceased to giue lawes to such as dwelled there, but also from time to time appointed such bishops as should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in the same, till it was won from them by our princes, and so vniited vnto the realme of England. Finally, how after sundrie sales bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that William Scrope the kings Wicethamberleine, did buy this Ile and croftone thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the ancestors of the earles of Darbie, who haue bene commonlie said to be kings of Span, the discourse following shall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betwene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a compromise the triall of the matter was referred to the lines or deaths of such venomous women as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like do in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he retained the Iland. But howsoever this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in so much that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed

Chronica
Tinemuthi.

inclosed under certeine knots of thred, with this in-
tunction, that they which bought the same, should for a
great gale vnder manie, and for the lesse a fether or
smaller number. The stature of the men and also ferti-
lilie of this Iland are much commended, and for the
latter supposed verie nere to be equall with that of An-
glesei, in all commodities.

Call men in
Span.

There are also these towne therein, as they come
now to my remembrance, Rushen, Dungalasse, Holme
towne, S. Brides, Bala cury (the bishops house) S. Mich.
S. Andrew, kirk Christ, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S.
Anne, Pala sala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu,
and Home. But of all these Rushen with the castell is
the strongest. It is also in recompense of the common
want of wood, indued with sundrie pretie waters, as
first of all the Burne rising in the northside of Warehill
botoms, and branching out by south west of kirk S. An,
it seemeth to cut off a great part of the eastside thereof,
from the residue of that Iland. From those hills also
(but of the south halfe) cometh the Holme and Hol-
mey, by a towne of the same name, in the verie mouth
whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue also
the Bala passing by Bala cury, on the westside, and the
Rame on the north, whose fall is named Ramefei hauen,
as I do read in Chyonicles.

Rivers.

Hilles.

There are moreover sundrie great hills therein, as
that whereupon S. Mathees standeth, in the north east
part of the Ile, a parcell whereof cometh flat south,
betwene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yelding
out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I spake
before. Beside these and well toward the south part of
the Ile, I find the Warehills, which are extended al-
most from the west coast ouerthwart vnto the Burne
streame. It hath also sundrie hauens, as Ramsei hauen,
by north Laxam hauen, by east Port Iris, by south west
Port Home, and Port Michell, by west. In like sort
there are diuers Ilets annexed to the same, as the Calfe
of man on the south, the Pile on the west, and smallie
S. Michels Ile in the gulfe called Ranoths waie in the
east. Moreover the sheepe of this countrie are exceeding
huge, well walled, and their tailes of such greatnesse
as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in
maner monstrous. They haue furthermore great flocks
of barnacles breeding vpon their coasts, but yet not so
great flocks as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of
old ships, ors, masts, peeces of rotten timber as they
saie, and such putrified pitched stufte, as by wrecke hath
happened to corrupt vpon that shore. Howbeit neither
the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can re-
adilie saie whether they be fish or flesh, for although the re-
ligious there vsed to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere,
some haue bene troubled, for eating of them in times
prohibited for heretikes and lollards.

Hauens.

Calfe of
man.
The pile.
S. Michels
Ile.
Sheepe.

Hogs.

Barnacles.

Barnacles
neither fish
nor flesh.

For my part, I haue bene verie desirous to vnder-
stand the vttermost of the breeding of barnacles, & que-
stioned with diuers persons about the same. I haue red
also whatsoeuer is writtten by foren authors touching
the generation of that foule, & sought out some places
where I haue bene assured to see great numbers of
them: but in vaine. Wherefore I vtterlie despaired to
obtaine my purpose, till this present yeare of Grace
1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court
at Greenwich from London by bote, I saw sundrie
ships lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either
from Barbarie or the Canarie Isles (for I do not
well remember now from which of these places) on
whose sides I perceived an infinit sort of shels to hang
so thicke as could be one by another. Drawing nere
also, I tooke off ten or twelue of the greatest of them,
& afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proporti-
on of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all
the rest, sauing that the head was not yet formed, be-
cause the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it)
and thereby hindered their perfection. Certainelie

the feathers of the taile hanging out of the shell at least
two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme)
were garded with two shels or sheldes proportioned
like the selfe wings, and likewise the breastbone had his
couerture also of like shellie substance, and altogether
resembling the figure which Lobell and Pena do giue
forth in their description of this foule: so that I am
now fullie perswaded that it is either the barnacle that
is ingendred after one maner in these shels, or some o-
ther sea-foule to vs as yet vnknownen. For by the sea-
thers appearing and forme so apparant, it cannot be de-
nied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this
substance, which by falling from the sides of the ships in
long voiajes, may come to some perfection. But now
it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former
purpose.

There hath sometime bene, and yet is a bishop of
this Ile, who at the first was called Episcopus Sodo-
rensis, when the iurisdiction of all the Hebrides belong-
ed vnto him. Whereas now he that is bishop there, is
but a bishops shadow, for albeit that he beare the name
of bishop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it
is supposed, the chiefe profit of his see (sauing that they
allow him a little somewhat for a flourish) notwithstanding
standing that they be his patrons, and haue his nomi-
nation vnto that lining. The first bishop of this Ile
was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and surna-
med Monachus Sauiensis, who by reason of his ex-
treame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Islanders,
had first his sight taken from him, & then was sent into
exile. After him succeeded another monke in king Ste-
phens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, &c:
other after other in succession, the see it selfe being now
also subiect to the archbishop of Yorke for spirituall iur-
isdiction. In time of Henrie the second, this Iland also
had a king, whose name was Cuthred, vnto whome
Vinianus the cardinal came as legate 1177. and where-
in Houeden erreth not. In the yeare also 1228. one
Reginald was viceroy or pettie king of Span, afterward
murdered by his subiects. Then Olauus, after him Hof-
bach the sonne of Olmond Hacon, 1290. who being
slaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of
Sodora, in such wise, that this had all the rest of the
Isles, the other onelie the Ile of Span at the first; but af-
ter the slaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after
whom Olauus his sonne succeeded. Then Harald sonne
to Olauus, who being entered in Spaie, and brot-
ten vpon the coastes of Ireland, his brother Reginald
reigned twentie and seuen daies, and then was killed
the first of June, whereby Olauus alia Harald sonne
to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Pert vnto
him succeeded Magnus the second sonne of Olauus, and
last of all Iuarus, who held it so long as the Spanes
were lords thereof. But being once come into the
hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made
lieutenant, then Alane, thirdlie Maurice Okarefer,
and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I woulde
gladlie haue set downe the whole catalog of all the
viceroies and lieutenants: but sith I can neither come
by their names nor successions, I surcease to speake
any more of them, and also of the Ile it selfe, whereof
this may suffice.

Bishop of
Span.

Patrons of
Span.

King of
Span.

After we haue in this wise described the Ile of Span,
with his commodities, we returned eastwards backe
againe vnto the point of Ramshed, where we found to
the number of six Ilets of one sort and other, whereof
the first greatest and most southwesterlie, is named the
Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we gesse, about
foue miles and more from the southeast into the north
west, betwene which and the maine land lie two
little ones, whose names are Oldborow and Fowlney.
The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being situate
southeast of the first, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouse
therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra.

Fouldra

Fold.
Ro.

Ranenglasse.

Fles in Scot
land.

Hemodes' of
some called
Acmodas, see
Plinie, Mela,
Martianus,
Capella, Plu-
tarch. & defect.
orac.

Scarba.

By east thereof in like sort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compasse, and yet of all these fir, the first and Fouldra are the fairest and most fruitfull. From hence we went by Rauenglasse point, where lieth an Island of the same denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finished, nor likelie to be published. He noteth also two other Ilets, betwene the same and the maine land; but Leland speaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet set forth of England: and thus much of the Islands that lie upon our thore in this part of my voiage.

Having so exactly as to me is possible, set downe the names and positions of such Isles, as are to be found upon the coast of the Quenes Maiesties dominions, now it resteth that we proceede orderlie with those that are sene to lie upon the coast of Scotland, that is to saie, in the Irish, the Deucalidonian & the Germans seas, which I will performe in such order as I may, sith I cannot do so much therein as I would. Some therefore doe comprehend and diuide all the Isles that lie about the north coast of this Ile now called Scotland into three parts, saying that they are either occidentals, the west Isles, alias the Orchades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the first betwene Ireland and the Orchades, so that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almost vnto the Orchades in the Deucalidonian sea, and after some are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers in deed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Acmodas; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, some speaking of 30 Hebudes and seuen Hemodes; some of five Ebudes, as Solinus, and such as follow his authoritie. Howbeit the late Scottissh writers doe produce a summe of more than 300 of these Islands in all, which sometime belonged to the Scots, sometime to the Norwegians, and sometime to the Danes. The first of these is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Alisa a desert Ile, yet replenished with conies, soland foule, and a fit harbor for fishermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coast thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie soile, yet verie plentifull of fish all about the coast, and wherein is a verie good haue: ouer against the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is also no small defense to such seafaring men as seeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no lesse fruitfull and stored with conies than the Bora, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good stoe of hore and indifferent pasture: it hath also a towne there called Rosse, and a castell named the Camps. There is also another called the Marned, an Island of a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground also but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewise of the Giot, lieth the more Cumber and the lesse, not farre in sunder one from another, and both fruitfull inough the one for coine, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Island lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ships, whereof it is called Auon, that is to saie, *Portus*, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time past great vse of it. Then haue we the Racind, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gegaw six miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of deere, and not otherwise vnfruitfull: and therefore some thinke that it was called the Ile of deere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and therefore the sea betwene that and the Ile of deere is so swift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not easilie nauigable. Being past these, we come to certeine Islands of no great fame,

which lie scattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyra-stell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the three Yarnes, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belnaua, Wikerna, Calfile, Luing, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the last three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, so called of the tiles that are made therein. The Nagley, Ildalf, and the Sken (which later is also called Thian, of a twicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much vnlike the lillie, saving that it is of a more wan and feeble colour) Vderga, Kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile, and Triaradh. There is also the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile, or idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Lismor, wherein the bishop of Argill sometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without some mines also of good mettall. There is also the Ile Ouilie, Siuna, Trecht, Sheppey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Gresse, great Ile, Ardis, Mulsadell, & Berner, sometime called the holie sanduarie, Vghe Ile, Molochasgyr, and Drinada, now ouergrown with bushes, elders, and utterlie spoiled by the ruines of such great houses as haue heretofore bene found therein. There is in like sort the Wijc, the Ransie, and the Caruer.

In this tract also, there are yet three to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the first is one of the most, that hath not bene least accounted of. It is not much about 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the south into the north, and yet it is an exceeding rich plot of ground verie plentifull of coine, cattell, deere, and also lead, and other mettals, which were easie to be obtained, if either the people were industrious, or the soile yeldable of wood to fire and trie out the same. In this Island also there is a lake of sweet water called the Laie, and also a baie wherein are sundrie Islands; and there vnto another lake of fresh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is situate, wherein the soueraigne of all the Isles sometime dwelled. Next vnto this is the round Ile, so called of the consultations there had: for there was a court sometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did minister iustice vnto the rest, and had the whole disposition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of those Islands. There is also the Stoneheape, an other Island so called of the heape of stones that is therein. On the south side also of Ila, we find moreover the Colurne, Mulmor, Ostin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imeriga, Bethy, Texa, Shepie, Naofig, Rinard, Cane, Thardier, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Johns Ile, and Staekbed. On the west side thereof also lieth Ouersey, whereby runneth a perillous sea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vlabrast, Tanask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Coluanfo.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and so manie in bredth, rough of soile, yet fruitfull enough; beside woods, deere, & good harbrough for ships, replenished with diuers and sundrie townes and castles. Over against Columkill also, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great stoe of salmons, and other riuellets now altogether vnfruitfull, beside two lakes, in each of which is an Island: and likewise in euerie of these Islands a castell. The sea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable baires wherein great plenty of verie good herrings are taken. It hath also in the north-west side Columbia, or the Ile of doues; on the south-east, Era: both verie commodious for fishing, cattell, and coine. Moreover, this is tworth the noting in this Ile about all the rest, that it hath a pleasant spring, arising two miles in distance from the thore, wherein are certeine little eggs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and brightnesse.

ness, and thereto full of thicke humour, which eggs being carried by violence of the fresh water unto the salt, are there within the space of twelue houres converted into great shels, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceived.

Jona.

Jona was sometime called Columkill, in fame and estimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little about two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitful, full of all such commodities, as that climat where in it standeth both yeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue spoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were sometimes also two monasteries therein, one of monks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a parish church, beside many chappels builded by the Scottish kings, and such princes as governed in the Isles. And when the English had once gotten possession of the Isle of Manaw, a bishops see was created in the old monasterie of Columbus, whereby the iurisdiction of those Isles was still mainteined and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Island the old burials appertaining to the most noble families that had dwelled in the west Isles; but these about other are accompanied the most notable, which haue little houses builded upon them. That in the middelt hath a stone, whereon is written, *Tumuli regum Scotie*. The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they saie) fourtie eight of them were there interred. Another is intailed with these words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, because foure of them lie in that place. The third hath these words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Forwaie, for there eight of them were buried also, and all through a fond suspicion conceived of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in proceesse of time, when Malcolm Cammo had erected his abbey at Donfermeling, he gaue occasion to manie of his successors to be interred there.

Regum tumuli.

About this Island there lie six other Isles disperfed, small in quantitie, but not altogether barren, sometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lordes of the Isles unto the abbey of saint Columbus, of which the Doa, albeit that it yeld competent pasturage for sheepe, yet is it more commodious by such eggs as the great plentie of wildfoule there breeding doe laie within the same. Then is there the Isle of Shyewes of women; as the more sober heads doe call it. Also Rudan, next unto that, the Kering. There is also the Shen halfe a mile from Gula, whose bankes doe swarme with conies: it hath also a parish church, but most of the inhabitants doe liue and dwell in Gula. There is also the Goze or the Arse, and all these belong unto saint Columbus abbey. Two miles from Arse is the Olue, an Island five miles in length, and sufficientlie storied with corne and grasse, & not without a good haven for ships to lie and harbor in. There is also the Colfane, an Island fruitful inough, and full of cornell trees. There is not far off also the Comater, Stafa, the two Kerneburgs, and the Poisse Ile, in the old Brittilsh speech called Monad, that is to saie Poisse. The soile of it is verie blacke, because of the corruption & putrefaction of such woods as haue rotted thereon: whereupon also no small plentie of mosse is bred and ingendered. The people in like manner make their fire of the said earth, which is full so good as our English turffe. There is also the Long, a six miles further toward the west, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and three in breadth, & of all other one of the most plentiful for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fish, and seafoole abundantlie. It hath also a well of fresh water, a castell, and a verie good haven for great vessels to lie at safegard in. Two miles from this also is the Gun, and the Coll two miles also from the

The Ile of Shyewes.

Poisse Ile.

Gun. Then passed we by the Calfe, a verie woodie Island, the foure greene Isles, the two glasse or skie Islands, the Ardan, the Ile of wolfes, & then the great Island which reacheth from the east into the west, is sixtene miles in length, and six in breadth, full of mounteins and swelling woods: and for asmuch as it is not much inhabited, the seafoles laie great plentie of eggs there, whereof such as will, may gather what number them listeth. Upon the high cliffes and rocks also the Soland geese are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles also is the Ile of hoxles: and a little from that the hog Island, which is not altogether vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of custome breedeth there, and thereunto it is not without a conuenient haue. Not farre off also is the Canna, and the Egga, little Isles, but the later full of Soland geese. Likewise the Sobra till, more apt to hunt in than meet for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

After this we come to the Skie, the greatest Isle about all Scotland: for it is two and forty miles long; and somewhere eight, & in some places twelue miles broad: it is moreover verie hillie, which hills are thereunto loaden with great store of wood, as the woods are with pasture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (besides all other commodities) with no small herds of mares, whereby they raise great advantage and commoditie. It hath five riuers verie much abounding with salmons, and other fresh streams not altogether void of that prouision. It is intoned also with manie bates, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yere. It hath also a noble pole of fresh water; five castles and sundrie townes; as Aie, S. Johns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certene small Islands about this also, as Kaula a habitable soile for corne & gras; Conte Island full of woods and conies; Daba a theuith Island, in whose woods theues do lurke to rob such as passe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ships; Karsa, full of beechen woods and stags; being in length seven miles; and two in breadth. The Kon; a woodie Ile and full of heath; yet hath it a good haue, which hath a little Island called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie theues. There is not farre off from this Kon, to wit about six miles also, the Flad, the Tulinen, Diansa, Bute the lesse, and Buis the more, and five other little triding Isles, of whose names I haue no notice.

Skie.

After these we come unto the Isle, a prettie fertile Island, to the Doe, to the Ashome, to the Lindill. And foure score miles from the Skie towards the west, to the Ling, the Cigarmen, the Berner, the Magle, the Wable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Wateras, which later hath a noble haue for great ships; beside sundrie other commodities: and these nine last rehearsed are vnder the dominion of the bishop of the Isles. After this, we come to the War, an Island seauen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for grasse and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one bate of this Island there lieth an Islet, and therein standeth a strong castell. In the north part hereof also is an hill which beareth good grasse from the foot to the top, and out of that riseth a spring, which running to the sea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet percellie formed, which some do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the shore where the water falleth into the sea, they take vp a kind of shellfish, when the water is gone, which they suppose to be ingendred or increased after this manner. Betwene the Barre and the Wisse lie also these

War.

these Islands, Orban, Due, Bakeret, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Hale, Heliaie, Gigaie, Lingate, Fraie, Fudate, and Friskaie. The Isle is thirtie miles long and six miles broad; and therein are sunbrie fresh waters, but one especiallie of thre miles in length: neuer thelesse, the sea hath now of late found a waie into it, so that it cannot be kept off with a banke of thre scoze foot, but now and then it will flowe into the same, and leaue sea-fish behind it in the lake. There is also a fish bred therein almost like vnto a salmon, sauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogether without scales: it is likewise a great harbour for theues and pirats.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Holscher, appertinent to the nuns of Jona: we haue then the Halker, verie plentifully benefited by scales, which are there taken in time of the yere. Thre scoze miles from this also is the Hirth, whose inhabitants are rude in all good science and religion; yet is the Island verie fruitful in all things, and bringeth forth sheepe farre greater than are else where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, sendeth ouer his bailiffe into the same at midsummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a priest to saie masse, and to baptise all the children borne since that time of the yere precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (because the voyage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptise his owne at home. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried scales and sea foule. All the whole Ile is not about a mile euerie waie; and except thre mounteines that lie vpon one part of the thore, such as dwell in the other Iles can see no part thereof.

Being past the Wisse, we came after to Warlaie, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner, Enfaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Hermoziaie, Scarfe, Orte, Ling, Gilling, Heie, Hoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Ile, Sein the moze, Sein the lesse, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Hareie, and the seauen holie Islands, which are desert and breed nothing but a kind of wild sheepe, which are often hunted, but seldom eaten. For in stead of flesh they haue nothing but tallow; and if anie flesh be, it is so vnsauorie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I suppose, that these be the wild sheepe which will not be tamed; and because of the horrible greyning thereof, is taken for the bassard tiger. Their haire is betwene the wolle of a sheepe, and the haire of a goat, resembling both, thached, and yet absolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be also the same beast which Capitolinus calleth Ouis fera, shewed in the time of Gordian the emperour; albeit that some take the same for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantie.

There is also not farre off the Carnell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Hellas, the two Bernars, the Birt, the two Baies, the Wraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrains, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is so called vpon some probable conjecture) for manie little skulls and bones are dailie there found deepe in the ground, perfectly resembling the bodies of children; & not a rite of greater quantities, whereby their conjecture (in their opinion) is the moze likelie to be true. There is also the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Niccoll, Hangerie, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Coz Ile, Jfurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Sweet; on whose east side is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a slight shot in length, whereinto meane ships do vse to runne for harbour with full saile when a tempest ouertaketh them, or the raging of the sea, in those parts do put them in danger of wrecke. Also

we passed by the old caskell Ile, which is a pretie and verie commodious plat for fish, foule, egges, corne, and pasture. There is also the Ile Cuff or Cu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for theues, as is also the Grinozt; likewise the preests Ile, which is verie full of sea foule and good pasture. The Afull, the two Herberts, to wit, the greater and the lesse, and the Iles of Hoyses, and Hertalka: and these lie ouer against the baie which is called the Lake Bryan. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Haraie, and the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one Island of thre scoze miles in length, and sixtene in breadth, being distinguished by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that doe possesse those parts. The south part is called Haraie, and the whole situate in the Deucalidon sea, ouer against the Rolle, & called Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie pretie villages, as lake Erwin, lake Unsallago: but of towne, S. Clements, Stoie, Pois, S. Columbane, Radmach, &c. In like sort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to S. Clement, beside a monastrie called Roadill. The soile also of this Ile is indifferent fruitful; but they reape moze profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither wolfe, for, nor serpent scene in this Island; yet are there great woods therein, which also separate one part from the other. Likewise there be plentie of stags, but farre lesse in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Island also is a riuer which greatlie aboundeth with salmons. That part also called Lewis, which is the north half of the Ile is well inhabited toward the sea coasts, and hath riuers no lesse plentifull for salmon than the other halfe. There is also great store of herrings taken, whereof the fisher men doe raise great gaine and commoditie; and no lesse plentie of sheepe, which they doe not there, but plucke euerie yere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of mosse, and the face thereof verie swart and blacke, for the space of a foot in depth, though the corruption of such woods as in time past haue rotted on the same. And therefore in time of the yere they conuert it into turtles to burne, as neede shall serue; and in the yere after, hauing well dinged it in the meane time with sawke of the sea, they solve barleie in the selfe places where the turtles grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and feed. Such plentie of whales also are taken in this coast, that the verie tithe hath bene knowne, in some one yere, to amount vnto seauen and twentie whales of one greatnesse and other. This is notable also in this part of the Ile, that there is a great caue two yards deepe of water when the sea is gone, and not aboute foure when it is at the highest; ouer which great numbers doe sit of both sexes and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fish, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them also the moze idle.

Being past this about fiftie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which some take for the last of the Hebides, distant (as I said) about fiftie miles from the Orkades, and one hundredeth and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungshe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord also of the soile doth limit their number of households, & hauing assigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and smaller sorts of cattell they shall spend and inioie for their owne prouision, they send the ouerplus perleie vnto him to Lewis. Their cheefe payments consist of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, solued by in shepes skins. Also of mutton and sea foule dried, that refresh ouer and aboue, which they themselves doe spend. And if it happen

Lewis called Thule by Tacitus, south no better authoritie than the Anglesic Orons.

the whales.

Baptisme without priests.

wild sheepe.

Tigers.

Ile of Pigmeies.

that there be more people in the Iland than the lords booke or rate doth come vnto, then they send also the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him : by which means they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no vices from strange countries, neither know or heare of anie things done else-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken also vpon their coasts, which are likewise replenished with scale, and porpasse, and those which are either so tame, or so fierce, that they abash not at the sight of such as looke vpon them, neither make they anie hast to flie out of their presence.

Suillcraie.

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles westward, there is another called Suillcraie, of a mile length, void of grasse, and without so much as heath growing vpon hir soile: yet are there manie clifles and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke mosse, whereon innumerable sorts of foules do breed and laie their eggs. Whether in like sort manie doe saile from Letwilla, to take them yong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they also kill and drie in eight daies space, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie strange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke foule, which is little lesse than a goose; and this kind cometh thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the spring, to laie hir eggs and bring vp hir yong, till they be able to shift for themselves, & then they get them awaie together to the sea, and come no more untill that time of the yeare which next insueeth. At the same season also they cast their fethers there, as it were answering tribute to nature for the vse of hir mosse soile: wherein it is wonderfull to see, that those fethers haue no stalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are sene to couer their bodies as it were wolle or downe, till breeding time (I saie) wherein they be left stark naked.

Colke foule.

Orchades.

The Orchades (whose first inhabitants were the Scythians, which came from those Isles where the Gothes did inhabit, as some sparks yet remaining among them of that language doe declare) lie partlie in the Germanie, and partlie in the Calidon seas, ouer against the point of Dunghisbie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other saie thirtie & one, yet some saie thirtie three, as Orosius, but Plinie saith fortye) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the rest whereof heretofore I haue made report, since we crossed ouer the mouth of the Soluete streame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of these Islands retaine much of their old sparing diets, and therevnto they are of goodlie stature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great strength, whittish colour, as men that feed most vpon fish; with the cold is so extreame in those parts, that the ground bringeth forth but small store of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it seemeth that (in times past) some of these Islands also haue bene well replenished with wood, but now they are without either tree or shrub, in stead whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is suffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the soile of it selfe will not yield to bring forth trees & bushes. For what store of such hath bene in times past, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground doe p[ro]u[e] sufficient t[ra]ll. Mes they haue verie plentifullie, but greater store of barleie, whereof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and such indeed, as will verie readilie cause a stranger to ouerthot himselfe. Now best this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer so strong, & they themselves so unmeasurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it shall not easilie be sene (saith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or

If he speake
all in truth.

mad man, dolt, or naturall foole, meet to weare a cockescombe.

This unmeasurable drinking of theirs is confessed also by Buchanan, who noteth, that whensoever anie wine is brought vnto them from other soiles, they take their parts thereof abundantlie. He addeth moreover, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who first preached Christ vnto them) of farre greater quantitie than common boles are, and so great, that it may seme to be referred since the Lapithane banquet, onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie bishop cometh vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught; then they assure themselves of good lucke, and plentie after it. Neuertheless this excellence is not often found in the common sort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugal; but in their priests, and such as are of the richer calling. They succour pirats also, and verie often exchange their vittels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to resist (their Islands lying so scattered) than for anie necessitie of such gains as they doe get by those men: for in truth, they thinke themselves to haue little need of other furniture than their owne soiles doe yield and offer vnto them. This is also to be read of the inhabitants of these Islands, that ignorance of excellence is vnto the most part of them in stead of physike; and labour and trauell a medicine for such few diseases as they are molested and incombred withall.

In like sort they want venemous beasts, chese, lie such as doe delight in hotter soile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their ewes also are so full of increase, that some doe vsuallie bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are such as bring forth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gain. As for wild and tame foules, they haue such plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their soile, than a benefit to their tables: they haue also neat and gotes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and chese: wherein, next vnto fish, the chese part of their sustenance doth consist. There is also a bishop of the Orchades, who hath his see in Bomona the chiefe of all the Islands, where, in also are two strong castles, and such hath bene the superstition of the people here, that there is almost no one of them, that hath not one church at the least dedicated to the mother of Christ. Finallie, there is little vse of physike in these quarters, lesse store of eeles, and least of frogs. As for the horses that are bred amongst them, they are commonlie not much greater than asses, and yet to labour and trauell, a man shall find verie few else-where, able to come neare, much lesse to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The seas about these Islands are verie tempestuous, not onelie through strong winds, and the influences of the heavens and stars; but by the contrarie meetings and workings of the west ocean, which rageth so vehementlie in the streits, that no vessel is able to passe in safetie amongst them. Some of these Islands also are so small and low, that all the commodities which is to be reaped by anie of them, is scarce sufficient to susteine one or two men: and some of them so barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing else but mosse or bare shingle. Wherefore onelie thirtene of them are inhabited and made account of, the rest being left vnto their shepe and cattell. Of all these Islands also Bomona is the greatest, and therefore called the continent, which containeth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelue parish churches, and one towne, which the Danes (sometime lords of that Iland) called Cracouia: but now it hight Kirk-

Kirkwa.
wa.

two. There are also two pretie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the bishop: and also a beautiful church, and much building betwene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two townes, the one is called the kings and the other the bishops towne. All the whole Island is full of clifles and promontories, whereby no small number of bates and some hauens are produced.

There is also tin and lead to be found in six of these Isles, so good and plentifulle as anie where else in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathnesse, being separated from the same by the Victish sea: therein also lie certeine Islands, as Stromma, foure miles from Cathnesse, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathnesse, is not reputed for anie of the Orkades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the first Ile of the Orkades, called South Kauls, which is sixtene miles from Dunghillbie, *alias* Dunachibie, & that in two houres space, such is the swiftnesse of the sea in that tract. This Ile is five miles long, and hath a faire port called saint Margarets hauent. Then passe we by two desert Isles, which lie towards the east, wherein nothing is found but cattell: some call them the holmes, because they lie low, and are good for nothing but grasse. On the north side lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betwene the same Pomona. From Bur, toward the west lie three Isles, Sruu, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hoie and Wall, which some account for two, and other but for one; because that in March and September, the flats that lie betwene them, doe seeme to ioine them together, after the tide is gone. This neuertheless is certeine, that in this single or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the highest hills are to be seene that are in all the Orkades. And as they lie eight miles from Kauls, so are they two miles from Pomona, from saint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles. And on the north side of it lieth the Bzainle, in a narrow streit, as Buchanan doth remember. And these are the Isles which lie betwene Pomona and Cathnesse. As for the west side of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the sea, without either shelues, Islands, or rocks, appearing nere vnto it: but on the east side thereof Cobesadoth in maner ouerthadow it. Stapinsa also an Ile of six miles long, lieth within two miles of Craconia. Toward the east, on the west side of Pomona lieth the Kroule, of six miles in length: and by east of that, the Eglisha, wherein (as they saie) their patrone S. Spagnus lieth interred. From hence southward lie the Vera Verfa, and not far off the Wesser (which is foure score miles from Hethland) Wapa, & Stromza, which is also eightie miles from Hethland as the Wesser. In the middell also of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to saie, faire Ile, in old English, faire ete: and within sight to well of Hethland, as the Orkades, by reason of three insuperable rocks which are apparant in the same: a verie poore Island, and yet pearcelie robbed (of such commodities as it hath) by such Flemish and English fishermen as passe by the coasts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fish for the prouision of their countries.

Pert vnto this is the greatest of all the Hethlands, an Island called the Haine, sixtie miles in length, and sixtene in bredth, full of rocks, and whose coasts are onclie inhabited, the innermost parts being left vnto the fowles of the aire, because of the barrennesse and vnfruitfullnesse of the soile: yet of late some haue inbeuoured to impeople it, but with no successe corresponding to their desire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their chiefe commoditye and pearcelie gaine by fish, as aforesaid. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in bredth, and so wild

that it will suffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bred therein. Betwene this Island also and the Haine, are other smaller Islands to be found, as the Ling, Wyne, Big, and Sanferre. And from hence nine miles northward Wsa, twentie miles long, & six in bredth, plaine, pleasant, but inuironed with a swift and terrible sea. Betwene this also and the Zeale, are the Wic, the Wze, and the Ling: also towards the west, the two Skenes, Chalfete, Pozdwaide, Wase, and Powle, on the west side lie the west Skenes, Kottia, Wapa the lesse, Wunned, Wapa the more, Walla, Lonzza, Wurra, Waura the more, Waura the lesse, & in maner so manie holmes disperfed here and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call these the Hethland, and some the Scotland Isles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuision Zelandise, and toward the end of his first booke seemeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as do the inhabitants of the Orkades: although not in so ciuill wise, nor in such large measure and abundance of diet in their houses. He addeth moreover, that their apparrell is after the Germane cut, comelie, but not so chargeable and coslie, and how they raise their gaine by skins of beasts, as martens, sheepe, oxen, and goates skins, and therevnto a kind of cloth which they weaue, and sell to the merchants of Pozwaie, together with their butter, fish, either salted or dyed, and their traine oile, and exercise their trade of fishing also in their vncertaine shewes, which they fetch out of Pozwaie.

Their speech is Gothish, and such of them as by their dealing with foren merchants doe gather anie wealth, that they will verie often bestow vpon the furniture of their houses. Their weights & measures are after the Germane maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and so wholesome, that of late a man was found which had married a wife at one hundred yeares of age, and was able to go out a fishing with his boate at one hundred and fortie, and of late yeeres died of mere age, without anie other disease. Wronkennelle is not heard of among them, and yet they meet and make good chere verie often. Neither do I read of anie great bile of flesh or soule there, although that some of their Islands haue plentie of each. Pozanie mention of cozne growing in these parts, and therefore in stead of bread they dye a kind of fish, which they beat in morters to powder, & bake it in their ouens, vntill it be hard and drie. Their fuelle also is of such bones as the fish yeildeth, that is taken on their coasts: and yet they liue as themselves suppose in much felicitie, thinking it a great peece of their happinesse to be so farre distant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the more rich and ciuill part of the world.

Herein also they are like vnto the Hirthiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there cometh a priest vnto them out of the Orkades (vnto which iurisdiction they doe belong) who baptiseth all such children, as haue bene borne among them, since he last arrived, and hauing afterward remained there for a two daies, he taketh his fishes of them (which they prouide and paie with great scrupulositie in fish, for of other commodities paie they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boast of his troulesome boiage, except he watch his time. In these Isles also is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector saith) which is produced by the working of the sea vpon those coasts: but more of this elswhere. This neuertheless is certeine, that these Islands, with the Orkades, were neuer perfectly vntied to the crowne of Scotland, till the marriage was made betwene king James and the ladie Marie daughter to Christierne king of Denmarke 1468; which Christierne at the birth of their sonne James (afterward

C. li. king

king of Scotland and called James the fourth) resigned all his right and title whatsoeuer either he or his ancestors either presently or hertofore had, might haue had, or hereafter may or should haue, vnto the aforesaid peres, as appereth by the charter.

From these Shetland Isles, and vntill we come southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Boquhamnesse, I find no mention of anie Ile situat vpon that coast, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth by to Sterling, neither thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent bymestone commeth, & thereto what soe of Islands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whose secret situations though partlye scene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or discovered by arte, because of the great abundance of huge Islands of ice that moueth to and fro vpon their thozes, and sundrie perillous gulfes and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowledge doth not concerne our purpose, wherefore casting about, we came at the last into the Firch or Forth, which some call the Scottis sea, wherein we passe by seven or eight such as they be, of which the first called the Orkney, the second Naas, and Garwie the third, doe seeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Ile, wherein four castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serueth) is the last Ile of the Scottis side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flats and shallowes, number of Islands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me most. So meruell therefore that I haue bene so oft on ground among them. But most iofull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my native citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where god interteinement is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my wearie bones, and refresh at ease our wethebeaten carcases.

The first Ile therefore which commeth to our sight, after we passed Berwik, is that which was sometime called Lindesfarne, but now Holie Ile, and containeth eight miles; a place much honozed among our monasticall writers, because diuerse monks and heremits did spend their times therein. Where was also the bishops see of Lindesfarne for a long season, which after ward was translated to Chester in the street, & finally to Duresme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was first erected by Oswald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scottis monke, who came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda speaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the said Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reason of situation & nearnesse to the coast; yet the Bishops appointed the bishops of the same, and gaue the Ile with the see it selfe to such Scottis monks as they liked; because that by their preaching they first receiued the faith. But to returne to Lindesfarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finished and builded the whole church with salued timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the bishop did cower ouer with lead.

Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is a place of defense so far as I remember, and so great store of eggs laid there by diuerse kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man shall hardlie run for a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of mantle, before his race be finished. About Farne also lie certeine Isles greater than Farne it selfe, but void of inhabitants; and in these also is great store

of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured feathers, saying that they haue a white ring round about their necks. There is moreover another bird, which the people call saint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Island; so called, because it lieth ouer against the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane seacole, which the people dig out of the thozes at the low water; and in this Island dwelled one Henrie sometime a famous heremite, who (as his life declareth) raine of the Danishe race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coast of Norfolk I saw no more Islands.

Being therefore past S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile ouer against the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewise another ouer against the Clate, before we came at Wlabarne hope: the third also in Parmouth riuer ouer against Bradwell, a towne in low or litle England, whereof also I must needs saie somewhat, because it is in maner an Island, and as I gesse either hath bene or may be one: for the broadest place of the said land that leadeth to the same, is litle above a quarter of a mile, which against the raging waues of the sea can make but small resistance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in bredth, verie well replenished with townes, as Fristan, Burgh castell, Olton, Flinton, Lettost, Gunton, Blundston, Coxton, Lownd, Abbebie, Horton, Belton, Bradwell, and Colleson, and beside this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities.

Going forward from hence, by the Eskonnesse (almost an Island) I saw a small parcell cut from the maine in Oxford hauen, the Langerstone in Wywell mouth, & two peeces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge; and then casting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Sperle which is a pretie Island, well furnished with wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they invaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decayed blockhouses, two parish churches, of which one is called east Sperle, the other west Sperle, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction. Foulness is an Ile bold of wood, and yet well replenished with beris god grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is also a parish church, and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the thozes, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they saie) ride thereto if he be skilfull of the cause; it is vnder the iurisdiction of London. And at this present master William Laboz, bachelor of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex hath it vnder his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of master John Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who lived at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.

In Maldon water are in like sort three Islands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Withes, Postheie, and another (after a merth) that beareth no name so far as I remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramscie Ile, or rather a Peninsula or Wiland, & likewise the Keie, in which is a chappell of saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulness, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other. I meane concerning the placing of Foulness. But to proceed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Island of anie name, except you account Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Croboland, Sperland, Clie,

Saint Cuthberts foules.

A litle England.

Sperle.

Foulness.

Withes. Postheie.

Ramscie.

Keie.

Lindesfarne or Holie Ile.

Farne.

Canwaie.

Chie, and the rest, that are framed by the ouze, Andredeseie in Trent, so called of a church there dedicated to saint Andrew, and Aon (two noble rivers hereafter to be described) fifth I touch onelie those that are inclosed with the sea or salt water round about, as we may see in the Canwaie Isles, which some call marthes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, some to a vice, scrue, or wide sleeve, because they are verie small at the east end, and large at west. The salt rilles also that crosse the same do so separat the one of them from the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a scrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man do imagine himselfe to looke downe from the top of the mast vpon them. Betwene these, moreover and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whose name is to me unknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they lye, or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole haven, which may easilie be done at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (scarce comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John A. nele of Calis one of the best seamen that England euer byed for his skill in the narrow seas was wont to talke) caught hold of our sailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to see what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Islands, & so much may well suffice where more cannot be had.

The description of the Thames, and
such rivers as fall into the same.

Cap. II.

Having (as you haue seene) attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Islands, that are situate vpon the coast of Britaine, and finding the successe not correspondent to mine intent, it hath caused me somewhat to restraine my purpose in this description also of our rivers. For whereas I intended at the first to haue written at large, of the number, situation, names, quantities, townes, villages, castles, mountaines, fresh waters, plashes or lakes, salt waters, and other commodities of the aforesaid Isles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was so deceived in the end, that I was faine at last onelie to leane to that which I knew my selfe either by reading, or such other helpe as I had already purchased and gotten of the same. And even so it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whose heads, courses, length, bredth, depth of channell (for burden) bays, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect description vnder the report also of an imagined course taken by them all. But now for want of instruction, which hath bene largely promised, & hardly performed, and other sudden and intirious deniall of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occasion giuen on my part, I must needs content my selfe with such obseruations as I haue either obtained by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in stead of the same a mangled rehearfall of the residue set downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beseech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudenesse of my labour, which notwithstanding is not altogether in vaine, fifth my errors maye proue a spurte vnto the better skilled, either to correct or enlarge where occasion serueth, or

at the leastwise to take in hand a more absolute peece of worke, as better direction shall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardest; and he that beginneth well, hath achieved halfe his purpose. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from henceforth it will be more easie for such as shall come after to wade through with the rest, fifth *Facile est inuentis addere*; and to continue and finish, is not so great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platfome of anie noble peece of workmanship, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpose. As I began at the Thames in my description of Islands, so will I now do the like with that of famous rivers; making mine entrie at the said river it selfe, of whose founteine some men make as much ado, as in time past of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet descried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whose originall was neuer knowne, nor shall be: for whilest one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactly. Wherefore leaning to such mens writings as haue of set purpose sought out the spring of the Thames; I affirme, that this famous streame hath his head or beginning out of the side of an hill, standing in the plaines of Cotswold, about one mile from Tetburie, nere vnto the flosse (an high waite so called of old) where it was sometime named Iles, or the Ouse, although diuerse do ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a folish custome than anie skill, because they either neglect or vtterlie are ignorant howe it was named at the first. From hence it runneth directlie toward the east (as all good rivers should) and meeteth with the Cene or Churne, (a brooke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirencester towne (by which it cometh) doth take the denomination.

From hence it passeth into Crichelade, alias Crehanford, Lechlade, Radcotebrdge, Newbrdge, and Couesham, receiuing by the waie an infinit sort of small streames, brookes, beches, waters, and rundels; and here on this side of the towne diuideth it selfe into two courses, of which the one goeth straight to Wootton and Hinksele, the other by Godstow, a village not farre off. This latter spreadeth it selfe also for a while into sundrie smaller branches, which run not farre per they be reunited, and then beclipping sundrie pleasant meadowes, it passeth at length by Driford, of some supposed rather to be called Duseford of this river, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from whence the originall branches do ioino and go togither by Abbandune (alias Bentham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the first came so nere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine streame, thorough the industrie of the monks, as (beside the testimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be seene) by the decaye of Cair Dour now Dorchester it selfe, sometime the thoroughfare from Wales and the west countrie to London, which insued vpon this fact, is easie to be seene. From hence it goeth to Dorchester, and so to Thame, where ioining with a river of the same denomination, it loseth the name of Iles or Ouse (whereof Dusefencie at Driford is produced) and from thenceforth is called Thamesis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and so to Keding, which in time past, of the number of brdges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the English name doth rather proceed from Khe, or Ke, the Saxon word for a water-course or river, which maye be seene in Duerce, or Sutherce, for ouer the Ke, or south of the Khe, as to the skillfull doth readily appere; yet some hold (and not altogether against probability and likelihood) that the word Sutherce is so called of Sudryce, to wit, the south kingdome, wherby

Thamesis.

Corinium.

Charwell.

Some write, that the maine streame was brought thither which ranne before betwene Andredeseie and Cutenham.

Pontium.

Saint Marie ouer Khe.

whereunto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the said church or name of the foresaid countie. Other affirme likewise, that Keding is so called of the Creeke word (*keo*) which is to ouer flowe. Certes, as neither of these coniectures are to be condemned, so the last cometh most nere to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the course of euerie water it selfe, but also his ouer flowing was in time past called *Khe*, by such Sarons as inhabited in this Iland: and euen to this date in Essex I haue oft obserued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue bene ouerflowen, the people beholding the same, haue said: All is on a *Khe*, as if they should haue said: All is now a riuer, albeit the word *Kiuer* be deriued from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins: but not without corruption; as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceived, which call the foresaid church by the name of *S. Marie Auderies*, or *S. Marie ouer Jlis*, or *Jle*. But I will proceed with the course of this noble streame, which, howsoever these matters stand it hath passed by Keding, and there receiued the Kenet, which cometh from the hilles that lie west of *Marleborough*, & then the *Metis*, commonlie called the *Tide* that cometh from *Metisford*: it bieth to *Soulington* otherwise called *Spaidenhead*, and so to *Winblesore* (or *Winthorse*) *Caton*, and then to *Chertfeie*, where *Erkenwald* bishop of London, sometime builded a religious house or cell, as I haue read.

From *Chertfeie* it hasteth directlie vnto *Stanes*, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the *Cole* (whereupon *Colbroke* standeth) it goeth by *Wingstone*, *Shene*, *Sion*, and *Wentford*; or *Wegentford*, where it meeteth the *Wane* or the *Wene*, another brook descending from *Edgeworth*, whose name significth a frog, in the *Wittish* speech. Upon this also *John* *Phin* had sometime a stately house, with a marvellous provision to inclose and reteine such fish as should come about the same. From *Wentford* it passeth by *Portlach*, *Wintnele*, *Fulham*, *Batterfeie*, *Chelseie*, *Lambeth*, and so to London. Finally going from thence vnto the sea, it taketh the *Lee* with it by the waie vpon the coast of *Essex*, and the *Darnt* vpon Kent side, which riseth nere to *Lanrige*, and cometh by *Shoresham*, vnto *Wernford*, whereunto the *Craie* falleth. And last of all the speediest notable riuer (in mine opinion) which watereth all the south and south west part of Kent, and whose description is not to be omitted hereafter in this place.

Having in this manner brieflie touched this noble riuer, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselves, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But yer I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riuer, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible; hereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the least, one hundred and eightie miles, if it be measured by the iournies of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the three famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in abundance of all kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duelie weighed. What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse doe) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth

loweth by bassards of the Celtish brood, nor catcheth by the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian saileth of the *Athene*, *Epistolaram lib. 8. epi. 6.* nor yeldeth cloths of gold as the *Tagus* doth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit nere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nourished.

What should I speake of the fat and sweet salmones, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie (after the time of the smelt be past) as no riuer in Europa is able to exceed it. But what store also of barbel, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgeons, flounders, shrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riuer complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it loseth at one time, the more it yeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it seemeth to be scant, fish it is not long since that kind of fish was brought vnto England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie land floods, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemen ponds, by which means it became some what partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare. Wh that this riuer might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be vndone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath bene choked of late with sands and shelles, through the penning and turning of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or pale set vpon the ballast sometime frailely giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*usque ad pontem*) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an (*or*) in the word *pont*: which grew through an error committed by an English notarie unskillfull in the French tongue, wherein that patent was granted.

Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleth all his chanel twice in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being at waies highest at London, when the moone doth exactly touch the north east and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one coming latter than other, by so manie minutes as passe per the reuolution and naturall course of the heauens doe reduce, and bring about the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betwene one tide and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minutes, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience doth confirme. In like sort we see by dailie trial, that each tide is not of equall heighth and greatnesse. For at the full and change of the moone we haue the greatest floods, and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fulls, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, untill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or north east, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, because the tide which filleth the chanel, cometh from Scotland ward) that the Thames

Salmons.

Carps a fish late brought into England and later into the Thames.

The last difference between one tide and another.

Acnet.

Chertis.

Colc.

Wene.

Darwent.
Craie.

The streame
oft checked in
his entrance
into the land.

ouerfloweth his banks nere vnto London: which
happeth especiallie in the fols and changes of Janu-
arie and februarye, wherein the lower grounds are
of custome sonest drowned. This order of flowing in
like sort is perpetuall, so that when the mone is vpon
the south west and north of points, then is the water
by London at the highest: neither do the tides alter,
except some rough winds out of the west or south
west do keepe backe and checke the streame in his
entrance, as the east and north east do hasten the
comming in thereof, or else some other extraordina-
rie occasion, put by the ordinarie course of the no-
therne seas, which fill the said riuer by their naturall
returne and flowing. And that both these do happen
est among, I refer me to such as haue not seldome
obserued it, as also the sensible chopping in of thre or
four tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnusall
do descant manie things.

But how so euer these small matters do fall
out, and how often soeuer this course of the streame
doth happen to be disturbed; yet at two seuerall times
of the age of the mone, the waters returne to their
naturall course and limits of time exactlie. Polydore
saith, that this riuer is seldome increased or rather
neuer ouerfloweth his banks by land floods: but he is
herein verie much deceived, as it shalbe more appa-
rantlie scene hereafter. For the more that this riuer
is put by of his right course, the more the water
must of necessitie swell with the white waters which
run downe from the land: because the passage can-
not be so swift and readie in the winding as in the
straight course. These land floods also do greatlie
straine the finesse of the streame, in so much that af-
ter a great land flood, you shall take haddocks with
your hands beneath the bridge, as they sote aloft vpon
the water, whose eyes are so blinded with the
thicknesse of that element, that they cannot see where
to become, and make shift to saue themselves before
death take hold of them. Otherwise the water of it
selfe is very clere, and in comparisson next vnto that
of the sea, which is most subtil and pure of all other;
as that of great riuers is most excellent, in compa-
rison of smaller brookes: although Aristotle will
haue the salt water to be most grosse, because a ship
will beare a greater burden on the sea than on the
fresh water; and an eg sinke in this that swimmeth
on the other. But he may easilie be answered by the
quantitie of rone and abundance of waters in the
sea; whereby it becommeth of more force to susteine
such vessels as are committed to the same, and wher-
vnto the greatest riuers (God wot) are nothing com-
parable. I would here make mention of sundrie
bridges placed ouer this noble streame, of which that
of London is most chieftie to be commended, for it
is in manner a continuall street, well replenished with
large and statelie houses on both sides, and situat
vpon twentie arches, whereof eche one is made of ex-
cellent free squared stone, euerie of them being thre
score foot in heighth, and full twentie in distance one
from another, as I haue often viewed.

London
bridge.

2000 boates
vpon the
Thames and
3000 persons
maintained
by the same
whose games
come in most
plentifullie in
the tearme
time.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit num-
ber of swans daile to be scene vpon this riuer, the
two thousand cherries and small boats, wherby thre
thousand poore watermen are maintained, through
the cariage and recariage of such persons as passe or
repasse, from time to time vpon the same: beside
those huge tideboats, tiltbotes, and barges, which
other carrie passengers, or bring necessarie prouision
from all quarters of Oxfordshire, Warkeeshire, Buck-
inghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Spidle-
sex, Essex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of Lon-
don. But for much as these things are to be repea-
ted againe in the particular description of London,
anuered to his card, I surceasse at this time to

speake anie more of them here, as not lingering
but hastning to performe my promise made euen
now, not yet forgotten, and in performance wher-
of I thinke it best to resume the description of this
noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding
whatsoeuer is before omitted, to deliuer a full and
perfect demonstration of his course. How and where
the said streame ariseth, is alreadye & with sufficien-
cie set downe, noting the place to be within a mile
10 of Tetburie, whereof some do vtterlie mislike, be-
cause that rill in summer months is oft so drie, that
there is little or no water at all scene running about
ground in the same. For this cause therefore manie
affirme the verie head of Isis to come from the pole
about Kemble. Other confound it with the head of
the Cirne or Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that
ariseth about Coberleie. For my part I follow Le-
land, as he doth the monke of Malmesburie, which
wrote the historie intituled Eulogium historiarum,
who searched the same of set purpose, and pronoun-
ced with Leland, although at this present that
course be verie small, and choked vp (as I heare) with
grauell and sand. Proceeding therefore from the
head, it first of all receiueth the Kemble water called
the Coue, which riseth about Kemble tostone, goeth
by Kemble it selfe vnto Wale and Somersford, and
then (accompaniethe the Thames) vnto Canes, Ash-
ton, Canes, and Holfston, holding on in one chanel
vntill they meet with the Chirne, the next of all to be
described.

Isis.

Coues.

The Chirne is a faire water arising out of the
ground about Coberleie, from whence it runneth
to Colweie, Coblesburne, Randome, and so into
the Isis on the left side about Crekelade. These thre
waters being thus vnited and brought into one cha-
nel, within a little space of the head of Isis, it run-
neth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it recei-
ueth the Rhe, descending from Elcombe, Escot,
Kedburne, Widdhill, & at the fall into Isis, or not far
40 off ioineth with another that runneth west of Pur-
ton by Waden forest, &c. Part of all our Isis meet-
eth with the Ammeie on the left hand, which com-
ing from about Wollie rode Ammeie, runneth by
Downe Ammeie, and finally into the Isis a little a-
bout Fleie. In like sort I read of another that meet-
eth withall on the right hand about Fleie also, which
so far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from
about Wiffeld and falleth so into our Isis, that they
run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although
50 not so nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this
boilage, the maine streame doth crosse one water
that descendeth from Swindon, and going also by
Stratton toward Seuingham, is it selfe increa-
sed with two rills by the waie, whereof one commeth
from Liddenton by Wambzeie, as I haue bene in-
formed.

Rhe.

Ammeie.

Colneius, Co-
lincus, or Co-
lunus.

The Colne is a faire riuer rising by north nere
to Wiltchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons,
Compton Abode, Wilttenton, Harneworth, Colne
60 Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winton, Biberie,
Colne Alens, Quenington, Faireford, and west of
Lachelade into the riuer Isis, which hereabout on
the south side also taketh in another, whereof I find
this remembrance. The Isis being once past Se-
uingham, crosseth a brooke from southest that mount-
teth about Ashbirie, and receiuing a rill from by
west (that commeth from Winton) beneath Shynes-
ham, it afterward so diuideth it selfe, that the armes
therof include Ingleham, and by reason that it fal-
leth into the Isis at two seuerall places, there is a
pleasant Island produced, whereof let this suffice.

Being past Lechlade a mile, it runneth to saint
Johns bidge, & thereabout meeteth with the Leche
on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade ta-
keth

Leche of
Leche.

heth the name (a towne whereunto one peece of an old vniuersitie is ascribed, which it did neuer possesse, more than Crekeclade did the other) riseth east of Hampnet, fro whence it goeth to north Lech, Cren-ton, Aisleworth, east Lech, south Thorpe, Faren-don, & so into the Isis. From hence this famous wa-ter goeth by Kenkote toward Kadeote brdge (tak-king in the rill that riseth in an od peece of Barke-shire, and runneth by Langford) and being past the said brdge (now notable though a conspiracie made there sometimes by sundrie barons against the e-state) it is not long yer it crosse two other waters, both of them descending from another od parcell of the said countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Isis beneath Kadeote brdge, wherof the one commeth from Shilton in Barke-shire by Ares-cote, blacke Burton and Clarefield. The other also riseth in the same peece, and runneth by Wisenoxton vnto Hampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the first that breake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Isis, and leaue a pretie I-land. After these confluences, the maine course of the streame halseth by Shifford to Stetobridge, where it ioineeth with the Winrush. The Winrush riseth a- boue Shieburne in Glocestershire, from whence it goeth to Winrush, & cōming by Barrington, Bur-ford, Widdyoke, Swinbecke castell, Witneie, Duc-kington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth with the Isis west by south of Northmore. From hence it go-eth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Engham, betwene which and Cassinton, it receiueth (as Le-land calleth it) the Buerne water.

It riseth aboue Limington, and going to Pozton in the Parsh, and through a patch of Worcester-shire vnto Cuenlode, betwene it and the foure shire- stones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this also it goeth by Bradwell, Dington, and so to Bladden-ton, aboue which towne it taketh in the Kolrich wa-ter that issueth at two heads, in the hils that lie by west of little Kolrich, and ioine aboue Kenkeham, and Church hill. From thence also it goeth vnto Buerne, Shipton vnderwood, Ascot, Short hamton, Cholebrie, Cozneburie parke, Stonfield, Long-combe, and southeast of Wodstocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riseth aboue Emisone, and goeth to Ciddington, Clinton, Wotton (where it is increa-sed with a rill that runneth thither from Kieple Barton, by the Wschin tree) Wodstocke, Bladon, so that after this confluence, the said Enis runneth to Cassinton, and so into the Isis, which goeth from hence to Orford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now presentlie to be described.

The head of Charwell is in Northamptonshire, where it riseth out of a little pole, by Charleton vil-lage, seuen miles aboue Banberie northeast, and there it issueth so fast at the verie surge, that it grow-eth into a pretie streame, in maner out of hand. Some after also it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Omere side: but foras-much as it riseth by Wincesster, the whole course ther-of is not aboue foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine prosecuting the rest of this description reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Orfordshire, it recei- ueth the Culen, which falleth into the same, a little a- boue Cogcote, and so descending toward Wadding-ton, it meeteth with another comming from by north west, betwene Waddington and Croppeadie. At Banberie also it meeteth with the Come (which fal- leth from femie Canton by Farnchozo, and after- wards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the discharge of diuerse rillets, in one bo-

some before it come at Clifton. The said water ther- fore ingendzed of so manie brookelets, consisteth chieflie of two, whereof the most southerlie called Dhe, commeth from Dhe Pozton, by Wiltchington Dens, or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, doth meet with the other that falleth from by north west into the same, within a mile of Charwell.

That other (as I coniecture) is increased of thre waters, wherof each one hath his seuerall name. The first of them therefore hight Tudo, which comming Tudo, betwene Epwell and the Lee by Waddington, fo- neth about Wroughton with the second that runneth from Pozneton, named Ornus, as I gesse. The last falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Wough-ton; and so that it riseth not far from Sotfesswell in Warwicksheire, some are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbzoke. The next water that meeteth without Charwell beneath Clifton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Solwar or Swere, that riseth north of Michaell Lew, and run- neth by nether Wotton. The last of all is the Kete *alias* Bure, whose head is not far aboue Burcester, *alias* Wincesster, and Burncesster: and from whence it goeth by Burecester to Perton, Charleton, Fen-cote, Addington, Poke, Alip, and so into Charwell, that holdeth on his course after this augmentation of the waters, betwene Wad and Water Eton, to Marston, and the east brdge of Orford by Pag-dalene college, and so beneath the south brdge into our aforesaid Isis.

In describing this riuer, this one thing (right honozable) is come vnto my mind, touching the cen- ter and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Belledon parsh, not far from Danberie, where a man maie stand and behold the heads of thre notable riuers, whose waters, and those of such as fall into them, do abundantly serue the greatest part of England on this side of the Humber. The first of these waters is the Charwell, already described. The second is the Leme that go- eth westward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Bene or fift Auon it selfe, of whose courses there is no card but doth make sufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the same how they do coast the countrie, and also measure by compasses how this plot lieth in respect of all the rest, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middest and center of our countrie.

But to go forward with my description of the Duse, which being past Orford goeth to Alie, Ken- nington, Sanford, Kobleie, Petonham, and so to Ab- ington, sometime called Senthiam, without increase, where it receiueth the Dche, otherwise called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thi- ther of two broklets, as I take it, whereof one com- meth from Compton, out of the vale and west of the hill of the White harte, the other from Kings Let- combe, and Mantage in Barke-shire, and in one cha- nell, entreteth into the same, vpon the right side of his course. From Abington likewise (taking the Arun withall south west of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Clifton, Wittenham the lesse, & beneath Dorchester, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Isis loseth the preheminnce of the whole denomination of this riuer, and is con- tented to impart the same with the Thame, so that by the coniunction of these two waters Thameis is produced, and that name continued euen into the sea.

Thame riuer riseth in the easterlie parts of Chil- terne hils, towards Denleie parke, at a towne called Ering west of the said parke, which is seauen miles from

winrush.

Buerne.

Comus.

Kolrich.

Enis.

Charwell.

Bure.
Culen.

Come.

Sotbzoke.
Sotwarus.

Sotwar.

Burus.

Middest of
England
whereabouts.

Dcus.

Arun.

Thame.

from the stone bridge, that is betwene Querenbon and Ailburie (after the course of the water) as Le-land hath set downe. Running therefore by long Hertford, and Wotton, Bucken, and Bearton, it receiveth some after a rill that commeth by Querenbon from Hardwicke, and yer long another on the other side that riseth above Windover in the Chilterne, and passing by Halton, Welton, Curtil, Broughton, and Ailburie, it falleth into the same well of the said towne (except my memorie doe faile me). From this confluence the same goeth by Chorpe, the Windingtons, Coddington, Cherleie, Potleie abbey: and comming almost to same, it receiveth one water from southeast above the said towne, and another also from the same quarter beneath the towne; so that same standeth inuironed upon three sides with three severall waters, as maie be easilie seene. The first of these commeth from the Chilterne east of Below or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Winton, Hoxenden, Kingste, Towleie, and so into the same. The other descendeth also from the Chilterne, and going by Chimner, Crowell, Sid-denham, and same parke, it falleth in the end into same water, and then they proceed together as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dracot, Waterstoke, Milton, Cuddesdon, and Gyselton. Here also it taketh in another water from by-east, whose head com-meth from Chilterne hills, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from Driford to London. From whence it runneth to Welton (and meeting beneath Curham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chal-graue, Stadham, and so into the same. From hence our streame of same runneth to Pelwen-ton, Draton, Dorchester (sometime a bishops see, and a noble citie) and so into the Thames, which hasteth in like sort to Benington, Crowmarsh, or Walling-ford, where it receiveth the Blawe, descending from Blaweburg, now Blewberie, as I learne.

Thus have I brought the Thames unto Wal-lingford, situate in the vale of White horse that runneth a long thereby. From hence it goeth by Pelwen-ham, north Stoke, south Stoke, Coxing, Bassiden, Pangburne, where it meeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamsted Ports, runneth by Fritesham, Buckelburie, Stanford, Badfeld, Sid-marsh and Pangburne. After which confluence it go-eth on betwene Hapleborough and Purleie, to Ca-uertsham, and Cauertsham manour, and a little be-neath receiveth the Kenet that commeth thereinto from Reading.

The Kenet riseth above Querton; or 6 miles west of Hapleborough, or Haplingborough, as some call it; then going by Fifeild, Clatfor, Paulon, and Preshute, unto Hapleburie: it holdeth on in like order to Hamshurie, and north-west of little Cole, taketh in a water by north descending from the hills above Alburne chafe west of Alburne town. Hence it runneth to little Cole, Charnham street, and beneath Charn-ham street it crosseth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bed-wine, and at Wingerford also two other in one botom joineth at beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Avington, Binburie, Hamsted marshall, Cu-burne, Pelwerie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Aberie, Egerton, the Sheffords, Westford, Borsford, Do-nington castle, and Shaw. From Pelwerie it go-eth to Hatcham, Wolhampton, Albetmasson, a little above which village it receiveth the Alburne, another brooke increased with sundrie rills; and thus going on to Wadsworth, Winton, and Michaell, it com-meth at last to Reading, where (as I said) it joineth with the Thames; and so they go forward as one by Solming to Shiplake, and there on the east side re-

ceiveth the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the south, as by his course appeareth.

The Loddon riseth in Hampshire betwene west Shirburne and Wotton toward the south-west, after-ward directing his course toward the north-west, tho-rough the Aine, it passeth at the last by Hamlic, and thorough a peece of Wiltshire, to Stradfield, Swal-lowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leaving a patch of Wiltshire on the right hand (as I have bene in-formed.) This Loddon not far from Larges towne receiveth two waters in one bottome, whereof the westerie called Basing water, commeth from Ba-singstoke, and thorough a parke unto the aforesaid place.

The other descendeth of two heads from Haplebour well, and goeth by Skelwes, Pelwenham, Kother-wye, and yer it come at Hartlie, joineth with the Ba-sing water, from whence they go together to Tur-ges, where they meet with the Loddon (as I have said already.) The next streame toward the south is called Ditford brooke. It riseth not farre from Ap-ton, goeth by Cruell, and beneath Wharnborough castell receiveth the Ikell (comming from a parke of the same denomination) from whence they go togi-ther by Paddingleie unto Swallowfield, and so into the Loddon. In this voyage also the Loddon meeteth with the Elwie or Elueie that commeth from Alder-share, not farre by west of Cuesleie: and about Cuesham likewise with another running from Dogmanfield named the Douke; and also the third not inferior to the rest comming from Erin, whose head is in Surreie, and going by Ash becommeth a limit, first betwene Surreie and Hampshire; then betwene Hampshire and Berkshire, and passing by Ash, Erinkleie, Blacke water, Perleie, and Fin-chamsted, it joineth at last with the Ditford, before it come at Swallowfield. To conclude therefore with our Loddon, having received all these waters; and after the last confluence with them now being come to Loddon bridge, it passeth on by a part of Wilt-shire to Twisford bridge, then to Margraue, and so into the Thames that now is marvellouslie increa-sed and grown unto triple greatnesse (to that it was at Driford.)

Being therefore past Shiplake and Margraue, it runneth by Hoxpendon, or Harding: then to Henleie upon Thames, where sometime a great rill boldeth it selfe in the same. Then to Remenham, Crenelard (going all this waie from Shiplake untill north, and now turning eastwards againe) by Pe-denham, Huckleie, Bisham, Harlow the greater, Harlow the lesse, it meeteth with a brooke some after that consisteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Use, riseth about west Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hills, and goeth from thence to east Wickham or high Wickham, a pre-tie market towne. The other named Higdun, des-cendeth also from those mounteines but a mile be-neath west Wickham, and joining both in one at the last, in the west end of east Wickham towne, they go together to Woburne, Hedfor, and so into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that word doe I use in my former treatise: but to proceed. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cottingham, Copleie, Hat-denhead, alias Sudlington, Braie, Domeie, Clure, new Windore (taking in neuerthelesse, at Caton by the waie, the Burne which riseth out of a Hote, and commeth thither by Burnham old Windore, Wra-borough, and a little by east thereof doth crosse the Cole, whereof I find this short description insuing.

The Cole riseth nere unto Flamsted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watford, and so by Hore to Richman-worth, where there is a confluence of three waters, of which

Lodinus.

Diris vadum

Ikellus.

Elueius.

Ducus.
Erin.

Blauus.

Cenethus.

B. d. wine.
Chalkburne

Lamburne.

Liburnus.

Use.

Higdun.

Colus, alias
Uere and
Vertume.

Cadus.

which this Cole is the first. The second called Cadus riseth not farre from Ashridge, an house or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gadderden, Hemsted, betwene Kings Langley, and Abbots Langley, then to Hunters, and Castlewyllynges, and so to Richmansworth, receiving by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by north-west, to Northchurch, Barkhamsted, and beneath Hemsted joining with the same. The last commeth in at north-west from about Chesham, by Chesham it selfe, then by Chesham Bois, Latimers, Pawlens, Cheintes, Sarret and Richmansworth, and so going on all in one chanell under the name of Cole, it runneth to Urbridge, where it taketh in the Spilenden water, from north-west, which rising about Spilenden the greater goeth by Spilenden the lesse, Dagmondesham (now Hammerham) the Wagh, Chalfunt Oles, Chalfunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole about Urbridge (as I have said.) Some after this our Cole doth part it selfe into two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie meadows straight to Colebrooke, the other unto two milles, a mile and a halfe east of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leaving an Island betwene them of no small size and quantitie.

Windleles.

Being past the Cole, we come to the fall of the Windleles, which riseth by north-west nere unto Bagshot, from whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and meeting with a brooklet comming westward from Billeie, they run together toward Herteford, where when they haue met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windlesore great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the north-east side of Herteford. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long per we came unto another on the same side, that fell into the Thames betwene Shepperton on the one side, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waite. The Waite or the Waite rising by west, commeth from Olded, & some

Weing.

after taking the Hedleie brooke withall (which riseth in Wulmere forest, and goeth by Hedleie and Frentham) halseth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Waverleie, Elsted, and so to Pepper harrow, where it ioineth with the Tharesbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the same denomination. From hence also it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shatford, but per it come there, it croseth Craulie becke, which rising somewhere about the edge of Suffer thort of Ridgewyc, goeth by Wache-

Churchie.

rie parke, Knoll, Craulie, Bramleie, Monarsh, and so into the Waite. From hence then our river goeth to Shatford, and some after (meeting with the Abbinge water that commeth by Shere, Alburie, and the chapell on the hill) it proceedeth to Galdesford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Moking, and at Petwarke parke side taketh in a brooke that riseth of two heads, whereof one doth spring betwene two hills north of Pepper harrow, and so runneth thorough Henleie parke, the other about Purbright, and afterward joining in one, they go forth unto Petwarke, and being there united, after the confluence it goeth to Purbford court, to Wisler, Watfired, Oteland, and so into the Thames.

Abbinge.

From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunbarie, west Moulseie, Hampton, and per it come at Hampton court on the north side, and east Moulseie on the other, it taketh in the Moulseie water, which giueth name unto the two townes that stand on each side of the place, where it falleth into our streame. It riseth in Wood forest, and going by Burfrow, it meeteth afterward with another gullet, containing a small course from two seuerall heads, whereof one is also in the forest aforesaid, the o-

ther runneth from Hebutth wood, and comming by Iseld, meeteth with the first above Moulseie, and so run on in one chanell, I saie, till they ioine with the Moulseie water, whereof I spake before.

After this confluence in like sort, it is not long per the Moulseie take in another from by north, which commeth from about Petsham on the one side, and another on the other side, running by Moleie and Capell, and whereinto also a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the north-west part. Finally, being thus increased with these manie rilles, it goeth by east Becheworth, west Becheworth, and ouer against the Stwalow on the side of Drake hill, taking in another that cometh thither from Wotton by Darking and Pilton, it runneth to Mickleham, Letherbed, Stoke, Cobham, Ashire parke, east Moulseie, and so into the Thames, which after this confluence goeth on to Kingston, and there also meeteth with another becke, rising at Cwell south of Ponsuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Cwell by the old parke, then to Pauldon, & so to Kingston towne. The Thames in like maner being past Kingston, goeth to Tuddington, Peterham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueh a water on the north-west side, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by west of the same, goeth by Haies, Harlington, Feltham, and Thistleworth into the Thames.

The next fall of water is at Ston, nere unto new Baine, Bainford, so that it issueth into the Thames between them both. This water is called Baine, that is in the British tong (as Leland saith) a frog. It riseth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingesburie, Twiford, Perinall, Pantwell, and Austerleie. Thence we followed our riuer to old Bzentford, Poztllach, Cheswoyc, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it croseth a becke from Wandleworth, that riseth at Wodmans turne, and going by Casthalton, meeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and so going on to Pittham, Parton abbey, and Wandleworth, it is not long per it fall into the Thames. Next unto this is Pariburne rill on the other side, which commeth in by S. James, so that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conueied vs to London, where we rested for a season to take view of the seuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is fortie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the wether alter them. Being past London, and in the waie toward the sea: the first water that it meeteth withall, is the Brome on Kent side, west of Grenewich, whose head is Brompton in Brompton parish, and going from thence to Lewisham, it taketh in a water from by east, and so directh his course forth right unto the Thames.

The next water that it meeteth withall, is on the other side, almost against Woolwich, and that is the Lea or Lute, whose head riseth thort of Bampton in Hertfordshire, foure miles southeast of Luton, sometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going thorough a peece of Brokehall parke (leaving Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the south, with another parke adjoining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But per it come there, it receiueh a water (peradventure the Parran) rising at north-west in Bode-water hundred, from about Welwin, northeast of Digeswell, and going to Hartingsfeld burie, where the said confluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneath Hatfield also it receiueh the Beane (as I gesse) comming from Worwood by Benington, Afton, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increase from about Ware, which descendeth from two heads: whereof the greatest com-

Stu:

Baine.

Pariburne.

Brompton.

Lea.

Logus.

Parran.

Beane.

Wifred.

Sturus.

meth from Barketwaite in Edwinſter hundred, the other Smdon in Mdeſey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hozne meade, they go together by Pulcherchurch, or Buckrich, Stonden, Thanderidge Waleſmill, Bengho, and ſo into the Læ, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the ſame 1408, and ſo to Amwell, where on the north ſide it receiveth the water that cometh from little Hadham, through a peece of Singleſhall parke, then by great Hadham, and ſo from Wilford to the aforeſaid towne. From hence alſo they go as one to old Stanſted called Le Veil, branching in ſuch wiſe per it come there, that it runneth through the towne in ſundry places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbats Stanſted, beneath which it meeteth with the Stoure, well (as I remember of London. This Sture riſeth at Wenden loſes, from whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Manhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill coming from Clingham, & Stanſted Mountſtichet.) The ſecond it hith on to Biſhops Stourford, Sabzichford, and beneath this towne croſſeth with another from the eaſt ſide of Clingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Hodocke, Shiring, Harlo, & ſo into the Stoure, and from whence they go together to Caſtwic, Parmendon, and next into the Læ. Theſe things being thus perſormed, the Læ runneth on beneath Hoddeſdon, Horburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by weſt of the maine ſtreame, a mile lower than Wormleie it ſelfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormleie locke.

It runneth alſo by Cheſton nurrie, and out of this a little beneath the ſaid houſe, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, becauſe it diuideth Caſſer and Hartford ſhire in ſunder, and in the length of one medow called Frithie. This lake runneth not but at great floods, and meeteth againe with a ſuccor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockedich, halfe a mile from his firſt breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Parth point ſoineth againe with the ſtreame from whence it came before. Thence cometh the firſt arme to S. Paulie byrge (the firſt byrge weſtward upon that river) upon Waltham cauſe, & halfe a mile lower than Paulie byrge, at the corner of Ramme mead, it meeteth with the kings ſtreame & principall courſe of Luy, or Læ, as it is commonlie called. The ſecond arme breaketh out of the kings ſtreame at Halſfield halfe a mile lower than Cheſton nurrie, and ſo to the ſulling mill, and two byrdes by weſt of the kings ſtreame, wherinto it falleth about a ſtones caſt lower at a place called Halkins ſhelſte, except I was wrong informed. Cheſton & Hartford ſhire men do ſaie, that the kings ſtreame at Waltham doth part Hartford ſhire and Eſſex, but the Eſſex men by forced charter do plead their liberties to hold vnto S. Paulies byrge. On the eaſt ſide alſo of the kings ſtreame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halſfield, three quarters of a mile aboue Waltham, & ſo goeth to the cozne mill in Waltham, and then to the Læ ſtreame againe a little beneath the kings byrge.

From hence the Læ runneth on by ſouth on Walthamſlow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where it brancheth partlie of it ſelfe, and partlie by mans induſtrie for mills. Hotobreit herein the dealing of Alſred (ſometimes king of England) was not of ſmalkeſt force, who vnderſtanding the Danes to be gotten by with their ſhips into the countrie, thereto hill and ſlaie his ſubiects, in the yere of grace 896, by the conduct of this river: he in the meane time beſore they could returne, did ſo mightilie weaken the maine channell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the ſame; that when they purpoſed to come backe, there was nothing ſo much water left as the ſhips did draw: wherefore being ſet on ground, they

were ſome ſired, & the aduerſaries overcome. By this policie alſo much medow ground was loone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little enriched, as was alſo a part of Aſſyria by the like practice of Cyzus with the Ganges, at ſuch time as he came againſt Babylon, which river before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was ſo offended, that one of his knights whom he loued dearly, was drowned and bozne a waie with the water in his paſſage over the ſame, that he ſware a deepe oath, per long to make it ſo ſhallow that it ſhould not wet a woman to the knees. Which came to paſſe, for he cauſed all his armie to dig 46 new dyaynes fro the ſame, whereby the bolu that he had made was at the full perſormed. Senec. de Tra. li. 3. But to conclude with the Læ that ſometime ouerflowed all thoſe medowes, through which it paſſeth (as for a great waie not inferiour to the Thames) and I find that being paſt Weſtham, it is not long per it fall into that ſtreame. One thing I read more of this river before the conqueſt, that is, how Edward the firſt, & ſonne of Alſred, in the yere of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time alſo he had Wittham a towne in Eſſex in hand, as his ſiſter called Aelded repaired Oxford & London, and all this ſoure yeres before the building of Paladon, of ſome called Hertford or Herudford betwene three waters, that is, the Læ, the Benefuſh, and Pemmaran, or rather Denmarran: but how theſe waters are diſtinguiſhed in theſe daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is poſſible, that the Bene may be the ſame which cometh by Berington, and Bengho: which if it be ſo, then muſt the Pemmaran be the ſame that deſcendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time paſt right well be called Marranfield, for of like inuerſion of names I could ſhew manye examples.

Being paſt the Læ (whole channell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the ſame to the north ſide of London) we come vnto the Rodon, upon Eſſex ſide in like maner, and not verie farre (for ſoure miles is the moſt from the fall of the Læ. This water riſeth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Cithorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelleie, high Dngar, and Cheping Dngar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariſeth betwixt Patching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall coming from aboue Poſthweld at Cheping Dngar, they ioine (I ſaie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland coniectureth that the ſtreame is called Juell: for my part, I wot not what to ſay of it. But herof I am ſure, that the whole courſe being paſt Dngar, it goeth to Stanſted rivers, Helidon mount, Hetbridge, Chigwell, Weſtford byrge, Alford byrge, Barking, & ſo into the Thames.

The Darwent meeteth with our ſaid Thames upon Bents ſide, two miles and more beneath Crith. It riſeth at Tanridge, or thereabouts, as I haue bene informed by Chriſtopher Saxtons card late made of the ſame, and the like (I hope) he will do in all the ſeueral ſhires of England at the infinit charges of Sir Thomas Sackford knight, & maſter of the requeſts, whole zeale vnto his countrie herin I cannot but remember, & ſo much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & ſomewhat beſide this hath holpen me in the names of the tostones, by which theſe rivers for the Kentiſh part do run. Would to God his plats were once finiſhed for the reſt! But to proceed. The Darwent therefore, riſing at Tanridge, goeth on by Littleſe toward Baffed, and receiuing on each ſide of that towne (& ſeueral bankes) a river or rill, it goeth on to Rockhold, Shorham, Winſford, Horſton, Darnith, Dartford, or Dertwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that comes from Dypington by Craie.

F. i.

Marie

Rodon or Rodunus.

Lauer.

Juell.

Darwent.

Alſred.

Parte Crate, Paules Crate, North Crate, and Craiford, it is not long per it fall into the Thames. But after I had once passed the fall of the brooke, it is a while to see what plenty of Serephium groweth upon the Kentish shore, in whose description Fauchus hath not a little halted; whilist he giueth forth the hearbe Argentaria for Serephium, betwene which there is no manner of likelihood. This neuertheless is notable in the said hearbe, that being transplanted into the garden, it receiveth another forme cleane different from the first, which it yelded when it grew upon the shore, and thereunto appeareth of more fat & foggie substance. Which maketh me to thinke that our physicians do take it for a distinct kind of woyme wood, whereof controuersie ariseth among them. The next water that falleth into the Thames, is west of the Mause Fles, a rill of no great fame, neither long course, for rising about Coringham, it runneth not manie miles east and by south, per it fall into the mouth of this riuier, which I do now describe.

I would haue spoken of one creeke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Hallsby to S. Maries: but sith I vnderstand not with what backwaters they be serued, I let them passe as not skillfull of their courses. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue done what I maie, but not what I would for mine owne satisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, unto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will ascribe that distichon which Apollonius Rhodius writeth of the Thermodon:

*Euic non est aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros
Flum dimittit riuos quot fundit utrinque.*

Midwaite.

Next vnto the Thames we haue the Midwaite water, whereof I find two descriptions, the first being thus. The Midwaite water is called in Latine Medeuia (as some write) because the course thereof is midwaite in a manner betwene London and Dorobernia, or (as we now call it) Canturburie. In Wiltish it hight Dourbe: and thereof Rochester was sometime called Durobrinium. But in an old charter which I haue seene (containing a donation sometime made to the monasterie of saint Andzeus there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Sarons called this riuier Medzing; and also a towne standing betwene Palling and east Farleie, Medzington; and finally, a forrest also of the same denomination, Medzington, now Waterdon, wherby the originall name appeareth to be fetched from this streame. It ariseth in Waterdon forrest east of Whetlin or Medzing, and ioineeth with another brooke that descendeth from Ward forrest in Suffe: and after this confluence they go on together, as one by Ashurst, where hauing receiued also the second brooke, it halteth to Penherst, and there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the southeast part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the north west side, and an other little streame that commeth from the hilles, betwene Beuenburie and Horsemou on the south east. From thence also, and not farre from Palling it receiveth the These (a pretie streame that ariseth about These Hirst) afterward the Crane or Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranebrooke, and meeting with sundrie other riuulets by the waie, whereof one branch of These is the last, for it parteth at the Twiss, and including a pretie fland, doth ioine with the said Midwaite, a little about Palding, and then with the Lowse. Finally at Paidstone it meeteth with another brooke, whose name I know not, and then passeth by Allington, Duton, Newbide, Palling, Cuckeflane, Rochester, Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, Kingferrie, and falleth into the maine sea betwene Shepeie and the

Frethus.

These.
Crane alia
Cranus.

Crane.

And thus much out of the first authour, who commendeth it also, for that in time past it did yelde such plenty of surgeon, as beside the kings position, and a due vnto the archbishop of Canturburie out of the same, the deane and chapter of Rochester had no small allowance also of that commoditie: likewise for the thimps that are taken therein, which are no lesse esteemed of in their kind, than the westerne smelts or sounders taken in the Thames, &c. The second authour describeth it after this manner, and more copiously than the other:

The cheefe head of this streame riseth in Waterdon forrest, from whence after it hath runne a pretie waie still within the same, east of Whetlin, it meeteth with a brooke, whose head is in Ward forrest, south west of Greensted, which goeth to Hartfield, and so to Whetlin, and yer long ioineeth with the Midwaite. After this confluence it is not long per it take in another by west from Coloden ward, and the third above Penherst, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other west of Cratoherst; and ioining about Cobinbridge, it doth fall in to the midwaite beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingston. From Penherst our maine streame passeth to Ligh, Tunbridge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it crosseth a water from North, whereof one head is at the Gate, another at Wretham, the third at west Beckham, & likewise another from southest, that runneth east of Capell. Next after this it receiveth the These, whose forked head is at These Hirst, which descending downe toward the north, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a brooke out of the north side of Waterdon forrest, whose name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our riuier goeth to Goldhirst, and comming to the Twiss, it brancheth in such wise, that one part of it runneth into Midwaite, another into the Garan, or rather Cranebrooke (if my coniecture be anie thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) or the Crane (as I do take it) riseth nere to Cranebrooke, and going by Sillinghirst, it receiveth yer long one water that commeth by Fretington, and another that runneth from great Chard by Simerdon, and Hedcombe, crossing two rilles by the waie from by north, Hedcombe it selfe standing betwene them both. Finally, the Garan or Crane meeting with Midwaite south of Palling, they on the one side, and the These on the other, leaue a pretie fland in the midst, of foure miles in length, and two in breadth, wherein is some hillie soile, but neither towne nor village, so farre as I remember.

From Palling forthward, the Midwaite goeth to west Farlegh, east Farlegh: and yer it come at Paidstone, it interteineth a rill that riseth short of Jenham, and goeth by Ledes and Otterington, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in dye yeres: for thither they conueie their clothes to be dyed at the falling milles, sometimes ten miles for the same: there is also at Ledes great plenty of falling earth, which is a necessarie commoditie.

Being past Paidstone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Palling, Cuckeflane, and Rochester, where it passeth vnder a faire bridge of stone, with a verie swift course, which bridge was begun 1388 by the lord John Cobham, the latie Margaret his wife, and the ballant sir Robert Knolles, who gaue the first onset vpon that peece of woike, and thereunto builded a chappell of the Trinitie at the end thereof, in testimonie of his pietie. In proceste of time also one John Warner of Rochester made the new coping thereof; and archbishop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the bishops also of that sex were not slacke in their beneuolence and furtherances toward that

Garanus,
Cranus.

that worke, especiallie Walter Mertoun founder of Mertoun college in Orford, who by misfortune perished by falling from the same, as he rode to succure the workemen. Being past Rochester, this noble river goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, and some after branching, it embraceth the Greene at his fall, as his two heads do Athdon forrest, that lieth betwene them both.

Of such streames as fall into the sea, betwene the Thames and the mouth of the Sauerne.

Chap. 12.

Stour.

Stallburne water also (as I heare) next to Cantuarburie, but I wrote not whereabouts: for Marianus Scots.

Wantsome.

Dour.



After the Midwaite we haue the Stoure that riseth at Kingeswood, which is fourtene or fiftene miles from Cantuarburie. This river passeth by Ashford, Wile, Bockington, Cantuarburie, Forbith, Standish, and Sturemouth, where it receiueueth another river growing of three branches. After our Stoure or Sture parteth it self in twaine, & in such wise, that one arme thereof goeth toward the north, and is called (when it commeth at the sea) the north mouth of Stoure; the other runneth southeastward by Richborough, and so to Sandwich, from whence it goeth northeast againe and falleth into the sea. The issue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peraduenture the streame that commeth downe thither, after the diuision of the Stoure, maie be the same which Beda calleth Wantsome; but as I cannot vnderstand this knot at will, so this is certaine, that the Stoure on the one side, and peraduenture, the Wantsome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left for an Island.

There are other little brookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland speaketh, as Fishpole becke that ariseth in Stonehirst wood, and meeteth with it foure miles from Cantuarburie: another beginneth at Chifflet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which sometime inclosed Thanet, as Leland saith: the third issueth out of the ground at Northburne (where Caddert of Kent sometime past held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the said authour reporteth: and the fourth called Bridge water that riseth by S. Maries Burne church, and going by Bliths Burne, meeteth with Cantuarburie water at Stourmouth: also Wigham that riseth about Wigham thort of Adlam, and falleth into Bridge water at Dudmill, or Wenderton: and the third namelesse, which riseth thort of Wodensburgh (a towne wherein Hengist & the Saxons honored their grand Idoll Woden, or Odhine) and goeth by Staple to Wingham: but sith they are obscure I will not touch them here. From hence passing by the Godwine, a plot verie perilous for sea-faring men (sometime firme land, that is, untill the tenth of the conquerours sonne, whose name was William Rufus, and therein a great part of the inheritance of erle Godwine in time past was knowne to lie) but escaping it with ease, we came at length to Douer. In all which boiage we found no streame, by reason of the cliffes that inuiron the said coast. Howbeit vpon the south side of Douer, there is a pretty fresh river, whose head ariseth at Etwell, not passing foure miles from the sea, and of some is called Dour, which in the British tongue is a common name for waters, as is also the old British word Auon for the greatest rivers, into whose mouthes or falles shippes might find safe entrance; and therefore such are in my time called hauiens, a new word growen by an aspiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But more of this else where, sith I am now onlie to speake of Dour, whereof it is likelie that the towne & castell of Douer

did sometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Tamber (omitting peraduenture here and there sundrie small creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble river falleth into the sea. This Rother separateth Suffre Rother from Kent, and hath his head in Suffre, not farre from Argas hill nere to Waterden forrest, and from thence directeth his course vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Chillingham or Hitchingham, and so forth by Hewendon vnto Spatham ferrie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a castell sometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfrede, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beamsfete) and at this towne, where it meeteth the Bilie that riseth about Wilingington, the other by Wille den, so that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Orneie, which in time past was reputed as a parcell of Suffre; but now vpon some occasion or other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence also growing into some greatnesse, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finally with the Becke, which commeth from Beckleie: so that the plot wherein Rie standeth, is in manner a by-land or peninsula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and most men are of the likeliest opinion, that this river should be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhill saith) doth issue out of Andredeswald, where the head thereof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Limen, because the Danes are noted to enter into these parts by the Limen; and sailing on the same to Appledoure, did there begin to fortifie, as I haue noted already. Howbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother or Appledoure water, whereof let this suffice.

Being thus crossed ouer to the west side of Rie hauen, & in beuwing the issues that fall into the same, I met first of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one chanell into the east side of the mouth of the said port. The first thereof that falleth into it descendeth from Beckleie or thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Wescemarle, & some after joining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the same at the westlike side of Rie: the third streame commeth from the north, and as it mounteth by not farre from Spurfield, so it runneth betwene Sescambe and Wacklinton nere vnto Wread, taking another rill with all that riseth (as I heare) not verie far from Welfield. There is likewise a fourth that groweth of two heads betwene Fellingham and Pect, and going by Wincelleie it meeteth with all about Rie hauen, so that Wincelleie standeth inuironed on three parts with water, and the streames of these two that I haue last rehearsed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by south-west of Hastings, or thereabouts, is called Aestus or Asten: perhaps of Hasten or Hastings the Dane, (who in time past was a plague to France and England) & rising not far from Penhirst, it meeteth with the sea (as I heare) by east of Hollington. Buluerhith is but a creeke (as I remember) serued with no backwater; and so I heare of Coddington or Old hauen, wherefore I meane not to touch them.

Vnto Puenesele hauen diuerse waters do resort, and of these, that which entereth into the same on the east side riseth out from two heads, whereof the most easterlie is called Ash, the next vnto the Burne, and uniting themselves not farre from Ashburne, they continue their course vnder the name and title of Ashburne water, as I read. The second that commeth thereinto issueth also of two heads, whereof the one is so manie miles from Boreham, the other not

Becke.

Limenus.

Aestus.

Buluerhith.

Puenesele.

Ash.

Burne.

f. y.

cap

Cucumarus.

far from the Parke east of Hellingstone, and both of them concurring south-west of Hirmowen, they direct their course toward Heuenfeis (beneath which they meet with another rising at Fointon) and thence go in one channell for a mile or more, till they fall together into Heuenfeis haue. The Cucumer issueth out at severall places, and herof the more easterlie branch cometh from Warbleton ward, the other from Bishops wood, and meeting beneath Helling, they run in one bottome by Wicham, Arlington, Wellington, old Frithstan, and so into the sea.

His, ni fallor.

Unto the water that cometh out at Hewha-
uen, fundrie brookes and riuers do resort, but the
chiefe head riseth toward the west, somewhat be-
twene Etghinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The
first water therefore that falleth into the same on the
east side, issueth out of the ground about Wertwood,
and running from thence by Langhton and Kipe,
on the west side, it falleth into the aforesaid riuer be-
neath Fozle and Glime, or three miles lower than
Letwis, if the other buttall like you not. The next
hereunto hath his head in Argas hill, the third de-
scendeth from Ashdon forest, and joining with the
last mentioned, they crosse the maine riuer a little
beneath Hlesfield. The fourth water cometh from
Ashdon forest by Hozked Caines (or Dufefate
Caines) and falleth into the same, likewise east of
Linfield. Certes I am deceiued if this riuer be not
called Hles, after it is past Hlesfield. The fift riseth a-
bout Sozuelgate, and meeteth also with the maine
streame about Linfield, and these are knowen to lie
upon the right hand as we rowed by the riuer. On
the other side are onelie two, whereof the first hath
his originall nere unto Wlenefeld, and holding on
his course toward the east, it meeteth with his mas-
ter betwene Hewicke and Hlesfield (or Hlesfield) as
some read it. The last of all cometh from Pli-
modune or Plampton, and hauing met in like sort
with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth
forth with it, & they rest in one channell by Barcham,
Hamsfe, Halling, Letwis, Hiddingburne, and so
forth into the maine.

Sturewell.

Plinius.

Soyu.

The next riuer that we came vnto west of Wight-
hemston is the Soze, which notwithstanding I find
to be called Wember water, in the ancient map of
Harton colledge in Oxford: but in such sort (as I
take it) as the Mother or Limen is called Appeldoure
streame, because of the said towne that standeth ther-
upon. But to proceed, it is a pleasant water, & there-
to if you consider the situation of his armes, and
branches from the higher grounds, verie much re-
sembling a foure stringed lute. Whereabout the
head of this riuer is, or which of these branches may
safelie be called Soze from the rising, in good sooth I
cannot say. For after we had passed nine or ten miles
thereon by into the land, suddenly the crosse waters
stopped vs, so that we were inforced to turne either
east or west, for directlie forth-right we had no waie
to go. The first arme on the right hand as we went,
riseth out of a parke by south of Alborne, and going
on for a certeine space toward the north-west, it tur-
neth southward betwene Shermonburie and Win-
ham, and sone after meeteth with the Bimar, not
much south from Shermonburie, whence they run to-
gether almost two miles, till they fall into the Soze.
That on the west side descendeth from about Wil-
lingeshirst, & going toward the east, it crosseth with
the fourth (which riseth a little by west of Thacum)
east from Pulbozow, and so they run as one into the
Soze, that after this confluence hatheth it selfe south-
ward by Wember, Burleis, the Combes, and per-
long into the Ocean.

Bimarus.

Arunus.

The Arun (of which beside Arundell towne the ca-

stell and the ballie, wherein it runneth is called Val-
lis Aruntina, or Arundale in English) is a goodlie wa-
ter, and thereto increased with no small number of
excellent & pleasant brookes. It springeth by of two
heads, whereof one descendeth from the north not far
from Orestham, and going by Lis, meeteth with the
next streame (as I gesse) about Dourford house. The
second riseth by west from the hills that lie toward
the rising of the sunne from East maine, and run-
neth by Peterfield. The third cometh from Vert-
ton ward, and joineth with the second betwene Pe-
terfield and Dourford, after which confluence they
go together in one channell still toward the east (ta-
king a rill with them that cometh betwene Fer-
nehirst and S. Lukes chappell, south-west of Linch-
mere, and meeting with it east of Loddesworth (as
I do read, and likewise fundrie other in one channell
beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton,
Stoke, Arundell, Tootington foyd, Climping (all on
the west side) and so into the sea.

Hauing thus described the west side of Arun, let vs
do the like with the other in such sort as we best may.
The first riuer that we come vnto therfore on the east
side, and also the second, rise of fundrie places in S.
Leonards forest, & joining a little about Hoztham,
they meet with the third, which cometh from Hfield
parke, not verie farre from Hlinsfeld. The fourth hath
two heads, whereof one riseth in Witleie parke, the
other by west, nere vnto Heselmeire chappell, and
meeting by west of Dourfeld, they unite themselves
with the channell, growing by the confluence that I
spake of beneath Hlinsfeld, a little about Willing-
thirst. The last water cometh from the hills about
Linchemere, and runneth west and south, and pas-
sing betwene Willingthirst and Stopham, it com-
meth vnto the channell last mentioned, and so into the
Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further in-
crease, at the least that I do heare of.

Burne hath his issue in a parke nere Aldingbur-
rie (or rather a little about the same toward the
north, as I haue since bene informed) and running
by the bottomes toward the south, it falleth betwene
north Berleste and Hlesham. Erin riseth of fundrie
heads, by east of Eringleie, and directing his course
toward the sunne rising, it peninsulateth Selesie
fawne on the south-west and Bagham at north-west.
Deel springeth about Benderton, and thence run-
ning betwene middle Lauant and east Lauant, it
goeth by west of west Hampnet, by east of Chiche-
ster, or west of Rumbaldeford, and afterward by
Fithburne, where it meeteth with a rill coming
north-west from Huntingdon (a little beneath the
towne) & then running thus in one streame toward
the sea, it meeteth with another rillet coming by
north of Bosham, and so into Auant gulfe by east of
Thorneie Island.

Burne.

Elin.

Delus.

The Racon riseth by east of Racon or Racodu-
num (as Leland calleth it) and coming by Chid-
ham, it falleth into the sea, north-east of Thorneie a-
foresaid. The Emill cometh first betwene Rac-
on and Stansted, then downe to Emillsworth or
Emmesworth, & so vnto the Ocean, separating Suf-
ser from Hampshire almost from the very head. Ha-
ving in this maner passed along the coasts of Suf-
ser, the next water that I remember, riseth by east
of the forest of Esbtrie, from whence it goeth by
Southwike, west Burhant, Farham, and so into the
gulfe almost full south. Then come we to Bedenham
craeke (so called of a village standing thereby) the
mouth whereof lieth almost directlie against Hozche-
ster castell, which is situat about three miles by wa-
ter from Hoztesmouth towne, as Leland doth re-
port. Then go we within halfe a mile further to
Fozten craeke, which either giueth or taketh name of
Fozten or Fozdon.

Racodus.

Emill.

Badunus forte.

Fozten or Fozdon.

Ostervale. a village hard by. After this we come to Ostervale lake, a great creeke, that goeth by by west into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of stone, from whence also there goeth a chaine to another tower on the east side directlie ouer against it, the like whereof is to be seene in diuerse other hauens of the west countrie, whereby the entrance of great vessels into that part may be at pleasure restrained.

Tichefeld. From hence we go further to Tichefeld water, that riseth about Castmaine parke, ten or twelue miles by north east or thereabouts from Tichefeld. From Castmaine it goeth (parting the Forrests of Maltham, and Castberie by the way) to Wiltham or Wilcombe, a pretie market towne & large thoroughfare, where also the water separateth it selfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bidge of wood commeth yer long againe vnto one channell. From hence it goeth thre or foure miles further, to a bidge of timber by maister Writthofeleies house (leaving Tichefeld towne on the right side) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bidge, whither the sea floweth as hir naturall course inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bidge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, wherunto diuerse streames resort, as you shall heare hereafter.

Hamelrich. After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelrich creeke, whose fall is betwene saint Andewes castell, and Hoke. It riseth about Shidford in Maltham forest, & when it is past Croke bidge, it meeteth with another brooke, which issueth not farre from Bishops Maltham, out of sundrie springs in the high wate on Winchester, from whence it passeth (as I said) by Bishops Maltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then ioining with the Hamble, they run together by Hrolingworth, Upton, Bursill, Hamble towne, and so into the sea.

Southampton. Now come we to the hauen of Southampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefely describe so nere as I can possiblie. The breadth of entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by estimation two miles from thore to thore. At the west point therof also is a strong castell lately builded, which is rightlie named Calde thore, but not Calothot, I wrote not by what occasion. On the east side thereof also is a place called Hoke (as before mentioned) or Hamel hoke; wherein are not aboue thre or foure fether houses, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen lyeth vpon the west side by the space of seuen miles, untill it come to Hampton towne, standing on the other side, where it is by estimation a mile from land to land. Whence it goeth vpon further about thre miles to Redbidge, still ebbing and flowing thither, and one nile farther, so farre as my memorie doth serue me. Now it resteth that I describe the Alresford streame, which some do call the Arre or Arle, and I will proceed withall in this order following.

Alresford. The Alresford beginneth of diuerse faire springs, about a mile or more frō Alresford, or Alford as it is now called, and some after resorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the most part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow channell, it goeth through a stone bidge at the end of Alford towne (leaving the towne it selfe on the left hand) toward Wichingslocke thre miles off, but yer it cometh there, it receiveth two rils in one bottome, whereof one cometh from the Forrest in manner at hand, and by north west of old Alresford, the other frō Browne Canduer, that goeth by Portenton, Swatetotton, Aberskone, &c. untill we meet with the said water beneath Alford towne. Being past Wichingslocke, it cometh by Arington to Oston village, and to Wozthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it selfe in

to other that resort to Hilde and the lower foles by east of Winchester, there seruing the streets, the close of S. Maries, Wolucseie, and the new college verie plentifulle with their water. But in this meane while, the great streame cometh from Wozthie to the east bidge, and so to saint Elizabeth college, where it doth also part in twaine, enuironing the said house in most delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Crolles, leaving it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twissford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth six miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall on the east side, and so into the salt creeke that leadeeth dothone to the hauen.

On the other side of Southampton, there resorteth into this hauen also both the Test & the Stocke bidge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large description ensuing. The verie head of the Stocketwater, is supposed to be somewhere about Basing stoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betwene Querton and Stenenton, it cometh at last by Lauerstocke & Whitchurch, and some after receiuing a brooke by north west, called the Bourne (descending from S. Marie Bourne, south east from Hozleburne) it proceedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the east side (a pretie riuulet rising about Spichelnet, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cranburne) thence to Hozwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increased yer it come there by an other brooke, whose name I do not know. This Andeuer streame riseth in Culhamshire forest, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, yer it touch there it receiveth the rill of which I spake before, which rising also neer vnto Anport, goeth to Ponketon, to Abbatesham, the Andeuer, and both (as I said) vnto the Test beneath Hozwell, whereof I spake euen now.

These streames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the south vnder Stocke bidge, and some after diuiding it selfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that cometh from by west of S. Ans hill, and goeth by east of vpper Mallop, west of nether Mallop, by Bucholt forest, Broughton, and called (as I haue bene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Mallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north west of kings Somburne, and uniting themselves againe, they go forth by Spotteshunt, and then receiue the Test, a pretie water rising in Clarendun parke, that goeth by west Deane, and east Deane, so to Spotteshunt, and finallie to the aforesaid water, which from thenceforth is called the Test, euen vnto the sea. But to proceed. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Kumsie, Longbidge, and beneath the same receiveth a concurrence of two rilles whereof the one cometh from Sheresfield, the other from the new Forrest, and ioining in Madeleie parke, they beat vpon the Test, not verie farre from Spurseling. From thence the Test goeth vnder a pretie bidge, before it come at Redbidge, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the hauen.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, springeth in the new Forrest, and cometh thereinto about Cling, not passing one mile by west of the fall of Test. From hence casting about againe into the maine sea, and leaving Calde thore castell on the right hand, we direct our course toward the south west, vnto Beaulieu hauen, wherinto the Spineie descendeth. The Spineie riseth not far from Spineie stad, a village in the north part of the new Forrest, and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the sea south west,

Limen.

well (as I take it) of Erburie, a village standing upon the thore.

Being past the Pineie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the berie hart of the new Forrest (sometime converted into a place of nourishment for deere by William Rufus, buieng his pleasure with the ruine of manie towne and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or enlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running south west of Lindbirst & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenhirst, west of Bulder, & finally into the sea south and by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the haueu, for Limen in Greeke is an haueu: so that Limendune is nothing else, but a doctone or higher plot of ground lying on the haueu: neuertheless, with this denomination of the riuer hath now hir free passage, I think it not conuenient to take out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we passed by is namelesse, except it be called Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the next vnto it hight while, as I haue heard in English. Certes the head thereof is also in the south west part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Wiltford bydge, beyond the which I find a narrow going or stridland leading from the point to Wirt castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hong by a thred, from the maine of the Island, ready to be washed awaie by the continuall working and dailie beating of the waues.

Ware.

Wilt.

Woon.

The next riuer that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth by north east, and not far from Wolvehall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomie called Halenus. The first notable bydge that it runneth vnto, is at Alphaen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambesburie, and there is another bydge, from thence to Wiltford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Jewton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Wiltford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogether, because it was somewhat in ruine. Whence it goeth to Fisherton bydge, to Cranebydge, old Salisburie, new Salisburie, and finally to Harnham, which is a statelie bydge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bydge, a little Island, that lieth betwixt this and another bydge, of foure pretie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & some after it reuniteth it selfe againe: or else that Wiltton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harnham bydge it goeth to Donington, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Forodingbydge, to Kingwood bydge five miles, to Chythes church Twynham five miles, and straight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficientlie described. Wherefore I thinke good to deliuer a second receiued of another, which in more particular maner doth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, rising (as I said before nere) vnto Wolvehall; although he that will seeke more scrupulouslie for the head in deed, must looke for the same about the borders of the Forrest of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were imbraced betwene the first armes thereof, as I haue bene informed. These heads also do make a confluence by east of Partinshall hill, and west of Wiltton. From whence it goeth to Wiltton, Powfete, Spanningfield abbete, Spanningfield crosse, and beneath Jewton taketh in one rill well from Ribbozow, and another a little lower that riseth also west of Alcaninges, and runneth into the same by

Patneie, Perden, Wiltford, Charleton, and Ruffisall. Being therefore past Jewington, it goeth to Alphaen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chesilburie, Compton, Abington, little Alnburie, Warrinford, Wiltford, old Salisburie, and so to new Salisburie, where it receiveth one notable riuer from by north west, & another from north east, which two I will first describe, leauing the Auon at Salisburie for a while. The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire doth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as some fantastical heads do imagine: whereof also there is more plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bydge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Wpton by Werminkier at north west. From Bishops straw it goeth to Boxton, Wpton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Waddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hasteth to Wiltford, Jewton, Chilhampton, Wiltton: and thither cometh a water vnto it from south west, which riseth of two heads aboue Querdonet. After this it goeth by Wiltford castle, to Wiltburie, and there receiveth a water on each side, whereof one cometh from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Austie, the other at Swalodise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth next of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberstocke, Southburcombe, Wiltton (where it taketh in the Fromington or Pader water) Westbarnam, Salisburie, and Calbarnam: and this is the race of Wilugh.

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth aboue Colingburne Kingston in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more southerlie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Cholterton, Jewton, Conie, Jomerston, Boxton, the Winterburne, Lauerstocke, and so into Auon east of Salisburie. And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes broke) a mile beneath Harnham bydge, whose head is five miles from Sarum, and three miles aboue Becquithes bydge, as Leland doth remember, who noteth the Chalkburne water to haue his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid riuer. Certes it is a pretie broke, and riseth six miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisburie in a bottome on the right hand, whence it cometh by Knighton and Fennistratford, to Honington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington: beneath Wobstocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bydge, except he forget himselfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a pretie village before the erection of new Salisburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in stead of this church, there is onlie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the north side of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie late sometime through Wiltton, licence was obtained of the king and Richard bishop of Salisburie, to remoue that passage vnto new Salisburie in like maner, and vpon this occasion was the maine bydge made ouer Auon at Harnham. By this exchange of the waie also old Salisburie fell into bitter decaye, & Wiltton which was before the head towne of the shire, and furnished with twelue parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onlie cause of the

wiltugh.

Pader becke.

Becquith
broke.

Chalkburne.

Three towne
decayed by
changing one
waie.

the ruine of old Salisburie, sith I read of two other, whereof the first was a salve unto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was given out, that the townemen wanted water in old Salisburie, it is flat otherwise; sith that hill is verie plentifullie served with springs and wells of verie sweet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

An holie
conflict.

In the time of ciuill warres, the souldiours of the castell and chanons of old Sarum fell at odds, inso-
much that after often bzailes, they fell at last to sad
blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke
that the cleargie going in solemne procession, a con-
trouersie fell betwene them about certeine walkes
and limits, which the one side claimed and the other
denied. Such also was the hot intertainment on ecy
part, that at the last the Castellanes espieng their
tyme, gate betwene the cleargie and the towne, and
so coiled them as they returned homeward, that they
feared anie more to gang about their bounds for
the yere. Whereupon the people misting their bellie
cheare (for they were wont to haue banketing at
euerie station, a thing commonlie practised by the re-
ligious in old time, wherewith to linke in the com-
mons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither
he will by the bellie, as Latimer said, with barefe,
bread and beere) they conceiued forthwith a deadlie
hatred against the Castellans. But not being able to
cope with them by force of armes, they consulted
with Richard Poze their bishop, and he with them so
effectualle, that it was not long yer they, I meane
the chanons, began a new church vpon a peece of
their owne ground called Whitchfield, pretending to
serue God there in better safetie, and with far more
quietnesse than they could do before. This church
was begun 1219, the nine and twentieth of Aprill,
and finished with the expenles of 42000 marks, in
the yere 1260, and sine & twentieth of March, where-
by it appereth that it was about forty yeres in hand,
although the clearks were translated to the new
towne 1220, as the third yere after the fraie. The
people also seeing the diligence of the chanons, and
reputing their harmes for their owne inconueni-
ence, were as earnest on the other side to be nere
vnto these prelates, and therefore euerie man brought
his house vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum
in few yeres utterlie desolate, and new Salisburie
raised vp in stead thereof, to the great decate also of
Harnham and Wilton, whereof I spake of late.
Peruertlesse it should seme to me that this new
cittie is not altogether void of some great hinderan-
ces now and then by water: for in the second of
Edward the second. (who held a parliament there)
there was a sudden thale after a great frost, which
caused the waters so fast to arise, that euen at high
masse time, the water came into the minster, and
not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the same,
but came vp all to the kings parrade where he sat,
whereby he became wetshod, and in the end inforced
to leaue the church, as the executours did his masse,
least they should all haue bene drowned: and this
rage indured there for the space of thre daies, where-
upon no service could be said in the said minster.

Sturton.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus di-
grested. Our Auon therefore departing from Salis-
burie, goeth by Burford, Longford, and taking in
the waters afoze mentioned by the waie, it goeth by
Stanley, Dunketon, Craford, Wargate, Fording
bridge, Kingwood, Anon, Chalfes church, and finally
into the sea. But yer it come all there & a litle beneeth
Chiffes church, it gulleteth the Stoure of Sture, a ve-
rie faire streame, whose course is such as may not be
left untouched. It riseth of six heads, whereof three lie
on the north side of the parke at Sturton within the
pale, the other three without the parke; & of this riuer

the towne and baronie of Sturton doeth take his
name as I gesse, for except my memorie do to much
faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the six heads of the
said water in his armes. But to proceed. After these
branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to
long Laine mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gil-
lingham receiueith a water that descendeth from
Here. Thence the Sture goeth to Bagleie, Stoure,
Wessouer brdge, Stoure prouost, and yer long it
taketh in the Cale water, from Den that cometh
downe by Wickhampton to Hazeland, & so to Sta-
pleford, seven miles from Wickhampton, passing
in the said voiage, by Wille Cauntton, and the five
bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton
Apries, and some after croseth the Lidden and Deul-
his waters all in one chanel, whereof the first riseth
in Blackmore vale, and goeth to the bishops Caun-
dell: the second in the hils south of Pulham, and so
runneth to Lidlinch; the third water issueth nere
Ibberton, and going by Fifebrd to Lidlington, and
there meeting with the Lidden, they receiue the
Blackewater aboue Bagburne, and so go into the
Stoure.

Cale.

Lidden.
Deulis.

Iber.
Blackwater.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stouretton
minster, Fittleford, Hammond, and some after ta-
king in one water that cometh from Hargraue by
West Richard, and a second from Funtmill, it goeth
on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweston,
Anighton, Brainston, Blandford, Charleton: and
goeth to Launston, Hunketon, Cauntton, Tar-
rant, it proceedeth forth by Sheptoye, and by and by
receiuing another broke on the right hand, that ri-
seth about Strickland, and goeth by Quarleson,
Whitchurch, Anderson, and Winterburne, it hast-
eth forward to Stoureminster, Werford lake, Alen
brdge, Winburne, alia Twinburne minster, whi-
ther cometh a water called Alen (from Anolton,
Wickhampton, Esfambidge, Hinton, Barnslee)
which hath two heads, whereof one riseth hozt of
Woodcotes, and east of Farneham, named Terig,
the other at Hunketon aboue S. Giles Winburne,
and going thence to S. Giles Agleie, it taketh in the
Horton becke, as the Horton doeth the Cranburne.
Finalle, meeting with the Terig aboue Anolton,
they run on under the name of Alen to the Stoure,
which goeth to the Canfords, Presson, Kingston,
Perleie, and Polnest: but yer it come at Polnest it
taketh in two brokes in one bottome, whereof one
cometh from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and
Holt, another from aboue upper Winburne, by Co-
mondestham, Wertwood, and Spannington, and so
running about S. Lednards, they go to Hornebrdge,
and so into Stoure. After which confluence, the said
Stoure runneth by Juoz brdge, and so into Anon,
leaving Chriffs church aboue the meeting of the said
waters (as I haue said before.)

This Stoure
aboundeth
with pike,
perch, rock,
dace, gudgeon
and eels.

Hauing in this maner passed Chriffs church head
we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a litle
broke running from Stouresfield heath, without
branches, from whence we proceeded: & the next fall
that we come vnto is Poole, from whose mouth upon
the shore, by south west in a vale of thre miles off, is
a poze filther towne called Sandwich, where we saw
a piers and a litle fresh broke. The verte vnder part
of saint Adelines point, is foue miles from Sand-
wich. In another baie lieth West Lillsworth, where
(as I heare) is some profitabie Harboreugh for ships.
The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure
miles, and it standeth almost as an Ile in the hauen.
The hauen it selfe also, if a man should measure it by
the circuit, wanteth litle of twentie miles, as I did
gesse by the blew.

Going therefore into the same, betwene the north
and

Piddle.

Dentis.

Frome.

Dous.

Silleie.

Winterne.
Cherne.

Luchford.

Seke more
for wille
broke that
goeth by west
burie to Pold
hauen.

and the south points, to see what waters were there, we left Winklesie Island, and the castell on the left hand within the said points; and passing about by Pold, and leaning that crêke, because it hath no fresh, we came by Holton and Kestwoth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the south waters. The north streame hight Piddle as I heare. It riseth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walterstow, and per it come at Birsam, receiueith 10 Devils broke that commeth thither from Bugham and Melcombe by Deuillish towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, A the piddle, Turners piddle (taking in per it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Piddleton, Milburne & Wier) then to Hyde, and so into Pold hauen, and of this water Marianns Scotus speaketh, except I be deceiued. The south water is properly called Frome for frame. It riseth nere into Quershot, and going downe by Frome-quittaine, Chelmington, and Catstocke, it receiueith there a rill from beside Kowham, and Wrazehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Waden Newton, where it meeteth with the Woke, that riseth either two miles about Hoke parke at Benford, or in the great pond within Hoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Waden Newton, & so go as one from thence to Fromeburch, Crokewaite, Frampton, and Duckilford, and receiueith nere into the same a rill from about Upsliding by S. Nicholas Soling, and Grimston. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and 20 Wadford Deuerell, and beneath this Wadford, it crosseth the Silleie *alias* Winterne and Cherne brooks both in one chanel: whereof the first riseth in vpper Cherne parish, the other at Winterne, and meeting about middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Foxston, Godmanson, and about Charnemister into Frome. In the meane time also our Frome brancheth and leaueth an Island about Charnemister, and joining againe nere Dorchester, it goeth by Dorchester, and Foxthampton; but per it come at Beckington, it meeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Partinknow, Heringfow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without anie further increase as yet to Beckington, Knighston, Tinkleton, Porton, Woll, Windon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiueith the issue of the Luchford lake, from whence also it passeth by Calsholme, Warham, and so into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we saw a little crêke, then by Wyze, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe toward the entrance by saint Helens, and Furleie 30 castell, we went abroad into the maine, and found our selues at libertie.

When we were past Pold hauen, we left the Handfast point, the Deuerell point, S. Ademes chappell, and came at last to Lughport hauen, whereby and also the Luchford lake, all this portion of ground last remembred, is left in manner of a byland or peninsula, and called the Ile of Burbecke, wherein is good stoe of alum and hard stone. In like sort going still westward, we came to Sutton points, where is a crêke. Then vnto Wale or Wilemouth, by kings Melcombe, which is twentie miles from Pold, and whose head is not full foure miles about the hauen by north-west at Uphill in the side of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we saw three falles, whereof the first and greatest commeth from Upweie by Wadweie, and Wadipole, receiuing after- 40 ward the second that ran from east Chelerell; and likewise the third that maketh the ground betwene Wilemouth and Smalmouth passage almost an Island. Where is a little barre of sand at the hauen

month, and a great arme of the sea runneth by by the right hand; and scant a mile about the hauen mouth on the thore, is a right goodlie and warlike castell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth by also further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a passage is into Portland, by a little course of pibble sand. It goeth by also from the said passage vnto Abbatburie about seauen miles off, where a little fresh roudell resorteth to the sea. And somewhat about this, is the head or point of the Cher- 50 fill lieng north-west, which stretcheth by from thence about seauen miles, as a maine narrow banke, by a right line vnto the south-east, and there abutteth by on Portland scant a quarter of a mile about the Newcastle there. The nature of this banke is such, that so often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at south-east, so often the sea beareth in, and losing the banke seeketh through it: so that if this wind should blow from that corner anie long time together, Portland should be left an Island as it hath bene before. But as the south-west wind doth appaire this banke, so a north-west doth barre it by againe. It is pretie to note of the Townelet of Waimouth, which lieth freight against Milton on the other side, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of small breadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one side of the thore to another, whereby the ferrie men do guide their botes without anie helpe of Ores. But to proceed with our purpose. Into the mouth of this 30 riuer do ships often come for succour.

Going by Portland and the point thereof called the Kafe, we sailed along by the Shingle, till we came by saint Batharins chappell, where we saw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdene Beaconward, by Woztham and Abbatburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the sea, nere Birton, and descended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Wyde or Wyte port, a pretie hauen, and the riuer it selfe serued with sundrie 40 waters. It riseth halfe a mile or more about Bemister, and so goeth from Bemister to Betherburie by Parneham, then to Melplash, and so to Witeport, where it taketh in two waters from by east in one chanel, of which one riseth east of Petticourt, and goeth by Wozestoke and Milton, the other at Alkerwell, and runneth by Longlesher. From hence also our Wyde going toward the sea, taketh the Simen on the west that commeth by Simensburge into the same, the whole streame some after falling into the sea, and leaving a pretie hauenet.

The next port is the Chare, serued with three rills in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The chere head of this riuer is (as Leland saith) in Parthwood parke, and commeth downe by Whitechurch: the other runneth by west of Wotton, and meeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I said) doth fall into the sea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Biddle, which commeth about three miles by north of Litne, from the hills, fletting vpon Rotkie soile, and so falleth into the sea. Certes, there is no hauen here that I could see, but a quarter of a mile by west south-west of the towne, is a great and collicie battie in the sea for succour of ships. The towne is distant from Colton, about five miles. And here we ended our voyage from the Aron, which containeth the whole coast of Dorchester, or Dorsetshire, so that next we must enter into Summersetcountie, and see what waters are there.

The first water that we met withall in Summer- 50 setshire is the Are, which riseth in a place called Are knoll, longing to sir Giles Strangwaite, nere vnto Cheddington in Dorsetshire, from whence it runneth to Wosterne, Ffebozolo, Clarton, Welford bridge,

Cherill.

Wyde.
Nature hath
set the mouth
of this riuer
in maner be-
twixt two
hills, so that
a little colt
would make
an hauen there.

Simen.

Chare.

Biddle.

Are.

Pare alias
Arie.

bydage, Wintonham foyd, and receiuing one rill from the east by Watkechurch, and some after another comming from north west by Churchstoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Areminster, beneath which it crosseth the Pare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitstunton, Parecombe, Long bydage, Stockeland, Kilmington bydage (where it receiue a byroke from by south, that runneth by Dalwood) and so into the Arie. From hence our Arie goeth to Dyke, Musburie, Culliford: but per it come altogether at Culliford, it meeteth with a water that riseth aboue Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widdowthie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill also, proceedeth on after the confluence aboue Culliford bydage, into the Arie, and from thence hold on together into the maine sea, whereinto they fall vnder the roots of the winter clifles, the points of them being almost a mile in sunder. The most westerlie of them called Berelwood, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

But the other toward the east is named White-cliffe, of which I saie no more, but that in the time of Athelstane, the greatest naue that euer aduentured into this Island, arrived at Seton in Devonshire, being replenished with aliens that sought the conquest of this Island, but Athelstane met and encountered with them in the field, where he ouerthrew six thousand of his aforesaid enimies. Not one of them also that remained alive, escaped from the battell without some deadlie or verie grievous wound. In this conflict moreover were slaine five kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Areminster, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the cheefe of his nobilitie, and they also buried in the churchyard aforesaid. Herunto it addeth how the bishop of Shireburne was in like sort slaine in this battell, that began at Brunedune nere to Coliton, and indured euen to Areminster, which then was called Brunbertie or Brunburg. The same daie that this thing happened the sunne lost his light, and so continued without anye brightness, untill the setting of that planet, though otherwise the season was clere and nothing cloudie.

Sidde.
Seton.

As for the haven which in times past as I haue heard, hath bene at Sidmouth (so called of Sidde a rill that runneth thereto) and likewise at Seton, I passe it ouer, sith now there is none at all. Yet hath there bene sometime a notable one, albeit, that at this present betwene the two points of the old haven, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble stones, in the verie mouth of it, and the riuer Arie is driuen to the verie east point of the haven called White cliffe. Thereat also a verie little gull goeth into the sea, whither small fischerbotes doe oft resort for succour. The men of Seton began of late to stake and make a maine wall within the haven to haue changed the course of the Arie, and (almost in the middle of the old haven) to haue trenched through the Chesill, thereby to haue let out the Arie, & to haue taken in the maine sea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton westward lieth Coliton, about two miles by west north west, whereof riseth the riuer Colie, which going by the aforesaid towne, passeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betwene Arie bydage and Arie mouth towne into the Arie riuer.

Colie.

Sid.

Aurie alias
Ottercie.

By west of Berelworth point lieth a cræke, seruiced (as farre as I remember) with a fresh water that commeth from the hilles south of Soutleie, or Wancombe. Sidmouth haven is the next, and thither commeth a fresh water by S. Maries from the said hils, that goeth from S. Maries aforesaid to Sidburie, & betwene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine sea. By west of Auterton point also lieth another haven, and thither commeth a pretie riueret, whose

head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe first by Wpauter, then by a parke side to Hophuns Anter, Hunketon, Honniton, Buckwell, and north of Autrie receiue a rill called Tale, that riseth north west of Wodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Wchemburie, Wninton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwene Cadde and Autrie, to Wersford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and so into the sea. On the west side of this haven is Budeleie almost directly against Otterton. It is easie to be seen also, that within lesse space than one hundred yers, ships did vse this haven, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie haven of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little cræke comming out of the maine haven vnto Salterne village, that hath in time past bene a towne of great estimation.

The Cre riseth in Cremore in Summersetshire, nere vnto Cre crosse, and goeth from thence vnto Creford, Wintford, and Crtun, where it receiue a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the south, till it meet with a pretie byroke rising north east of Whtell going by Winton Regis increased at the least with three rilles which come all from by north. These being once met, this water runneth on by west of the beacon that beareth the name of Waddon, & some after taketh in the Warleie, that receiue in like sort the Done at Watkebydage, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth meet with the Cre, almost in the verie confines betwene Dorset & Summerset shires. Being past this coniunction, our Cre passeth betwene Wuthford and Wurbath, and then to Cre bydage, where it taketh in (as I haue) a water by west from east Austie: and after this likewise another on each side, whereof one commeth from Wixford, and Baunton, the other called Wodburne, somewhat by east of Wkeford. From these meetings it goeth to Cane and through the forest and woods to Watherland and Wathfields, untill it come to Wuer-ton, and here it receiue the Lomund water that riseth aboue Ashbyttle, & commeth downe by Hockworthie, hyper Loman, and so to Wuer-ton that standeth almost euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Shimming byroke or Sunnings bath. After this our Cre goeth to Bickie, Theuersten (taking in a rill by west) neher Cre, Wamford; beneath which it ioineeth with the Columbe that riseth of one head northeast of Clarie Waddon, and of another south of Shildon, and meeting beneath Columbe stoke, goeth by Columbe and Wadfeld, and there crossing a rill that commeth by Wghford, it runneth south to Wod, Wore haies, Columpton, Wrandnicke, Weare, Columbe John, Wotham, and ioining (as I said) with the Cre at Wamford, passing vnder but one bydage, per it meet with another water by west, growing of the Foxten and Cride waters (except it be so that I doe iudge amisse). The Cride riseth aboue Wollsworthie, and nere vnto Upton: after it is past Delwith, crosseth a rill from betwene Wugill and Stockeleie by Stocke English, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford, where it meeteth with the Foxten, therof one branch commeth by Caldbyroke, the other from S. Marie Ledburne, and ioining aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which per long also receiue another from by north, comming by Stockeleie and Combe) then betwene Waine and Pewton Sires, to Pines, and so into the Cre, which staieeth not untill it come to Exceffer. From Exceffer (whither the burgesles in time past laboured to bring the same, but in vaine) it runneth to Wlere, there taking in a rill from by west, and another lower by Ceminster, next of all vnto Toppesham; beneath which towne the Clue entrencheth there into,

Warleie.
Done alias
Done stoke.

Wodburne.

Lomund or
Sunning.

Columbe.

Crde.
Foxten.

Clueus
into,

into, which rising about Plumtree, goeth by Cliff Haidon, Cliff Laurence, Wode Cliff, Honiton, Deuton, Bishops Cliff, S. Marie Cliff, Cliff saint George, and then into the Exe, that runneth forward by Spotwell court, Linton and Donverham castell. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ken, or Benton brooke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunsoke, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Benton, and so into Exe haven, at whose mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Cheekstones, except I be deceived. The next fall, whereof Leland saith nothing at all, commeth by Ashcombe and Dullish, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.

The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came to, it is a goodlie port foure miles from Cremouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the sea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie towne, Teignton dyke, where it receiveth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewise another west of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bixford, Birklowe, Gidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiveth the Bouie, whose course is to north Bouie, Lileie, and Bouitracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eidis, a brooke beneath Dreston that commeth from Cdesford by the wale. And then it is past this confluence, at kings Teignton, it crosseth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Bushels: and some after the Aller that riseth betwene Danburie and Marog well, afterward falling into the sea by Bishops Teignton, south of Teignmouth towne.

The verie utter west point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Pesse, and is a verie high redcliffe. The east part of the haven is named the Poles, a low sandy ground, either east by the spuing of the land out of the Teigne, or else throught by from the thore by the rage of wind and water. This land occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betwene the haven where the land riseth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (surnamed Regis) hath in time past ben soze defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignmouth we came to Toz baie, where of the west point is called Birie, and the east Pertozie, betwene which is little above foure miles. From Toz baie also to Dartmouth is six miles, where (saith Leland) I marked diverse things. First of all upon the east side of the haven a great hillie point called Downesend, and betwixt Downesend, and a pointlet named Weresford is a little baie. Where it selfe, in like sort, is not full a mile from Downesend upward into the haven. Kingswere towne standeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Weresford is the second baie. Somewhat moreouer about Kingswere towne goeth a little craeke by into the land from the maine streame of the haven called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for vessels to be made in. In like sort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer craeke, and above that also a greater than either of these called Gatonsion, whose head is here not halfe a mile from the maine sea, by the compassing thereof, as it runneth in Toz baie.

Wheruer of Dart or Darent (so I read Darenta inith for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore sixtene miles above Totnesse, in a verie large plot, and such another wild morish & forestie ground as Cremore is. Of it selfe moreouer this water is verie swift, and thorough occasion of tin-workes whereby it passeth, it carrieth much sand to Totnesse bidge, and so choketh the depth of the river downward, that the haven it selfe is almost spoiled by the

same. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his spring, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and some after taking in the Ashburne water on the one side that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckadilly that commeth from north west, it runneth to Staunton, Darrington, Hemston, and there also crossing a rill on each side passeth south to Totnesse, Bowden, and above Gabriell Stoke meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth under Ross bidge, two miles above Totnesse, or (as another saith) by Katter, Harberton, Painesford, and Aspempton into Darent, which ver long also commeth to Cornemorthie, Grenetwaie, Ditham, Darnmouth towne (wherunto king John gaue sometimes a maior, as he did unto Totnesse) from thence betwene the castles, and finally into sea.

From hence we went by Stokeflemming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the second that falleth in east of Slapton, and so coasting out of this baie by the Start point, we saile almost directlie west, till we come to Saltcombe haven. Certes this port hath verie little fresh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (such as it is) riseth nere Buckland, and goeth to Dubbocke, which standeth betwene two crækkes. Thence it hieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill, whose head commeth from south and north of Sheresford. Finally, it hath another cræke that runneth by by Ilton: and the last of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whose head is so nere the baie last afore remembred, that it maketh it a sozie peninsula (as I have heard it said.)

Then come we to the Awoe, whose head is in the hills farre above Bzent towne, from whence it goeth to Dirford wood, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleston, and so into the sea over against a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arme riseth about Harford, thence to Stoford, Juie bidge, Armington bidge, Fleet, Orchardton, Dwenelwell, and so into the sea, which is full of flats and rocks, so that no ship commeth thither in anie tempest, except it be forced thereto, through the uttermost extremitie and desperat hazard of the fearefull mariners. King Philip of Castile lost two ships here in the daies of king Henrie the seventh, when he was driven to land in the west countrie by the rage of weather. Palme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratleie, Palminton, Collaton, Petwon ferrie, and so into the sea, about foure miles by south east from the maine streame of Plimouth. Being past these portlets, then next of all we come to Plimouth haven, a verie busie place to describe, because of the numbers of waters that resort unto it, & small helpe that I have for the knowledge of their courses; yet will I do that I may in this, as in the rest, and so much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as shall suffice my purpose in this behalfe.

The Plimne or Plim, is the verie same water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulf, wherein the ships do ride, is walled on each side and chained over in time of necessitie, and on the south side of the haven is a blocke house upon a rockie hill: but as touching the river it selfe, it riseth in the hills west of Cornewood, and commeth downe a short course of thre miles to Petwenham after it be issued out of the ground. From Petwenham also it runneth to Plimpton, and some after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariseth north west of Shepi-flour, & goeth fro thence to Spemchurch, Bele, Shane, Bickleie, and so to Cford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one under the name of Plim, untill

Ashburne

Buckadilly

Hartburne

Ken

Teigne

Crokerne

Bouie
Stois

Leman

Aller

Awoe

Arme

See Hen. 7.
pag. 792, 793,
794.

Palme

Plim

Plim

Stoure alias
Catwater

Dart

untill it go pass Plimouth, and fall into the haven south east of Plimouth aforesaid. I have oftentimes travelled to find out the cause why so many rivers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the British word for a streame, I rested therupon as resolved for a season: but afterward finding the word to be more Saxon, and that Stouremare is a province subject to the duke of Saronic, I yielded to another opinion: whereby I conceive that the said name was first derived from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpose.

Plimouth it selfe standeth betwene two creeks, nor served with any backewater, therefore passing over these two, we enter into the Thamar that discharge it selfe into the aforesaid haven. Going therefore by that streame, which for the most part parteth Devonshire from Cornewall, the first riveret that I met withall on the east side is called Tanie, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles above Peters Tanie, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include parte Tanie betwene them, though nothing nere the confluence. From hence the Tanie or Tanie runneth to Tauslocke, about which it taketh in a rill from by west; and another about north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmore, and cometh therunto by Sandford and Hactow bidge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, monks Buckland, Beare, and Lamerton folke. Having thus dispatched the Tanie, the next that falleth in on the east side upwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hils about Lidford, runneth downe by Carriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, about which it receiveth the Trushell broke, which rising north east of Wredifon, goeth by Trusholton to Thaine, where it receiveth a rill that cometh by Wadwood from Germanstowe, and after the confluence runneth to Lifon, and from thence into the Thamar. The next about this is the Coze water, this ariseth somewhere about Clwell or Helwell, and going by Virginsfon, runneth on by saint Giles without any increase untill it come to Thamar. Part of all it taketh in two brokes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one cometh in by Glanton, the other from Holswothie, and both east of Lamerton, which standeth on the further banke, & other side of the Thamar, and west north west of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Certes, the Thamar it selfe riseth in Summerfetshire, about thre miles north east of Hartland, and in maner so crosseth over the whole west countrie betwene sea and sea, that it leaveth Cornewall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the head, by a tract of six miles, it cometh to Denborow, Pancrase well, Bidge Reuell, Lamerton, Tedcote, Luffencote, Botton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water on the west side called Artoie, that riseth north of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort fro this confluence, we met with the Kenfeie, whose head is north of Warpeston by south east: from whence it goeth by Teneeglos, Tremone, Tresmore, Trewen, Lanston, and so into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lotwhitton unto Wadifon, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from south Bitherwic, and by Lefant; beneath Dunterton also it crosseth the Enian. This river riseth at Dauidfon, and directeth his race by saint Clethir, Lancast, and Trellake first; and then under sundrie bidges, untill it met with the Thamar. From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calstocke bidge, Calstocke towne, Clifton, Cargreue (thereabouts taking in a creeke about Landilip) and running on from thence, hasteth

toward Saltash, where it receiveth the Luer water. The head of Luer is about Bownwellie hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lehenbozne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from about Wellington) it runneth on to Petoton, Willaton, Wotton, Blofleming, saint Erne, and beneath this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Wotton by Duthiocke, saint Germans, and Sheniocke. But to proceed. After the confluence, it goeth betwene Erle and Fro Martine castell, and some after taking in a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Stevens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Willbroke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betwene saint Michaels Ile and Kidde point into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the description of Plimouth water, and all such fallies as are betwene Petoston rocke on the east side, and the Kam head on the other.

After this we proceeded on with our iournie toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came some after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is about Alstead, & his course by Pinhenier, Chastrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and so into the sea. Then came we to Low, and going in betwene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence about Low. The chiefe head riseth in the hils, as it were two miles about Gaine, and going by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little about Low, where it crosseth and joineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and so into the sea. Pert unto these are two other rills, of which one is called Dolpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawpy.

Foy or Fawpy river riseth in Fawpy more, on the side of arhill in Fawpy more, from whence it runneth by certeine bidges, till it met with the Clin water west of Clin towne, which rising about Temple, & meeting with a rill that cometh in from S. Peotes, both fall into Fawpy a mile and more about Kespri from by east. After this confluence then, it goeth to Kespri bidge, Lestermen castell, Lostwithiell bidge, Pill, saint Kingtons, saint Minnow, and Colant, and here also receiveth the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his waie into the maine streame by Biconke, Tette, and the Fining house. Being thus united, it proceedeth unto Fawpy towne, taking in a rill or creeke from above it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Walling on the other: of which two this latter is the longest of course, fith it runneth thre god miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this river addeth verie largelie unto it after this maner. The Fawpy riseth in Fawpy more (about two miles from Camilford by south, and sixtene miles from Fawpy towne) in a verie quane mire on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Daines bidge, to Clobham bidge, Lergen bidge, Petu bidge, Kespri bidge, and Lostwithiell bidge, where it meeteth with a little broke, and nere thereunto parteth it selfe in twaine. Of these two armes therefore one goeth to a bidge of stone, the other to another of timber, and some after joining againe, the maine river goeth to saint Gwinnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Gwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memoize doth faile me. Here goeth in a salt creeke halfe a mile on the east side of the haven, and at the head of it is a bidge called Lerine bidge; the creeke it selfe in like maner bearing the same denomination.

From Lerine creeke, to S. Caracs pill or creeke, is about halfe a mile, and Lower on the east side of the said haven: it goeth by also not about a mile and

Luer.

Sutton.

Low.

Dolpir.
Fawie.

Clin.

Lerinus.

Faw.

In the middle of this creeke was a cell of S. C.

ret in an Fleet
longing some-
time to shoun
tege w a ppo-
rie.

an halfe into the land. From Caracs cræke to Pou-
moland a mile, and this likewise goeth by scant a
quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it par-
teth it selfe in twaine. From Poumoland weto
Wodnecke village halfe a mile, where the passage and
repassage is commonlie to Falwy. From Wod-
necke to Belene point (where a cræke goeth by not
fullie a thousand paces into the land) a mile, thence to
Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan
is a towne of force, marching against the towne on
Falwy side, betwene which (as I doe heare) a chaine
hath sometime bene stretched, and likelie inough, for
the haven there is hardly two bow shot over. The ve-
rie point of land at the east side of the mouth of this
haven, is called Pontus crosse, but now Panuche
crosse. It shall not be amisse in this place somewhat
to intreat of the towne of Falwy, which is called in
Cornish Comtwhath, and being situat on the north-
side of the haven, is set hanging on a maine rockie
hill, being in length about one quarter of a mile, ex-
cept my memorie deceive me.

Comtwhath.

The renowne of Falwy rose by the wars under
king Edward the first, Edward the third, and Hen-
rie the first, partly by feats of armes, and partly by
plaine pirasie. Finallie, the townesmen feeling
themselves somewhat at ease and strong in their por-
tes, they fell to merchandize, and so they prospered in
this their new deulfe, that as they trauelled into all
places, so merchants from all countries made resort
to them, whereby within a while they grew to be ex-
ceeding rich. The ships of Falwy sailing on a time
by Rhie and Winchellsie in the time of king Ed-
ward the third, refused scoutlie to vale anie bonet
there, although warning was given them so to do by
the portgreues or rulers of those townes. Hereby
on the Rhie and Winchellsie men made out upon
them with cut and long taile: but so hardlie were
they interteined by the Falwy pirates (I should saie
adventurers) that they were driven home againe
with no small losse and hinderance. Such fauour
found the Falwy men also immediatlie upon this
bickering, that in token of their victorie over their
winching aduerfaries, and riding rapiers (as they
called them in mockerie) they altered their armes
and compounded for new, wherein the scutcheon of
Rhie and Winchellsie is quartered with theirs, and
beside this the Foyens were called the gallants of
Falwy or Foy, whereof they not a little reioiced,
and more peradventure than for some greater botie.
And thus much of Falwy towne, wherein we see
what great successe often cometh of witlesse and
rash adventures. But to returne againe to our pur-
pose from whence we haue digressed, and as hauing
some desire to finish by this our voyage, we will
leauie the Falmouth and go forward on our iourne.

Gallants of
Foy or Fa-
wy.

Being therefore past this haven, we come into
Trewardith baie, which lieth into the land betwene
Canuasse and the Blacke head point, and hereabout
Leland placeth *Prætorum promontorium*. In this we
saw the fall of two small brookes, not one verie far
distant from another. The first of them entring west
of Trewardith, the other east of saint Blaes, and
both directlie against Trewardith rocke, except I
mistake my compasse. Neither of them are of anie
great course, and the longest not full thre miles and
an halfe. Therefore sith they are neither branched nor
of anie great quantitie, what should I make long
harneest of a little cozne, and spend more time than
may well be spared about them?

Castell.

When we were past the Blacke head, we came
to Ansell brooke, which is increased with a water
that cometh from about Melwan, and within a
mile after the confluence, they fall into the sea at
Pentozen, from whence we went by the Blacke

rocke, and about the Duden point, till we came to
Chate hales, where falleth the appetie water, whose
head is two miles about saint Tucs. Thence we
went by here and there a more salt cræke, till we
passed the Graie rocke, in Trewardith baie, and so
Anthonyes point, where Lefahmaketh his accompe
to enter into Falamouth haven.

The Fala riseth a little by north of Pendinaton
towne, and going westward till it come down towards
toward saint Dionis, it goeth from thence to Mel-
der, saint Steuens Grampont, Gelson, Crede, Cor-
nelele, Tregue, Ppam, Tregumman, it falleth into
the haven with a good indifferent force: and this is
the course of Fala. But lest I should seeme to omit
those crækes that are betwene this and S. Antho-
nies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch
in so many of them, as come now to my remem-
brance. Entring therefore into the port, we haue a
cræke that runneth by by saint Anthonyes toward
saint Gerens, then another that goeth into the land
by east of saint Maries castell, with a forked head, pas-
sing in the meane time by a great rocke that lieth in
the verie midd of the haven, in manner of the third
point of a triangle, betwene saint Maries castell
and Pendinaton.

Thence we cast about by the said castell, and came
by another cræke that falleth in by east, then the se-
cond above saint Justus, the third at Ardenora, the
fourth at Kilan. And hauing as it were visited all
these in order, we come backe againe about by Tre-
gonian, and then going upward, betwene it and
Taluerne, till we came to Fentangolan, we found
the confluence of two great crækes beneath saint
Clements, whereof one hath a fresh water comming
downe by S. Perther, the other another from Tru-
ro, increased with sundrie branches, though not one
of them of anie greatnesse, and therefore unworthie
to be handled. Whole hole standeth upon the head al-
most of the most easterlie of them. S. Kentwen and
Truro stand about the confluence of other two. The
fourth falleth in by west from certeine hills: as for
the first and first, as they be little crækes and no fresh,
so haue I lesse language and talke to spend about
them.

Of saint Cate, and saint Fekoekes cræke, whose
issue is betwene Kestronget and cræke of Trurie,
I see no cause to make any long speech, yet I remem-
ber that the towne of S. Fekoek standeth betwene
them both. That also called after this saint, rising a-
bout Perannarwothill, and comming thence by
Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, north-east of Mel-
der, which standeth upon the point betwene it and Mel-
der cræke. Mel-der cræke is next Kestronget: some call
it Mel-der pole, from whence we went by Trefuss
point, and there found an other great fall from Pe-
rin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin
towne almost in the verie confluence. And thus
much by my collection of the fall. But for so much as
Leland hath taken some paines in the description of
this riuer, I will not suffer it to perish, sith there is
other matter contained therein worthie remem-
brance, although not deliuered in such order as the
thing it selfe requireth.

The verie point (saith he) of the haven mouth (be-
ing an hill whereon the king hath builded a castell) is
called Pendinaton. It is about a mile in compasse,
almost inuironed with the sea: and where the sea co-
uereth not, the ground is so low that it were a small
maistrie to make Pendinaton an Island. Further-
more, there lieth a cape or foreland within the haven
a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maistr hill-
ligrives house one great arme of the haven run-
neth by to Pentine towne, which is thre miles from
the verie entrie of Falamouth haven, and two good
miles

Leam

Milo

Resti

S. J
S. C

Tru

Milo

Tru

S. J
S. A

Leune.

miles from Penfuss. Moreover, there is Leune, which were a good haven but for the barre of sand. But to proceed.

Whor.

Westronget.

S. Feokes.
S. Caie.

Crurie crake

Wozan.

Ground pont.

S. Iustus.
S. Mawes.

The first crake or arme that casteth on the north-west side of Falemouth haven, goeth up to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the lesser runneth to Glasenith, *videlicet* the greene nest, or Wlagmère at Pentine: the other to saint Glunias the parish church of Pentine. In like sort out of each side of Pentine crake, breaketh an arme per it come to Pentine. This I understand also that stakes and foundations of stone have bene set in the crake at Pentine a little lower than the wharfe, where it breaketh into armes: but howsoever this standeth, betwixt the point of Trefusis and the point of Westronget is Whor crake, which goeth up a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ships. The next crake beyond the point of Westronget wood, is called Westronget, which going two miles up into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Westronget and the crake of Crurie be two crakes: one called saint Feokes, the other saint Caie, next unto which is Crurie crake that goeth up about two miles craking from the principall streame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Crurie, casting in a branch westward euen hard by Newham wood.

This crake of Crurie is diuided into two parts before the towne of Crurie, and each of them hauing a brooke comming downe and a brdge, the towne of Crurie standeth betwixt them both. In like sort Westronget street is seuered from the said towne with this arme, and Clements street by east with the other. Out of the bodie also of Crurie crake breaketh another eastward a mile from Crurie, and goeth up a mile and a halfe to Crestilian brdge of stone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this crake is a rode of ships called Apples rode: and here fought not long since eightene ships of Spanish merchants, with foure ships of warre of Dæpe, but the Spaniards braue the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe about the mouth of Crurie crake, is another named Lhan Wozan of S. Wozans church at hand. This crake goeth up a quarter of a mile from the maine streame into the haven, as the maine streame goeth up two miles about Wozan crake ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher is the towne of Cregowie, where we found a brdge of stone vpon the Fala riuer. Fala it selfe riseth a mile or more west of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I saw a brdge of stone.

This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his course. From Cregowie to passe downe by the bodie of the haven of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanie hoine pill or crake, on the south side of the haven is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth up halfe a mile from the principall streame of the haven. From Lanhorne pill also is a place or point of sand about a mile waie of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninsula) called Ardeuerauter. As for the water or crake that runneth into the south southeast part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile up into the land, and the crake that hemmeth in this peninsula, of both doth seme to be the greater. From the mouth of the west crake of this peninsula, unto saint Iustus crake, is foure miles or more.

In like maner from saint Iustus pill or crake (for both signifie one thing) to saint Patwes crake is a mile and a halfe, and the point betwene them both is called Pendinas. The crake of saint Patwes goeth up a two miles by east northeast into the land,

and beside that it ebbeth and floweth so farre, there is a mill driuen with a fresh crake that resorteth to the same. Halfe a mile from the head of this downe ward to the haven, is a crake in maner of a pole, whereon is a mill also that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the south side entereth a crake (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine sea by a small sandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little crake: let. But how so euer these crakes do run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are meruellouslie well wadded. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being past Falamouth haven therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, master Killegreues place which standeth on the bymme or thore within Falamouth) we came to a little haven which ran by betwene two hilles, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were serued with anie backe fresh water or not.

From thence we went by Dolwitherrall crake (parted into two armes) then to the Dolpenrith, whereunto a riueret falleth that riseth not farre from thence, and so goeth to the maine streame of the haven at the last, whither the crake resorteth about thre miles and more from the mouth of the haven, and into which the water that goeth vnder Care and Wike. Wogun bridges, do fall in one bottom (as Leland hath reported.) Unto this haven also repairerth the Penkstell, the Callous, the Whellow, and the Gilling, although this latter lieth against saint Patwons on the hither side hard without the haven mouth (if I haue done aright.) For so motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are those booke of Leland which I haue, and beside that, his annotations are such and so confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie sense from them by a lease together. Wherefore I suppose that he disperfed and made his notes intricate of set purpose: or else he was loth that anie man should easilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no lesse trauell attained vnto by experience. Thus leauing Fala haven, as more troublesome for me to describe, than profitable for seafaring men, without good aduise to enter into, we left the roche on our left hand, and came straight south west to Helsing haven, whose water commeth downe from Wlcrake (where is a confluence of two small rilles thereof that rill consisteth) by Woggan and Trelawarren, and then it receiueth a rill on the north ripe from Constantine, after whose confluence it goeth a maine untill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is spoiled by sand comming from the tineworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this also is another rill comming from S. Partys, by whose course, and another ouer against it on the west side that falleth into the sea by Wlminiton, all Penage is left almost in maner of an Island. From hence we go south to the Panacle point, then south west to Lisard, and so north and by west to Wreban, nocke points, beyond which we meet with the fall of the said water, that riseth in the edge of Penag, and goeth into the sea by Wlminiton on the north, and Wlminiton on the south. By north also of Wlminiton is the Curie water that runneth thort of Woggan, and forth with the Ocean south of Wengwenian point.

From hence we sailed to the Lw mouth, which some call Lopole, because it is narrower at the fall into the sea, than it is betwene the sea and Wliffon. It riseth about S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wlendon, it hasteth to Wliffon or Wliffon, from whence onelie it is called Lw: but betwene Wliffon and the head, men call it commonlie Cehor. Of this riuer Leland saith thus: The Lopole is two miles in length,

length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of sand that once in thre or foure yeeres, what by weight of the fresh water, and working of the sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noise: but sone after the mouth of it is barred up againe. At all other times the superfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and eele) draineth out through the sandie barre into the open sea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie haven up vnto Haileston towne, where coinage of tin is also used, as at Trarrie and Loffwithiell, for the quenees advantage.

Being passed the Lo, I came to another water that descendeth without anie increase from Crowan by Simmeie, whose whole course is not above thre miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Baie, and going straight north (leaving S. Michaels mount a little upon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which rising thort of Telwidnacke, descendeth by Lidgenan, and so into the sea. Certes the course of these waters cannot be long, sith in this verie place the breadth of land is not above foure miles, and not more than five at the verie lands end. There is also a rill east of Bozgie, and Culnall, and another west of the same hard at hand, and likewise the third east of Pensants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the second, south west of Pensants also lieth the fourth that commeth from Sanctrete ward by Petwlin, from whence going south west out of the baie by Poushole Ile, that lieth south of Poushole towne, we come to a water that entereth into the Ocean betwixt Kemels and Lamoie point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by west of Sanctrete, the other from by west of an hill that standeth betwene them both, and joining above Kemels, it is not long per they salute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Koscassell, there are two other creekes, whereof one is called Wolkennie, that riseth south of saint Burians, and an other somewhat longer than the first, that issueth by west of the aforesaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore doe appoint S. Burians to be at the very lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not nere the lands end by thre miles. This latter rill also is the last that I doe reade of on the south side, and likewise on the west and north, till we haue sailed to S. Ives baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Wresan Ile eastward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middest and highest part of the baie of the same. The soile also is verie hillie here, as for saint Ives towne, it is almost (as I said) a byland, and yet is it well watered with landie rilles that come from those hills vnto the same.

The Haile riseth in such maner, and from so manie heads, as I haue before said: howbeit I will adde somewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the cheefe head of Haile riseth by west of Godalfin hills, and going downe toward saint Erthes, it receiveth the second, and best of the other thre rilles from Godalfin towne: finallie, comming to saint Erthes, and so vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, south of Melacke, which hath two heads, the said village standing directlie betwixt them both.

The Caine riseth south east of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increase by west of Gwelhan, and so into the sea west of Para Darwaie. From hence we coasted about the point, a litle the baie till we came to a water that riseth of two heads from those hills that lie by south of the same: one of them also runneth by saint Uni, another by Medreuth, and meeting within a mile,

they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Eng Luggam. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another small rill, and likewise two other creekes, betwixt which the towne of saint Agnes standeth, and likewise the fourth halfe a mile beyond the most easterlie of these, whose head is almost thre miles within the land in a towne called saint Alin. Whence going by the Panroche, and west of saint Piran in the land, we find a course of thre miles and more from the head, and having a forked branch, the parts doe meet at west above saint Hibbard, and so go into the sea. I take this to be saint Pirans crake, for the next is Carantocke pill or crake, whose head is at Gusswarth, from whence it goeth vnto Tre, rise, and sone after taking in a rill from by west, it runneth into the sea coast of saint Carantakes. Beyond this is another crake that riseth above little saint Colan, and goeth by lesse saint Columbe: and east and by north hereof commeth downe one more whose head is almost south of the Pine stones, & going from thence to great saint Columbes, it passeth by Lamberne, and so into the sea. S. Perous crake is but a little one, rising west of Padstow, and falling in almost ouer against the Gull rocke. Then turning betwene the point and the blacke rocke, we entered into Padstow haven thre miles lower than port Jiler, and a mile from port Gwin, whose waters remaine next of all to be described.

The Alan ariseth flat east from the haven mouth of Padstow, well nere eight or nine miles about Davidstone, nere vnto which the Eniam also issueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it passeth to Camelford, saint Aduen, saint Bernard (both Cornish saints) and sone after receiveth a rill at north east, descending from Kowters hill. Whence it goeth to Bliseland, and Pelham, the first bidge of name that standeth vpon Alin. Per long also it taketh in one rill by south from Bodman, another from saint Laurence, the third by west of this, and the fourth that commeth by Methiell, no one of them exceeding the course of thre miles, and all by south. From hence it goeth toward Zglefaleward, and there receiveth a water on the east side, which commeth about two miles from saint Death, by Michellson, saint Tchoe, saint Abben (no Cornish patrons) and finallie south of Zglefall, meeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Woddbidge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alen or Alen, there should fall two riuers, whereof the one is called Carneseie, the other Laine, and comming in the end to full notice of the matter, I let them to issue on severall sides beneath Woddbidge almost directlie the one against the other. That which descendeth from north west, and riseth about saint Kelo, is named Carneseie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the south west banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to rise two miles above S. Gile. But howsoever this matter standeth, there are two other creekes on each side also, beneath these, as Bethrike crake, and Spinner crake (so called of the Cornish saints) for that soile bred manie, where with I finish the description of Alen, or (as some call it) Dummere, and other Padstow water.

From Padstow haven also they saile out full west to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewise two rockes, which lie in the east side of the haven, secretlie hidden at full sea, as two pads in the straw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I haue read that Padstow is a corrupted word for Adlestow, and should signifie so much as *Adlestani locum*, as it may well be. For it is evident that they had in time past landie charters of privilege from Athelstane, although at this present it be well stored with Irishmen. But to our purpose. Leland

S. Pirans crake, Carantocke.

Padstow, Locus budonis.

Alannus,

Eniam.

Eniam.

Wol

Carneseie, Laine.

Wol

Lau

Bethrike, Spinner.

Dummere.

Oc

Eniam.

land supposeth this river to be the same Camblan, where Arthur fought his last and fatal conflict: for to this daie men that doe eare the ground there, doe off plote by bones of a large size, and great store of armour, or else it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romans had some field (or Castra) thereabout, for not long since (and in the remembrance of man) a brasse pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus passed Wadsworth haue, and after we had gone thre miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a poze fither to wne, where I find a brooke and a peere. Then I came to Portillec *alias* Cunilus two miles farther, and found there a brooke, a peere, and some succor for fither boats. Pert of all vnto a brooke that ran from south east, directlie north into the Saurne sea, and within halfe a mile of the same laie a great blacke rocke like an Iland. From this water to Treuennt is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to saint Simphozian, and in which paroch also Tintagell or Dunbagie castell standeth, which is a thing inerpugnable for the situation, and would be made with little reparations one of the strongest things in England. For it standeth on a great high terrible crag inuironed with the sea. There is a chappell yet standing in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to saint Ulet. Tintagell towne and Treuennt are not a mile in lunder.

Tredwic.

The next craeke is called Bosinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the same Tredwite water resorteth, and so they go to the sea betwixt two hills, whereof that on the one side lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the fashion of an haunet or peere, whither shiplets sometime doe resort for succour. A frier of late daies toke vpon him to make an haunet at this place, but in vaine. There lie also two blacke rocks as flets, at the west northwest point, or side of this craeke, the one (saying that a little gut doth part them) joining with the other, and in these by all likelihood is great store of gullies. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boscastell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this description of the latter. Boscastell craeke that lieth east of Tintagell, is but a small thing, running at the most not about two miles into the land, yet it passeth by foure townes, whereof the first is called Lelneith, the second saint Juliet, the third Spindler, and the fourth Boscastell or Buscastell, as some men doe pronounce it.

Boscastell.

Bede.

Lancelg.

In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whose chiefe head is not farre from Porton. Thence running to Stracton, it receiueith the Lancelg rill before it come at Porton. And here also it crosseth another whose head is east of saint Marie wyke, from whence it runneth by Wolsfon and Whalesborough, and thence into the sea betwene Oford and Blough hill. And thus much of the waters that lie betwene the point of Cornetwall, and the Hartland head vpon the north side of Cornetwall. Now let vs doe the like with those that remaine of Deuonshire, whereof the said Hartland is the vetter first point in this our poeticall voyage. Hauing therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barstable bar, and so into the haue, whereinto two principall streams doe perpetuallie taburden their channells.

Ocus.

Canridge.
Canridge.

The first and moze westerlie of these is called Ocus, whose head is not farre west of the head of Darnit, and both in Darnitmoze. Rising therefore in the aforesaid place, it runneth north west to Snoton, and so to Dhehampton, beneath which towne it meeteth with an other water coming from southeast, & riseth not much west from the head of Taw. From hence it goeth to Stow Erborne, thence to Kingston, & Jodelle, where it taketh in the Canridge a ve-

rie pretie streamelet, whose issue is not full a mile by east from the head of Hamar, thre miles by north east from Hartland. Comming therefore by west and east Wutford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Porton, and Shebbor, it receiueith a forked rill that runneth from ech side of Bradworthie by Sutcombe, Trebozow, Hylton, & so to Thoznebirie, where meeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunland, ioineith with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with speed into the Canridge water. After this confluence it runneth on to Shepewash (by west whereof falleth in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and so to Hatherlaie, north whereof it taketh in a rill from by south, and endeth his race at Jodelle, by ioining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus hasteth to Dowland, and betwene it and Doulton, receiueith one rill from by east, as it doth an other betwene Doulton and Sparton from by west, and so proceeding on with his course, it commeth east of Torrington the lesse, and taking in a water at east, that runneth from thre heads (by Wollie parke) betwene which Combe and Roughton are situat, it descendeth to Torrington the moze, and meeting with the Langtree water on the one side, and the Langtree Mare brooke on the other, it proceedeth to Bediford, crossing a rill by the waie that commeth vnto it betwene Annarie & Littham. From Bediford bridge it goeth without anie increase to Westleie, Porton, Appledore, and so into the haue.

Buckland.

were of
ware.

The Taw of both is the moze noble water, notwithstanding that his haue be barred with sand; and thereby dangerous, and hath most rills descending into his channell. Howbeit, by these two is all the hart of Deuonshire well watered on the north side of the mozes. The Taw riseth directlie at south west of Thozleie, and north of the head of Darnit, or (as Leland saith) in Ermoze south east from Barstable. From thence also it runneth to Sele, South Tawton, Cockatre, Bath, Portyaueton, Athridge, Colridge, and some after receiueith the Botomill craeke, whereof one head riseth at Botom, the other at Mill, and meeting beneath Bishopps Portchard, they fall into the Taw north of Pimeth Rowland, as I haue bene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by south whereof it meeteth with a rill coming downe of two heads from about Kakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawleie. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Spoulzaie water consisting of two in one channell, whereof the Woll doth rise about north Spoulton, and comming to Spoulton receiueith another rill running from Spoulton, and some after the second that groweth by two brookes (the head of one being at Bnawlfon, and of the other west of Crokeham, and both uniting themselves beneath Sparifon) doth fall into the same yer long also, and so go together till it crosse the Waie, which (being the second of the two that maketh the Spoulzaie) riseth at Waie, commeth by Buckland, and south of Holtwood doth make his confluence with Taw. Being past the wood, it goeth on to Wightleie hall, Tawton, Tawesocke, & Westleie, sometime a pretie walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and such in deed, as that the suburbs thereof are greater than it selfe. I suppose that the name of this towne in the Wiltish speech was Abertaw, because it stood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdnesse pronounced thort (as I gesse) for Abertaw. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to doe in the proper name of the towne. King Athelstane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is also worthy to be noted hereof, that the houses there are

Taw.

Borumill.

Spoulzaie.

Waie.

G. y. of

of stone, as most are in all the good townes there about.

But to proceed with our purpose. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head nere about Challacombe, & another at east Downe, whereof this descending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they unite themselves within thre miles of Wersaple. Some after also it taketh in another that descendeth from Witenben by Ashford, and the last of all east of saint Anthonies chappell, named the Doneham, because one head is at west Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meeting west of Ash. And thus is Taue described, which is no great water nor quicke streame, as may appere in Low water marke at Wersaple, and yet is it a pretie riueret. This also is worthie to be noted thereof, that it receiueh no brooke from by west, whereof I would somewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Being past the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint alias Bagpoint, we go by Poze baie, Pozstone alias Poztstone, and then toward the northeast, till we come by a crakelet to Ilfare combe, & so to Combe Marton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are sundrie crakes of salt water, but not serued with anie fresh that I as yet doe heare of. Parrie there is betwene Martinbow & Trensow, a crake that hath a backwater, which descendeth from Parracombe (so farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greatest of all is betwene Linton and Conisberie called Dre, which riseth in Summersetshire in Grimore (east of Poze oke, more than a mile) and going by Dwe, falleth into the sea betwene Linton and Conisberie, so that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finished the discourse of the waters of Deuonshire, whose breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkstones in the mouth of Ex, on the south side of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and so much likewise is it from Plimmonth to Hartland point, but the broadest part there commeth to six and thirtie miles, whereas the broadest part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

Being past the aforesaid limits of the counties we came to Portloch baie, whither commeth a water named Loch that descendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increase. Thence to Dunkeir brooke, which runneth from about Watton, and Courtmeie by Timbercombe and Dunkeir, then to another that commeth west of Old Cliffe, leaving a parke on the west side, next of all to Watthet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quantocke hills south of Wickualer by Mesquancocke head, and almost at Doniford, receiueh the Williston becke, then to east Quantocke brooke (omitting a crakelet) & next of all to Woddington water, that goeth by Holford, Alforton, and afterward into the sea. From hence we go by Bottesfall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers doe make their confluence, which I will leuerallie describe, as to my purpose apperteineth.

The first of these is called the Tuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Po, who saith that the riuer Po doth runne from Ilchester to Bridgewater, and so into the sea. It riseth about Durne, and at Shireburne receiueh a water, whereof Leland saith this. There are seven springs in an hill called the seven sisters, north east from Shireburne, which gather into one bottom, & come into the Mere. Another brooke likewise commeth by Hedon from Puscandell, thre miles from thence by flat east, betwixt the parke and the Mere full so great as the streame of the Mere, and joining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long per it fall into the C-

uill. Thence our Tuill goeth on towarde Glasen Bradford, and per it come there taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorsetshire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the same, so that they run south by Bearhaggard and Thorneford (till they meet with the Tuell) and so to Clifton. Tuill a proper market towne, Trent, Putford, Ashinton, and east of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade, that runneth from Parlington, by north Caddirie, and some after crossing a rill also from by east, that commeth from Blackford by Compton, it hasteth to south Caddirie, Sparkeford, Duenes Camell, west Camell, and so into Tuell, which runneth on to Rimmington, Ilchester, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and per it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The first of all these riseth southeast betwene the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokeborne, and at Periot taketh in a brooke from the east, which consisteth of two courses united at Boinbridge, whereof the one descendeth from Pen by Haselburie, the other from about the thre Chenocks, as I doe understand.

From hence also they go as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke coming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambroke, Thorneie bridge, and Spuchelneie where it meeteth with the second called Il or Ilus, whose head is about Chelkington, & coming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunnet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chacombe and Knoll. Thence leaving Alimister on the east side, it meeteth with another from by east, descending from about Whittlakington. Then it goeth to Bokington (where it crosseth the Ilton water by west) next to Ilbzuers, and there it ioineh with a rillet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Tuell loseth his name, and is called Parret; but this coniecture cannot hold, sith in the old writers it is called Tuell, till it fall into the sea. Peruerthelesse, howe soeuer this matter standeth, being past Langport, it goeth by Amber toward saint Anthonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be described.

The Tone issueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by Cone. west of Wicwellcombe, to Statwote, Kifford, Kington, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a lake water coming from Sanford Combe, Clworthie, Bunt Wake, Willerton, Dhe and Wilsarens. After this confluence also it runneth to Helebridge, and there beloveth meeteth with one water that runneth by Hawke, Hethford and Porton, then another from Stokeham by bishops Slediard, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that descendeth from Kingston by north, and another by south that riseth about Bidmister. And thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taunton to Wiston, Creech, Northcurrie, Lins, and so by Anthonie into the Tuell, that after this confluence meeteth per long with the Chars, a pretie riuer that commeth by east from Northbozow, by Carleton, Badcare, Lilecare, So. merton, Higham, Audrie more, Audrie, and Spithellbozow. From whence going on betwene Duenes more and North more, it receiueh one brooke called Peder from by south west, that runneth through Pederton parke and North more; and likewise another that passeth by Durleie, per it doe come at Bridge water. From Bridge water it goeth by Chilton directly north west, and then turning flat west, it goeth northward towards the sea, taking in two waters

Doncham.

Paradine.

Orus.

The breadth of
Deuonshire &
Cornewall.

Loch.

Durus.

Vacetus.

Williston.
Woddington.

Iuelus.

The seven
sisters.Cam
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Tri

Peder

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Camington.
Duer.

ters by the waie, whereof one runneth by Coziple & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Hiddington and Comage, and then returning the Wzier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this suffice for the description of the Tuell, whose streame doth water all the west part of Summersetshire and leaueith it verie fruitfull.

Wzier.

Leland writeth the first Brienculus and the second Mellodunus of the Wylton water.

Dulis.

Howaie of Howaie.

Cos.

The Wzier, Wzier, or Wzier, riseth of two waters, whereof one is in Seltwood forest, & commeth doivne by Wuecombe, Wuham, and Wuton. The other which Leland nameth Wellos, is northest of Stafford, dell towne, and going by the same, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wlike, where it meeteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Alunford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riseth nere Dolting, and commeth by Uerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Wabborow wood, the Woz hill, Pont perilous (whereinto they saie that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calibur his sword) by Claffenburie and so into the Wiere. Beside this river there are two other also that fall into the said Wiere, whereof the one called Solwaie commeth from Crechurche parke, and Wulton by Hartlacke bridge, the other named Cos or the Coscombe water, from about Shepton, Walle (which east of Wlike taketh in a water coming from Welles) by Wlike, Wedneie, and so into the Wiere. Finally, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Wurtlehouse, and some after diuiding it selfe, one arme goeth by Wastian alias Wrent bridge, to High bridge, leauing Huntspill a market towne by south west, the other by Wuarke to Wokes bridge, Webbes passage, and so into the sea, leauing a faire Island, wherein beside Wrentmarsh are seven or eight townes, of whose names I haue no knowledge.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I said) into the Coscombe water on the right hand of the Calweie; you shall understand that as manie springs are in Welles, so the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which riseth in a meadow plat not farre from the east end of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coscombe, in such place as I haue noted. Leland speaketh of the Wylton & Colaser waters, which should fall likewise into the Wzier: but whether those be they whereof the one riseth about Stafford, and in the descent runneth by Shipton, Witcombe, and so to Alunford on the one side, as the other doth rise betwene Wacombe and Wpton noble on the other halfe; or vnto whether of them either of these names are feurallie to be attributed: as yet I doe not read.

Wre. 2.
The Chederbrooke, runneth twelve miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.

Wane.

Wre.

The second Are which commeth by Are towne in old time called Wera, issueth out of Wokie hole, from whence it goeth by Wokie towne, afterward meeting with the Chederbrooke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Aoli, whereof much hath bene written & surmised past credit. It runneth by Were, Katcliffe, and after a little compasse into the northeast branch of the aforesaid river last described, betwene Wokes bridge and Webbes passage, as I haue bene informed. From the fall of Are we come to an other called Wane, northeast of Woodspring, whose head is about Wanwell parke, or else in Smalbon wood. Then to an other, and to the third, called Artro, which riseth about Litton, and going by the Artrocs, Wbbrie, Werrbridge (receiving a rill yet it come thither from by south) beneath Cungebirie, or (as I learne) betwene Kingston and Laurence Wlike, it meeteth with the sea.

Sottespill.

Sottespill water riseth betwene Cheneleie and Walleleie, howbeit it hath no increase before it come

into the sea at Sottespill, more than the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certeine towne nere to the fall thereof. It riseth south east of Wallow, goeth by Burton Walleleie, and so vnto Cleueden. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verie famous by sundrie occasions, to be particularlie touched in our description of Wiltshire. Yet thus much will I note here thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verie same yeare that the old monasterie of Cucham fell doivne by it selfe, a poppasse was taken therein nere to the said monasterie, and neuer ante before or since that time heard of to haue bene found in that streame. And euen so not manie yeares before I first wrote this treatise, a surgion was taken alieue in Rochester streame, which the bishop gaue vnto your honours, and you would as gladlie haue sent it to the quenes maiestie, if she might haue bene presented withall alive as it was taken. Certes both these rare occurrences gaue no lesse occasion of strange surmises to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Werton, when they appeare, do vnto that familie, of which the report goeth that they are neuer scene but against some mischance or other to befall vnto that house. But how farre am I gone from my purpose?

The Auon therefore riseth in the verie edge of Wretburie, and goeth by long Winton to Wokerton, Whitchurch, and Walmesburie, where it receiveth two waters, that is to saie, one from by west coming by Foreleie and Bromleham, which runneth so nere to the Auon in the west suburbe of Walmesburie, that the towne thereby is almost made an Island. Another from Wkeleie parke by Wankerton, Warketon, and Wareden. After this confluence it passeth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the south east, till it meet with a water coming from south west (betwene Wullavington and Wadfield) by Winton: and some after with another at the north side from Winal by Wotton Wasset (through the parke to Wrettenham, and Wdover bridges) and after the confluence to Wdantleie, Segar, Sutton, Wylmalkford, Auon, Calwaies house, and then to west Wetherton. Beneath this towne also it taketh in a water increased by two brookes, whereof one coming from Cleue by Wilmarton, Witleie house and Wramble (and there receiving another that commeth by Calne) passeth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thenceforth goeth to Wyppenham, Woldon, Wleham, and then receiving Wotham water, goeth to Wacoche, Welsam, and per it come at Waddon, crosseth two other in one chanell, whereof one riseth about Wumham house, and goeth to Wene, the other about the Wulges, and from thence runneth to Wotterne wood, Creke wood, Worton, Waston, Wucklington, and joining with the other about Witleton, they run by Wemington, and north of Waddon aforesaid into the maine streame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and south west of that towne meeteth with the Were that commeth from Wpton by Witon, Woke parke (there crossing a rill called Wille from Wellebirie vnder the plaine) then to north Wdaleie, Wru bridge, and so into Auon that goeth from thence to Wadford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Wretford, it meeteth with the Frome, whose description doth insue.

The Frome riseth in the east part of Wpendip hills, and from thence runneth by Wltwic, the Cole pits, Lie vnder Wpendip, Wwateleie, Wlmesbridge, and some after taketh in the Wonneie water, coming from Wonneie castell, thence to Wlles and Wcharleie bridge, where it receiveth a pretie brooke

Cleueden.

Wuon. 3.

Wturgeon taken in Rochester water.

Wotham.

were.

westbirie vnder the plaine, neuer without a theie or twaine.

Frome.

Wonneie.

C. ij.

descen.

descending from Frome Selwood west of Backleie, increased with sundrie rills, whereof two come out of Selwood forrest (and one of them from the Fratrie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horingham, and the fourth from Colleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie castell, Bodd and Freshford, and taking in the Silling brooke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and east of Freshford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiveth on the left hand a water coming from south west, increased by sundrie brookes, whereof one cometh from Camelet by Littleton, and Wankerton, the other from Stone Eton, Widsommer Porton, by Welfton, Rodstocke, Wrigleton, Foscot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Porton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it meeteth with another water coming from Barthford, whose head is at Littleton from whence it runneth by west Kineton to Castell combe (where it joineth with a rill rising by north from Littleton dune) and thence cometh south to Slaughtenford, Haselburie, Wor, Bathford, and so into the Auon, which turning plaine west, falleth to Bathwicke, and (meeting with another in his passage from Caldafton) to Bath, the Tuertons, and Colston.

Here also it taketh in a rill by the waite from Parkesburie by Wilmerton and Petoton, and then going on to Salsford, it meeteth with one rill some west of Porystocke, named Swinford, and another by Witton, from Durhain by Wike, and so proceedeth still holding on his way to Catinham, a towne in Summer set thire (so called of Cain an English saint, by whose prayers, as the countrie once beleued, all the adders, snakes and serpents were turned into stone, their formes reserved, and for a certaine space of ground about the said towne, and whereof some stoe as yet is to be found in those quarries. But this miracle is so true as the historie of Hilda, or that S. Patrike should chase all venomous creatures out of Italie with his staffe; or that maid Margaret should dye the crovles to the pound, which did annoie hir corne while she went unto a chappell to heare & see a masse) where it crosseth the Chute, which issueth at Winton, and goeth by bishops Chute to Denford, and there receiveth the Clue coming from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, & so into the Auon. The Auon likewise after all these confluents goeth to Wiselton, and so to Wislow, beneath which it receiveth a rill on each side (whereof one cometh from about Stoke lodge in Gloucestershire, being a faire water and running by Aton, Frampton, Hambroch, Stapleton, and through Wislow, the other by south from Dundreie hill and towne, by Wisport and Bedminster) and so descending yet lower, goeth to Watneham passage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Laie, next of all to Trocampill, and finally into the sea, whither all waters by nature do resort.

Beside this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderleie brooke, which in some ancient records is also called Anon, and runneth by Barkleie. In like manner he talketh of Douresleie becke, whose principal head is in Douresleie towne: howbeit he saith nothing of it more, than that it serueth sundrie tuckling milles, and goeth by Doyworth or foure milles farther, before it come at the Sauerne. Finally, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard stone about Douresleie, he telleth of the Doyworth becke, that runneth within a slight shot of Barkleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Anon, except I mistake his meaning, which may some be done among his confused notes.

The description of the Sauerne, & such waters as discharge themselves into the same.

Chap. 13.

The Sauerne which Prolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuident England: that part of the Island, which sometime was called Aboegres from Cambria, so called of Camber, the second sonne of Brut, as our histories do report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walh, whereby that nation doth use to call all strangers without respect of countrie. This riuer toke the name of a certaine ladie, called Habzen or Haffen, base daughter to Locrinus begotten upon Estrildis daughter to Humber otherwise called Cumbzus or Umar, and for which some write Chonibzus king of Scythia, that sometime invaded this Island, and was overthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as shall be shewed at hand: although I suppose rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added *Propter euphoni-* am: for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the British speech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is so much to saie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our discourse of Humber or Umar, which is worthy to be remembred.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to passe that Guendoleia his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir sonne: and then getting the said Estrildis and Habzen hir daughter into hir hands, she drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir husbands disloyaltie towards hir, she caused the streame to be called Habzen of the yong ladie, for which the Romans in procelles of time for readinesse and mildnesse of pronounciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time do pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the said Abzen also I find these verses insuing:

*In fluium praecipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren fluuij de Virgine, nomen euidem
Nominis corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.*

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine sea betwene Wales and Cornewall, which is and shall be called the Sauerne sea, so long as the riuer doth keepe hir name. But as the said streame in length of course, bountie of water, and depth of channell cometh farre behind the Thames: so for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & stoe of all kind of fish, as salmon, trout, breames, pike, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or second to the same. Finally, there is nothing to be discommended in this riuer, but the opennesse thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby sundrie perils oft ouertake such as fish or saile in small vessels on the same.

The head of this noble streame is found in the high mounteines of south Wales called Helennith, or Plimlimmon; in English, the blacke mounteines, or moore heads, from whence also the Wye and the Rhiddol do proceed: and therefore these three waters are commonlie called the three sisters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fiftie and fiftie, as the description inferreth. So soon as it is out of the ground, it goeth southeastward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiveth a channell from by south south west, called the Dulas, which cometh therinto on the south side, & south west of Lan Idlos. It riseth (as it should seeme) of diuerse heads in the edge of Radnorshire, and

Silling.

Swinford.

Swinford
parteth Summer
set & Gloucestershire
in sunder.Alderleie.
Douresleie.

Doyworth.

25:11

C16

25:11
D11
L10

25:11

C16
C16
C16D11
D11

D11

L1
C16
C16

L1

25:11
25:11

25:11

25:11

and taking in sundrie small rilles, it meeteth at the last with the Bueham brooke, and so they go together till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idolos it taketh in the Clewdogh from northwell, a water produced by the influence of foure pretty brookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dunning coming out of lin Glasin, the third Lhoid rising in lin Beglin, and the most southerlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne proceedeth on by Werblaid toward Landisman, taking in by the waie, on the east side the Couine, thence to Cairfule castell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Taran both in one channell, and going not far from the aforesaid fortresse. After this it crosseth the Hawes on the north halfe beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Dulleste that riseth in the edge of Radnorshire, and meeteth with it before it come at Hewton in Powishe, otherwile called Treenewith, as I find in Britishe language. Being come to Treenewith, I cannot eschue (right honorable) to giue one note, as by the waie, touching the original of my ladie your bedfellowes ancestrie, which came from hence, & were surnamed Hewtons onelie, for that the grandfather of sir John Hewton either dwelled or was bozne there: otherwise the right name is Caradoc, for which some doe corruptlie write Cradocke, respecting rather the shortnesse of pronuntiation, than the true orthographic and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes haue bene, and yet are a lineage of great honor, antiquitie, and feruice; their lands also sometime belonged (for the most part) to the noble Conuonies of Summersestshire: but in what order they descended to the Hewtons, in god sooth I cannot tell. But to proceed with our river, which being past Hewton, runneth forth by Landilouarne, and so forth on till it come to the fall of the Spule, whose head is in the edge of Radnor also, and thereto his passage by Berie and Lanmereswyc. After this also it proceedeth further till it meet with the Kenlet or the Camalet, which taketh in also the Late or Tadbroke water rising out of the hilles a mile from Bishops towne, the whole course thereof being about seauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this also I find two descriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who saith that it is a pretty brooke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie prorie stood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (saith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne shore, and likewise of the Lan Idolos brooke that meeteth withall within foure miles of the head, I speake not, but thinke it sufficient to touch those of some estimation, onelie leauing the rest to such as maie hereafter deale with things more particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by Pore, Liddion, Sued, Churchstoeke, Chirbirie, Walecote, and Wilsbirie, and so into the Sauerne. From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton, and Landbreuie toward Peluerleie, and there it meeteth with sundrie waters in one channell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a berie pretty water (whereinto the Peuerleie or Purnelwicke doth fall, which descendeth from the hilles by west of Patrassall not farre from Lhan Fyllin) the other Auerne, and ioining beneath Aberfarnoth, or about Lannamonach nere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yer they meet with the Apodant brooke, and there lose their names so sone as they ioin and mix their waters with it. The head of the Apodant issueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerse saie, that the parish church of crose Oswald

or Oswester sometimes stood. Certes, Oswester is thirtene miles northwell from Shrewsburie, and containeth a mile within the wailes. It hath in like sort foure suburbs or great streets, of which one is called Stratlan, another Wulstho, the third Wetherich, wherein are one hundred and fortie barns standing on a rolo belonging to the citizens or burgesses, and the fourth named the Blackegate street, in which are thirtie barns mainteined for corne & haie. There is also a brooke running thorough the towne by the crosse, comming from Simons well, a bolw thote without the wall; & going under the same betwene Thozogate & Pelogate, running under the Blackegate. There is another, ouer whose course the Waprikies or Wederich gate standeth, and therefore called Wederich brooke. The third passeth by the Willigate or Pelogate, & these fall all together with the Crosse brooke, a mile lower by south into the Apodant that runneth (as I said) by Oswester. From hence also it goeth to Apodant towne, and betwene Landbreuie and Peluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall streame goeth to Sheauerdon castell, Mountford, and Biton chappell: and here it receiueth a water on the left hand, that riseth of two heads, whereof one is about Herton, the other at Clisnere, and ioining betwene Wadhoufes & Wagleie, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Walton, Teddesmer, Koiton, Balschurch, Walford, Grasson, Apiton, and so into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leiton, Barwic, vpper Rossall, Shelton, and so to Shrewsburie, where it crosseth the Apele water, whose head (as I heare) is said to be in Welfton.

The Apele therefore rising at Welfton, goeth by Hele. Broton, Worthen, Alton Wigot, Welfleie, Afterleie, and at Lea it meeteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontesford and Aunston. After this confluence also it runneth to Hewenham & Crokeleie, there taking in a rill on the other side that descendeth by Welfburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hantwood, Hoball, Dulleie, Wacemele, and Shrewsburie, it falleth (as I said) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne hasteth to Welfington, Welfton, and betwene Chilton and Wrampton taketh in the Terne, a faire streame and worthy to be well handled; if it late in me to performe it. This river riseth in a mere beside Welfstidge parke, nere vnto Ternenere village in Staffordshire. From whence it runneth by the parkes side to Knighton, Hoxton, Wetton, and at Draiton Hales crosseth with a water comming from about Abbaton (where maister Wodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chypenham and Amming: so that the Terne on the one side, and this brooke on the other, doe inclose a great part of Bloze heath, where a noble battell was sometime purposed betwene king Henrie the sixt, and the duke of Yorke: but it wanted execution.

But to proceed. After this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge: and per long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stake Allerton, Deplaw, and Caton, where it crosseth with a brooke that riseth about Winton, and going by Higham, Hoxton, the great Mere, Foxton, Hylson, Wickstoeke, Keinton, Tibberton, and Wollas, it ioineth with the said Terne not farre from Water Upton. Thence passing to Crogenton, it meeteth with another brooke that commeth from Chalfwen Alton, by Hewport, Longford, Aldueie, and so through the Wilde moze to Kinsleie & Skape, and finally into the Terne, which hasteth from thence to Eton bridge, and nere vnto Walecote taketh in the Roden. This water riseth at Walton in Cambermere lake: and comming to Quenleie, crosseth a rill from Cotlemere by Lentall. Thence it goeth to Hoxton,

Bueham.

Clewdogh.

Bacho.
Dunning.
Lhoid.

Bigga.

Couine.
Carnon.
Taran.Hawes.
Dulleste.

Spule.

Kenlet.
Camalet.
Late.

Lan Idolos.

Tanet.
Peuerleie or
Purnelwicke.

Auerne.

Apodant.

Simons
becke.

Wederich.

Haberleie.

Terne.

* See Hen. 6.
pag. 649.

Roden.

Porton, and (joining with another rill beneath Port-
laie that commeth from Middle) runneth on to Wen,
Alton, there crossing a rill beneath Lacon hall from
Pices ward, and so to Læ, Bedford, Stanton, Por-
ton, Shabrye, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then
into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton,
Upton, Porton, Barwyke, Acham, and so into the
Sauerne two miles beneath Shyewesburie (as I
wene.)

Thus haue I described the Terne in such wise as
my simple skill is able to performe. Now it resteth
that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne
streame, with which, after this former confluence, it
goeth vnto Korater or Worcester, Wympton, Eaton
vpon Sauerne, Watton, where it ioineth with the
Terne that runneth from Frodesleicward by Withi-
all and Withford, Cressedge, Werneton, Leighton,
and betwene the two Wildasses crosseth the Rye or
Wenlocke water, and so goeth on to Wolvsele and
Wood parke, where it uniteth it selfe with another
broke to be described in this place, whilst the Sa-
uerne rests, and recreates it selfe here among the ple-
sant bottoms.

This water ariseth about Longcassell, and per-
it haue run anie great distance from the head, it me-
teth with a rill comming by Sheriffe Hales, and
Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Watton, Koi-
ton, and there crossing another from Woodhou-
ses, comming by Haughton and Cuelin, it pro-
ceedeth to Beckebirie and Wigford, and not omitting
here to crosse the Worfe (sometime a great streame
that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole) and
so passeth forth to Badger, Aleton, Worfield: a litle
from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another
broke into it called Churle, & so goeth on to Kinde-
ford, and then into Sauerne somewhat about Widge-
noth at Penston mill (except mine information de-
ceiue me.) From Widge-noth our Sauerne des-
cendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking
in the Sparbroke beneath Eaton that riseth about
Collaton, and goeth by Pozuill & Winton, it run-
neth by Winton, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath
in the waie to Bargate, crosseth with a broke com-
ming from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingleie,
and Highleie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to
Areleie, Ciarne wood parke, Hawbach and Dowlesle.
Here also it meteth with the Dowlesle water, a pre-
tie broke issuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropshire,
verie high to loke vpon, and thre miles or therea-
bouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebrie
parke in Wiltre forest, & taking withall the Lempe,
both fall into the Sauerne not far from Wetwelleie.

But to proceed. From Wetwelleie our Sauerne ha-
steth direalie to Ribford, Areleie and Reddon, and
here it meteth with a water called Stoure, descen-
ding from Cle, or out of the ponds of Hales Dwen
in Worcestershire, where it receiueth a rill from the
left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth
on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water
per long running from Sturton cassell) then to Lan-
uer Whittenton, Dureleie and Kidzmiss, about
which it crosseth one brokelet that commeth thither
by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth
by Welbozow, betwixt which two waters lieth an
od peece of Staffordshire included, and also the Cle
hill. From hence the aforesaid Sauerne hasteth by
Reddon to Shyewesleie, and about this towne recei-
ueth the Astele water, as beneath the same it doth
another. From Witleie then it goeth on to Holt
cassell, and so to Crimleie, taking in thereabout with
the Doure, and Sulwaie waters, whereof this riseth
at Chadwic, and runneth by Stoke priore, & Dose-
wich, the other about Chaddesleie, and commeth by
Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worcester,

in old time called Caie Frangon, or Caie Frangon,
where it meteth with the Liber, or Liberton water, Ciber,
on the right hand about that citie, and beneath it nere
vnto Polwyke with the Temde, whose description shall
be set downe before I proceed or go anie further with
the Sauerne.

The Temde, or (as some name it) the Tame ri-
seth up in Radnorshire, out of the Pelenthy hilles, and
some after his issue, meeting with a water from Wi-
shall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanerwaterden, and
so to Knighton, which is five or six miles (as I heare)
from his originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the
ditch of Offa vnto Strandish, and crossing a rill that
commeth from betwene the parke named Clude,
(and is a bound of Radnorshire) it goeth to Buckton,
Walford, and Lanuarden, where it meteth with the
Wardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one cha-
nell, of which I find these descriptions here following
word for word in Leland. The Wardwell or Bar-
field riseth about New Chappell, in the honour of
Clun, hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Buck-
nell. The Clun issueth out of the ground betwene
Lhan Aehan and Watton, and going on by Budon,
Cluncassell, Clundon, Purdlat, and Clunbirie, it
crosseth with a broke that runneth along by Kemp-
ton and Wympton. Thence going forth by Clunbi-
rie, Brome, Abcot and Harlow, it meteth with the
Wardwell, and so in the Temde, not verie far from
Temderton. I suppose that Leland calleth the Ward-
well by the name of Dweke, but I will not abide by
it because I am not sure of it. After these conflu-
ences therefore, our Temde goeth by Tripleton,
Downton, Burrington, and Brome, where it
meteth with the Dneie, which is an indifferent
streame, and increased with sundrie waters, where-
of I saie as followeth.

The first of all is called the Boto. It riseth (as I
learne) in the hilles betwene Hillington and Shelue,
and from thence commeth downe by Linsleie and
Hardwyke, where it crosseth the Warren that issueth
out of the ground about Kotlie chappell, and runneth
by Adson and Wentno. After the confluence also
going on by Choulton and Cheines, it taketh in the
Dneie and Strabroke both in one channell, whereof
the first riseth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe
by the Strettons, till it passe by Fellanton. The se-
cond mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Rus-
burie, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaster, from whence
it is not long per it fall into the Dneie, and so by
Stratford into the Dneie, which hath bozne that
name since the confluence of the Boto and War-
ren at Hardwyke, whereof I spake before. Finally,
the Dneie which some call the Somergill being thus
increased, it runneth on to Walford chappell, D-
neibirie, Brome, and so into Temde, and next of
all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus brought to
Ludlow, meteth with the Cozue, which commeth thro-
rough Cozuedale from about Broton by Poz-
houses, Shipton, Hungerford, and a litle beneath fa-
king in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Bren-
cost cassell, goeth on to Corham cassell, and there
crossing another from saint Margarets Cle, it fi-
eth to Stanton Lacie, and so likewise to Ludlow.

From Ludlow in like sort it goeth to Ludford,
the Ashfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at
Burford uniteth it selfe with the Ladwyke that com-
meth beneath Milburne stoke, from betwene
Browne, Clehill, and Stittertons hill, to Middle-
ton, Henleie, Ladwyke, Conam, and so into Temde,
which beneath Temdbirie receiueth another rill on
the other side, and the second on the left hand called
Rbe, that commeth from about Kidon, Staterton, Rbe.
Hound, Bene, Clebrie, Knighton, and then into the
Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by
Asham,

Cuerne.

Wenlocke or
Rye.

Worfe.

Sparbroke.

Dowlesle.

Lempe.

Stoure.

Astele.

Doure.
Sulwaie.

Temde.

Lang

Clude.

Barfield
Clun.

Dweke.

Dneie.

Tuon

Boto.

Warren.

Dneie and
Strabroke.

Swiue

Souus

Somerhill.

Cozue.

Lea

Ladwyke.

Stu

Langherne.

Altham, Lingrfoze, Shelleie Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and crossing a water that commeth from the Sapias) to Knightwicke and Badwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that descendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collo-matherne, Credeleie, Aufrike, and so into Lembe, and then proceeding forward, the said streame runneth to Braunfords, and per long (taking in the Langherne that riseth about Martleie, and passeth by Kengewicke) it goeth to Powic, and so into the Sauerne before it come at Wichecester.

Thus haue I brought all such streames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, untill I come to Powic, wherof (as you may easily perceiue) the Lembe is the most excellent. Now it resteth that I proceed with the rest of the discourse intended concerning this our riuer. Certes, from Powic mils which are about halfe a mile beneth Worcester, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempeste and Cleuel, whence after it hath crossed a brooke comming from Colweie, it passeth first to Stoke, and so to Upton, which is eleuen or twelue miles from Gloucester, whether it floweth manie times at high tides, but per it come there, it dozineth another fall descending from Maluerne hilles by Blackemoze parke, & some after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth also from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After these confluences in like sort, it runneth to Busheleie, and Lewkesburie, where it receiveth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be described, before I proceed any further in my discourse of Sauerne.

Auon 4.

The Auon riseth at Hauesbie in the borders of Northamptonshire, a little side hand of Gilesthorow and foot of the hils whereon Hauesbie standeth, and euen out of the church yard of the said village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Althorne, Clifton, and Rugbie, by north wherof it crosseth a water called Swift, which commeth from about Kimcote, to Lutterworth, Broton ouer and Colford. From thence also it goeth to Stewbold, Wollston, Kington, and betwene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from about Calendon to Whittleie, and some after meeting with a riueret from Couentrie, which some do call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Wagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I haue red from Kenelworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & so into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon proceedeth on to Stonleie abbete, Althorow, Miluerton, Edmonds cote, and appace to Marwicke.

Swiucthus.

Souus.

Kinell.

Leame.

Stowe.

But per it come there, it meeteth from south east with two waters in one chanell, wherof the least commeth to Marton from Bishops Itchington, by Herburbie and Thozpe, where it crosseth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Line that descendeth from about Heddodon, or nere unto Castelbie in Northamptonshire, and going by Quercote, Braunfons, Lemington and Pertun, it ioineth with the other, and then go from thence together vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and so into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Marwicke also the Auon taketh in a water running northward from Croue parke. Thence it goeth on to Beresford, and there crossing another from Shirburne, it passeth forth to Bishops Hampton, meeting finally with the third, from Kington that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this last rehearsed confluence, it passeth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riseth about Cherington, & whose course from thence is such, as that being once past the head,

it goeth by Weston, and per long crossing a water from Campden, hanging Alton, & Todnam, it runneth to Warcheston, Aldermaston, Cliford, & so into the Auon.

From hence then the said Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Wiltford, and Cleue, and being parted from the said towne, per it come at Sawford, it receiveth the Aroto or Aur, which rising in the blacke hils in Worcester-shire, commeth by Alchurch, Be-leie parke, Ppseie, Studleie, and then taking in any other rill called Alne, out of Jfecknam forrest, and Alne, going by Coughton parke, it passeth to Alcester, Aroto, Kagleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and so into Auon, which after this confluence goeth to Alenton & then to Couesholme: but per it come there it receiveth two waters in one chanell, wherof the first riseth about Willersleie, the other nere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Wadseie, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludoz brooke, before Pludoz it come to Couesholme.

Being past Couesholme it crosseth the Vincell, which rising out of the hils somewhere about Sud-leie, runneth two miles further to Wincelcombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, proceedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Tuddington, or Wodding-ton, beneath which when it hath crossed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receiuing there the last on the right hand also (as all aboue rehearsed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as some do write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladburie wiske, and almost at Berfoze bridge, meeteth with a branched water that commeth by Widdle, wherof one head is at Alber-ton, an other at Widdle. From Berfoze it goeth to Wirlingham, and some after carrieng a brooke with all descending from Fakenham, by Wadleie, Wimb-leton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Wible-ton, Welleford and Welleford, it fleteth to Ceking-ton, Wredon, Twining, Pitton, and Lewkesburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne.

Vincelus.

Widdle.

Chilias.

Leadon.

Strowd.

Now to resame the course of the Sauerne, you shall vnderstand, that from Lewkesburie it goeth to Derehirst, the How passage, and some after recei-ving the Gilttenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Boxton, it runneth to Ashelworth, Saintbirt, and here it parteth it selfe till it come to Gloucester, where it uniteth it selfe againe. But in the meane time the easterlie branch receiveth a forked chanell, wherof one head is not far frō Leke Hampton, the other about Wiltcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Bresson, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it from Lainton by Rudfords, it falleth into the said branch on the right side, before it come at Gloucester.

The Sauerne therefore being past Gloucester, it meeteth with a litle rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his course by Elmore, Winstertworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it receiveth per it come at this latter the Strotow brooke, which rising not farre from Sibe, goeth by Passade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strotow, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Pannefswic Lodge, by Wiltelcombe on the one side, and another from Kaddbridge on the other, it prosecute his volage to Stone house, Es-lington, White Pisen, & so toward Framilode, where the said Strotow doth fall into the Sauerne. After

the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Ipewenham, and Arlingham, and sone after receiuing a water on each side, whereof one cometh from Aleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth forth till it meet with another water on ech side, whereof that on the English halfe is forked, so that one head thereof is to be found about Bortwell, the other at Hoxton, and meeting about Dostwo:thie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie castell, and so into the Sauerne. That on the Welsh halfe is named Ipeuarne, which cometh from the forrest of Deane, and so into the Sauerne.

Ipeuarne.

Of such waters as fall into the sea in
compasse of the Iland, betweene the
Sauerne and the Humber.

Chap. 14.



The Sauerne being thus described, it resteth that I go forthward with the names of those that lie upon the coast of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betwene Aust in Gloucestershire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wlie, which ferrie is about thre miles ouer (saith Leland) or else my memorie doth faile me. This riuer Guie or Wlie beginneth (as I said before) on the side of the hilles where the Sauerne doth arise, and passing through Wenceland, that is, southeast by Kaiader Guie to Buelt (where the Trimon meeteth withall) it goeth to Glasburie, Hereford, Pommouth, and finally into the Sauerne sea at Chepstow: for so they call Pomhastren, which feuereth Wales from Summerstethire, Denonsthire, Cornwell: as for the Rhidoll which is the third sister, it hath the shortest course of all, for it runneth northward, and into the sea at Aberistwith, which is not farre off, as the writers do report.

wic mouth.

Guie alias
wic.

Leland writing of this riuer Guie or Wlie saith thus: The Wlie goeth thorough all Herefordsthire by Bradwarden castell, belonging to sir Richard Wrehan, and so to Hereford east, thence eight miles to Kollie, a market towne in Herefordsthire: and in this riuer be vmbers, otherwile called grassings. It is also found by common experience, that the salmon of this riuer is in season, when the like fish to be found in all other riuers is abandoned and out of vse: whereof we of the east parts do not a little maruell. But let vs not staie vpon these descriptions, with an other is come to my hand more exact than either of these.

Vmbes a fish
oneie in the
wic.

The Guie therefore riseth out of the blacke mountaines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne springeth in Radnorsthire, and comming by Lhangertike, and Kaiadargoie, it receiueth one rill from the west called Darnoll, and another from by north east comming by saint Warmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Kaiader and Lhanuthell, it ioineth with the Elland, whose head is nere to Comeristwith, and taketh likewise into him the Clardwen that diuideth for a season Radnorsthire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewise increased by the Clarthie within thre miles of his head and lesse, hauing his course from south west & hillie soile adiacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth west of Disart, where it receiueth the Ithan, a riuer rising about Lhanbiffier, and from whence it runneth to Landwie, and Lambaderne batw: beneath which it croseth a water on ech side, whereof that on the right hand consisteth on the Dulesse and the Clue-

Darnoll.

Elland.

Clardwen.

Ithan.

Dulesse.
Clardwen.

doch, after their confluence: the other hight Loma Lamaren, whose head is about Lanihangle, and in the forrest of Blethwag. After these confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in strange manner, vnder the name of Ithor, till it come to Disart, taking in the Hadowie on the left side per it come there, and then into the Wlie on the north side, which directeth his course further to Bealt, where it receiueth the Ithor, a notable streame, descending from the hilles about Lanihangle Abergwessen, and thence comming downe by Lanurid Lang marsh, Lanauan, Wechan, Langantan, and so to Beth or Bealt, being enlarged by the waie with sundrie faire waters, as the Weuerie, whose head is about Lanauan moze, weuerie, the Dulasse, or (as some call it) the Dowlasse, that cometh from the hilles west of the head of Weuerie. The Comarch whose head and course is west of the Dowlasse on the north side, and likewise by two other on the south west, and Dulasse from by south west, which last rehearsed falleth into him halfe a mile and more about the influence of the Comarch, which lieth on the other side. After this our Ithor goeth to Lhanuareth, where it croseth the Dehon on the south west side, then to Aberedwie, and there receiueth the Edwie on the north east, which ariseth in the hilles about Botins chappell, and cometh downe by Crigend and Lanhadern, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanstephan, and there (or a little about) taketh in the Machawie that cometh by castell Paine, and so going on in procelle of time with the Leuennt, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here insueth.

Dul
Acenb

From

Aber
Acenb

Crest

Gain

Garr

Hoon

Ethe

Ethe

Hoon

The Leuennt, otherwile called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre streame rising in Welch Salgarth hard by Blaine Leuennt, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men do fish in Vnligneis or botes of one peere, as they do in Lhin Senathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finally, bringing great store of red sand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall issue at Penwith gader, and is increased with the Trustrin) it falleth into the Wlie about Glesfrie thre miles from Hae, at a place that of the onellie fall of this brooke is named Aberle nenni, after this the Guie. Being come to Hae, a pretty towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Ielwes monie: and after it hath passed or crossed a little brooke, which cometh from Lannigon, it meeteth with the Dulesse that cometh also from the Atterill by Kerfop, and from thence goeth to Cliford castell (being now entred into Herefordsthire, and leaving Radnor, whereunto it hath for a long course bene march) then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Woberie, Pomnington, Bisford, Bridge salers, Caton, Winton, and Hereford, without any influence of riuer worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windlesles, & there meeteth with a water rising short of Wlaxnesleie, which goeth by Hainfell, Lacie, Winton, Cressnell, Stretton, and Huntington, and sone after into the Wlie, befor a little rill that runneth betwene them both euert into Hereford towne. From hence in like sort the Wlie baketh to Kotheras church, Hampton, and Hoxbeford, where it taketh in sundrie waters in one chanel, of which the Lug or Lue is the principall, and next of all to be described, before I go anye further with the course of the Wlie, wherein to it discharge the chanel. It riseth in the edge of the forrest of Bemples about Langnullo: from whence it goeth to Pomonacht, Willeth Whitton, Fribbyoke, Ipeuarne, so into Herefordsthire, where betwene Worle & Beton, or Bitton, it receiueth in the Somergill, whose crooked head being march to

Y:won.

Dulasse.

Dulesse.

Dehon.

Edwie.

Machawie.

Leuennt.

Euer.

Euerie.

Trustrin.

Dulesse.

Hoon.

Ethe.

Ethe.

Hoon.

to Hadno; forrest, directeth his streame betwene the new and old Hadnoys, to Bhill, to Path, and so into the Lug, which presentlie passeth by Kingham, Shirleie, Alimister, Kingland, Eaton chappell, and so into Lemister, where it crosseth the Dneie (a streame let rising thort of Shobden, and going by Cholester) a little before it come to the west side of the towne.

At Lemister it selfe in like sort the waters doe meet, and almost inuiron the towne, that is to saie, the Lug, the Pinfulleie or Pinfell (a riueret rising at Kingland two miles from Lemister) & the Kenbroke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Lemister, & otherwise called Leofmister, of the builder, and also Leonmister, the Lug or Luic goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and about Hope, whereof one head is betwene Hatfield and Bickleton, another nere unto Marston, and meeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Pozton, Sutton, Shelwyce, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it crosseth the Fromeie or Frome, a prettie water, and worthy to be remembred. It riseth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the southest by Edwinstoch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Withops Frome, Castell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from about Withops Grendon, by Dencombe, Colwarne, Stoke Lacie, Colwarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Parkelie, Dornington, and Longward, and so into the Lug, betwene Longward and Sutton, which runneth forthwith to Spordford, or Spordford, and there into the Wlie, vnto whose description I now returne againe.

Being come therefore vnto Spordford, it goeth to Fatunehope, Hamlacie, Wallingham, Capull ^{regis}, where it receiuech a water called Treske, from little Berch by Treske, Faboleie, Holu, Capull Inkeston, Foie, Hampton, Biddsfole, Milton castell, the Kofse, and there a rill from Withops Aptonward by Rudhall, Were send, Ham, Clewston, Godderich, here in like sort meeting with another that commeth from Cleswall in the confines of Gloucestershire, by Penard castell & Coughton, to Welch Bickno, English Bickno, Hunteham, including a parcell of Monmouthshire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of Herefordshire which butteth vpon Gloucestershire (as you shall find the like peece of Herefordshire in the confines of Salop and Worcester, wherein Kochford standeth, beside manie other which I haue elswhere spoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gairnar water that commeth from Duch Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaele church, and at Langarran crosseth the Carran broke, that riseth in Gregwood, thort of Arcop, six miles from Monmouth by northwell: after which these two do runne as one to Marston, and almost Whitchurch, and so into the Wlie, which goeth from thence to Gannarctw, S. Michaele, Dinton, and Monmouth, where I will staie a while, till I haue described the Pone, next of all to be remembred here.

The Pona or Ponbecke, riseth in the forrest of Bene, twentie miles from Monmouth by west in Cirilaw, and going by Creswell, or Crafwall chappell not farre from the marches of Becknocke, and northeast of Hatfield hills, which after it hath run a good distance from the head receiuech first the Eskle, and passeth by Lanhangle and the old Court, from northwest, then the Olen, from southwest, which meeteth withall nere Cleboll or Linedoch, & passing by the old towne, it hasteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betwene Hereford and Monmouth shires, and taketh in a water comming by Erewin, & likewise the Hordwie or Hordneie which

riseth in Becknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Comroie, Michaele church in Monmouthshire, and ioinech with our Pona at Altrinis, which after this confluence hasteth to Walderstone, Landillo Langua, betwene which and Binechurch it ioinech with the Doure that riseth about the Wache about Dourston, which is six miles about Doure abbie, so that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurch, Pozehampton, Pewcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Dulelle, from southwest and Lanhangle, by Harlewas castell on the one side, and perlong the Wozmesbecke, descending from about Beuernall by Dobleie, Deueror, Wozkebridge, and Benderchurch on the other, and so running all in one chanell vnto Pona, that riuer goeth on to Binechurch, Crismond, Cardwaie, Skenfrith, Marne-thall, Perthire, and so to Monmouth, where it meeteth with the Wlie, ouer each of which riuers Monmouth towne hath his particular bridge.

The Oue or Wlie therefore being increased with thus manie brokes and waters, passeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it meeteth with the Trolleie becke, whose head is about Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monmouthshire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanhangle, Grace-dieu, Diggesfow, Wozassfow, Troie, and so into Wlie, that runneth also by Wlies wood chase, taking in there the Elwie that commeth from about Landelwie by Langowen, Lannissen, Penclase, Trilegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the aforesaid streame, the Wlie directeth his course from thence by Tinterne abbeie (where it crosseth a rill from Trile grange) Chapell hill, Parcalicke, Benterie chappell, Lancante, Chepsfowe, and so into the sea, leauing the Treacle (a chappell standing on a rocke) on the hand betwene it & Sauerne, ouer against the point that lieth south of Betteleie. Next vnto the Wlie, I find a rill of no great course, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the bishops of Landasse. Hence passing by Charlson rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell standeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riseth thort of Trogie castell, and runneth toward the sea, by Landnair, Deton, Calicot, and so into the Ocean, ouer against the Charlson rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from about Penbo by saint Brides, north and by west of Dennie Island, which lieth midwaie betwene that fall & Pozhot point, and before I touch at Goldelisse point, I crosse another fall of a fresh broke, whose head is about Landueigo in Wence-wood, and course by Lhanbed, Langston, Lhanwarne, and through the Pore to Witton.

Next vnto this is the Aberwith, or Wiske, in Latine Osca, thereon Caerleon standeth, sometime called Chester and Ciuitas legionum, because the Romans sojourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who also held a noble parlement in the same, whereof Galfide maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in those daies the maiestie thereof was such, as that all the forefronts of their houses were in maner laid ouer with gold, according to the Romane vsage. There was in the same in like sort a famous vniuersitie, wherein were 200 philosophers; also two goodlie churches created in the remembrance of Julius and Aaron, two British martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropolitane see in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greatest in Southwales, and huge ships might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Pewport bridge were not a let vnto them; nevertheless, big botes come thereto, It is eight Welsh or twelue English miles from Chepstow

Doure.

Dulelle.

wozmesbecke

Trolleie.

Elwie.

Trogie.

Dennie Island in the middest of the Sauerne, and likewise another little one called Wence-rage.

Wiske.

Chepstow or Strigall, and of some thought to be in base Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howeuer the matter standeth, this riuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockshire, as Kenni is middle to Wenceland & Glamorganshire. But to leaue these by-matters, and come to the description of the water.

Wike.

You shall vnderstand that the Wike or Wiske, in Latin Osa riseth in the blacke mounteins ten miles aboue Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Pmridh Dup out of which it falleth, and situate in the verie confines betwene Brechnocke and Carmardine shires, from whence winding into the north-east, it commeth to Trecafle, and in the waie betwene it and Capell Kidburne, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right hand before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going also from thence toward Deuinoche, it crosseth the Senneie on the same side (which riseth aboue Capell Senneie) next of all the Camblas, & at Aberzaine, the Wane, or the Wemich, whose head is three miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanahangle, it meeteth & saie with the Wike, about master Abobies manor. Beneath Aber Pifer, it receiueth the Pifer, which riseth north-west aboue Partz Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanpithed and Peluton, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Hontheie on the one side, whose head is in Blaine Hodneie, and comming downe from thence by Defruie chappell, Lanahangle and Landuilog, it meeteth with the Wike or Brechnocke to wnes end, which of the fall of this water was sometime called Aberhodni, as I haue bene informed: on the other halfe likewise it receiueth the Certarith that riseth among the Wane hills, five miles from Brechnocke, and commeth likewise into the verie suburbs of the towne, beneath Trenewith, or new Troie, wherby it taketh the course.

Certarith.

Aberkinnrike.

Kiangall.

Groit.

Cleodoch baur.
Fidan.
Cleodoch behā.Rebbie.
Guenini.

Birthin.
Caer Wike
standeth on
one side of
Wike, and
Caerleon on
the other, but
Caer Wike by
diuerse miles
further into
the land.

After these confluences, the Wike proceedeth on toward Aberkinnrike, or the fall of a water whose head is in the roots of Menechennie hill, and passage by Cantresse. Hence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethleie castell, Lanfanreid, Landettie, Langonider, and sone after receiuing the Kiangall (which riseth about the hill whercon Dinas castell standeth, and runneth by Lanahangle and Tretoire) it passeth betwene Laugatocke and Cerighbowell, to Langroinie, and there about crosseth the Groinie brooke, that descendeth from Sponegather, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Wike is past this brooke, it taketh in three other short rills, from by south within a little distance, whereof the first hight Cleodoch Baur, the second Fidan, and the third Cleodoch behan. Of these also the last falleth in nere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Wike runneth to Abergeueni towne, where it meeteth with the Rebbie water from by north, that riseth short of Bettus chappell aboue the towne, and the Guennie that descendeth from aboue Landilobartholl beneath not farre from Colbroke, and so goeth on to Harthoyr, beneath which it crosseth three namelesse rilles, on the right hand or south-west side before it come at Lanahangle upon Wike, of whose courses I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the channell of sufficient greatnesse seuerall to intreat of. Betwene Kemmeis and Trostreie it meeteth with such an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Pelwith. Hence it goeth to Caer Wike or Wencelgeie (whose bidge, I mene that of Wike, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the six and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon saint Hughes daie after a great snow) but per it come there, it receiueth the Birthin on the right hand,

which is a pretie water, descending from two heads, whereof the first is north-west of Panibilot, as the other is of Lanahangle and Pentmozell.

Pert vnto this it ioincth with the Elwie aboue Elwie. Lanbadoche, whose head is east of Penclase, and running westwards by Penclase, Lanisten, Langowen (and beneath Landelwie taking in a brooket from Ragland castell, that commeth downe thither by Ragland parke) it bendeth south-west, vntill it come at the Wike, which crinkling towards the south, and going by Lanbolwell, meeteth with three rilles before it come to Parthenie chappell, whereof the first lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the middlemost falling into the same, not farre from Lantressen, as I haue bene informed. From the mouth of the Komeneie to the mouth of the Tasse are two miles. Certes the Tasse is the greatest riuer in all Glamorganshire, called (by Ptolomie Rhatoasthybius, as I gesse) and the citie Tasse it selfe of good countenance, sith it is indued with the cathedrall see of a bishop. The course of the water in like maner is verie swift, and byingeth off such logs and bodies of trees withall from the wooddie hills, that they do not selome cruish the bidge in peces, but for so much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter cost, whereas if it were of hard stone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riseth in Brechnockshire among the wooddie hills, from two heads, whereof one is in Honuchdenie, the other west of that mounteine, of which the first called Tasse baur, goeth by Capell lan behan, Wainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Panistie, and ioining at south-west beneath Morlais castle, they go to Partz Tiduill, and toward Lannabor, but by the waie it taketh in from north-west a brooke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnockshire by Abardare, and afterward the Komeneie comming out of the same quarter (but not out of the same shire) which runneth by Estridinodoch, a crooked brooke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie baur, & Rodneie behan, that bring ioined with the Tasse, doth run on withall to Eglestian, castle Coch, Whitchurch, Landasse, Cardisse, and so into the sea, not far from Pennarth point, where also the Laie doth bid him welcome vnto his chanell or streame. Furthermore, from Parthellie it hasteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caerleon or Chester in the south, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the first commeth downe from the north betwene Landgtwie, Landgtweh, and by Lan Penoch, without anie further increase: but the other is a more beautifull streame, called Auon, and thus described as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riseth in the hills that seme to part Sponemouth and Brechnocke shires in sunder, and after a rill receiued from Blozench hill on the north-side of the same, running downe from thence by Capell Pelwith and Triueithin, it receiueth a water from by south almost of equall course, and from that quarter of the countrie, and in procelle of time another little one from the same side, yer it come to Lanurgwale and Lanahangle, from whence it goeth to Guennoche and Penrofe, & so in Wike before it go by Caerleon. But here you must note, that the course of this streame ioining beneath Guennoche chappell, with the other which descendeth (as I said) from the hills about foure miles aboue Landgtwale and Langtweh, doth make an Iland aboue Caerleon, where Penrofe standeth, & much Romane coine is found of all sorts, so that the influence of the one into the other seemeth to me to be but a draine deuised by man, to keepe the citie from the violence of such water as otherwise would off annoie the same.

Being past Caerleon it runneth to Crindie, where master

Ebon

Sero

Rome

Late.

Dun
Meth
Pede

Late.

Chan

Deth

Bar

Ebowith.

maister Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another brooke withall, that riseth north of Tomberlow hill, and descendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch castle Perth) and from thence under a bridge, after three or foure miles cometh to the sea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which meeteth with the same almost in the verie mouth or fall, and riseth in the edge of Brecknoch shire, or (as Leland saith) high Winceland, from two heads, of which one is called Eberith Wehan, the other Eberith Wat, as I haue bene informed. The course of the first head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they passe together by Lanhileth, and comming by west of Tomberlow hill (crossing a rill, from north east by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Tre-drent, & is of lesser race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that same quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Kilsie, Rocheston castell, next of all thorough a park, and so by Greenfield castell, and is not long yer it fall into the sea, being the last issue that I doe find in the countie, which beareth the name of Monmouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

Serowie.

Romeneie.

The Romeneie or (as some corruptlie call it) the Ponnie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betwene Monmouth & Glamorgan shires. The head hereof is about Egglins Tiber bay Hoell otherwise called Fanum Theodori, or the church of Theodorus, whence cometh manie springs, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiveth no water on the east side, but on the west diuerse small becks, whereof three (and one of them called Yfra) are betwene the rising and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cometh in by Capell Gledis, and Bethligate, the fifth from betwene the Faldzate and Lantaboz, the sixt & seventh before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer against Bedwas it selfe from chappell Martin, Cairillie castell, and Thuan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Kernen, Spableie and Romeneie, & per long crossing a becke at north west that cometh from about Llanu, Llanmessen and Koch, it falleth into the sea, about six miles from the Wilsbe, and albeit the mouth thereof be nothing profitable for ships, yet is it also a march betwene the Silures and Glamorgan shire.

Laie.

Dunelais.
Wethcoid.
Wedware.

The Laie falleth into the sea a mile almost from the Tasse, and riseth in the hilles about Llantrifent (for all the region is verie hillye.) From whence comming by Llantrifent and Auercastell, it runneth by Coft Sparhan parke, Lamberder, S. Wlodes, Llan-nihangle, saint Jfagans and Claie, Leckwith, Llan-dowgh, Cogampill, and so into the sea, without anie maner increase by anie rills at all sauing the Dunelais, which riseth foure miles from his fall, east north east, and meeteth withall a little more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Welim Mawr, and likewise by west, the Wethcoid that cometh from Glinne Rodeneie, and wherein to the Wedware dischargeth that small water gathered in his chanell. Here will I staie a little and breake off into a discourse, which Leland left also as parcell of this coast who toucheth it after this maner.

Lanie.

Thawan.

Scilleie.

Barrie.

From Tasse to Laie mouth or Clerfner a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that standeth on the west point of it) to the mouth of Thawan river (from whence is a common passage ouer vnto Spineheued in Summerfetshire of 17 miles) are about seven Welch miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe about Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pretie succour for ships) whose head is in Wlenno paroch two miles and a halfe from the Thore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Bar-

rie a mile, and thither cometh a little rill of fresh water into Sauerne, whose head is scant a mile off in plaine ground by north east, and right against the fall of this becke lieth Barrie Island a slight spot from the Thore at the full sea. Halfe a mile about Aber Barrie is the mouth of Come kidie, which riseth flat north from the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and serueth off for harbour vnto sea-farers. Thence to the mouth of Thawan are three miles, wherevnto ships may come at will.

This Ile
went fiftie
yeares agoe
for x. pounds.

Come kidie

Two miles about Thawan is Colhow, thither a little rill refozeth from Lau Ituit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure miles, that is a mile to saint Dinowes castell, and three miles further. The Alen riseth by north east by into the land at a place called Lhes Wzomith, or Skirpton, about foure miles about the plot where it cometh by it selfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur alias Gur three miles. Then come they in pcesse of time vnto the Kensike or Colbwoke river, which is no great thing, sith it riseth not about three miles from the Thore. From Kensike to Aber Auon two miles, and herein do ships molested with weather oftentimes seeke harbourough. It cometh of two armes, whereof that which lieth north east is called Auon Mawr, the other that lieth north west Auon Wehan. They meet together at Lhanuoie Bengle, about two miles about Aber Auon village, which is two miles also from the sea.

Colhow.

Alen.

Ogur.

Kensike.

Auon.

From hence to the Besh is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come shiplets almost to the towne of Besh from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Besh vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being passed the same we come vnto the Tante, which descendeth from the aforesaid hilles and falleth into the sea by east of Swanfoie. Being past this we come vnto the Lichow, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wozmes head, we passed to the Wlan-dzelmouth, whereof I find this description following in Leland. Both Wenzraith Mawr and Wenzraith Wehan rise in a peece of Carmardineshire, called Wlekenen, that is to saie, the low quarter about Wennen river, and betwixt the heads of these two hils is another hill, wherein be stones of a greenish colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Wenzraith Mawr riseth in, is called Wpennith Mawr, and therein is a pole as in a moorish ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principall spring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles from Kidwellie: the hill that Wenzraith Wehan springeth out of, is called Wpennith Wehan, and this water cometh by Kidwellie towne.

Besh.

Tante.

Lochar.
Wandzelm.Wenzraith
Mawr, Wenzraith
Wehan.

But about three or foure miles per it come thither, it receiveth a brooke called Trefgirth, the course whereof is little about a mile from the place where it goeth into Wenzraith, and yet it hath foure or five tucking milles and three coyne milles vpon it. At the head of this brooke is an hole in the hilles side, where men often enter and walke in a large space. And as for the brooke it selfe, it is one of the most plentiful and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the sides also of Wenzraith Mawr, you shall find great plentie of sea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Wenzraith Wehan, where men vse to enter into vaults of great compasse, and it is said, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wozmes head, and another waie to Cairhemmen castell, which is three miles or more into the land. But how true these things are, it is not in me to deter- mine; yet this is certaine, that there is verie good hauoking at the Heron in Wenzraith Wehan. There are diuerse prints of the passage of certaine worms also in the caue, at the head of Wenzraith Wehan, as the inhabitants do saie: but I neuer heard of anie

W. J. man

man that saw anie womne there, and yet it is beleued that manie womnes are there. Whitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne course.

Lale. Leaving the Lale, which some call Claie, and passing the Pennarth baie, that lieth betwene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Ilet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie haven before described) and came unto the Barrie, whose head is aboute Wrinckon castell, and from whence he runneth by Weimpois, Cadorton, Barrie, and so into the sea.

Aberthaw. Being past the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riseth two or three miles aboute Lamsan, and going by Welch Newton, it cometh at length to Cowbridge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beanepere, Flimston, Gilsen, and betwene the east and the west Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne sea. But yet it come all there it receiveth a bzoike called Kersan, or Karsan, or Kensech, on the east side, whose head is east of Wolsen, & coming by Charnelhois, Lancaruan, & Lancable, it falleth into the former aboute either of the Thawans. Leland saith, that Kersan hath two heads, whereof the more northerlie called Wyane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth seaven miles before it meet with the other. Leaving this water we sailed on, casting about the Pash point, omitting two or three small waters (whereof Leland hath already as yet made mention) because I have nothing more to add unto their descriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Altruit, of whose course (to saie the truth) I have no manner of knowledge.

Dgur. The Dgur or Gur, which some call the Dgmur, is a well faire streame (as we were wont to saie in our old English) whose head is in the same hilles, where the Rodeneies are to be found, but much more westerlie, and running a long course yet it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Langut nevere or Langonoboch, to St. Wydes upon Dgur, then to Pelucastell, and Parthermaure, beneath which it maketh the Wennie, halfe a mile from Dgur or Dgmur castell on the east side of the banke. It riseth five or six miles from this place, among the hilles, and coming downe at last by Lanharne, it crosseth a rill per long from northeast, and the confluence passeth forth by Coitchurch, Dgur castell, & so into the Dgur. Leland writing of the waters that fall into this Dgur saith thus. Into the Dgur also resorteth the Garrow two miles aboute Lanfarside bridge, descending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore (saith he) another called Leuennie rising in the parish of Clin Cozug, at north west, and then running two miles lower, uniteth it selfe with the Cozug bzoike, a little short thing, and wothie no longer speach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth seaven miles further per it mete with the Dgur on the west side, at Lansanfride, two miles above Penbotot. And so far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Kensig. Next unto the Dgur is the Kensig water, that cometh downe by the Pile and Kensig castell, and being past the same we crosse the Margan rill, where Sir Edward Panrell dwelt, and so unto Anon, which hauing two heads (as is said) the more easterlie of them cometh downe by Hanodaport chappell, the other by Clin Cozug, Michaell church, Aber Anon, and so into the sea, yielding also in time of need a good harbour for ships to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Peth. The Peth is a faire water, rising of diuers heads, whereof the more easterlie named Pethuehan riseth not farre from the head of the Kenson, and coming downe by Penedozin to

Aberpirtwin, it receiveth Pethuaur, a little aboute the towne, which rising not farre southeast of the head of Lanie in Brecknochshire (as all the rest do) receiveth the Trangarth, the Peltaie and the Hepfaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell, about a mile or more before it ioine with Pethuehan. For as Trangarth riseth east of Pethuaur, so the Pelta riseth by east of Trangarth, and ioineeth with the same aboute Altrad wealthe, and a little beneath the same towne taketh in the Hepfaie. So that albeit their severall risings be half or a whole mile in sunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like distance from Aberpirtwin, and their small confluence in the edge of Glamorganshire, which they directlie do crosse. After these confluences, the maine streame runneth in and out by sundrie miles, and through the wooddie isles, till it meet with Cle-daugh, which ioineeth with the same beneath the Kelsonaie, and goeth withall to Lanistid, where it taketh in the Duleste, whose head is aboute Chapell Breinaunt, in the marches of Brecknoch. Thence it goeth to Cadort towne, or betwene it and Lannitfride, then to Peth towne, whither small vessels often come: and beneath the same receiuing the Cle-doch that runneth by Kelebevilch (and also Peth abete where maister Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitfranke forrest, Pethwood, Bizton ferrie, and so into the sea.

Canie. The Canie riseth in the thickest of the blacke mounteines in Brecknochshire west of Pethuaur, and coming downe west of Calwen chappell, it receiveth on the east banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coelburne chappell: and being thus united, the chanell passeth forth by Altradgunles, and then meeting with the Turch or Torch water that cometh from the foot of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardine, it runneth to Langoge, Lansamled, saint Johns, Swanfeis, and so into the Baie. Being past this, we come by another little fall, whose water runneth three or foure miles per it come into Swanfeis baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whose description I neither haue, nor find anie great want thereof. Wherefore going about by Difermont castell, and Dumbles point, we passe forth toward the south west by Penmach point, till we come to Alston water, whose head is not farre within the land, and yet as it cometh thorough the woodland, and downe by Penmach castell, a rill or two both fall into the same. Then casting about by Dboich point, we go outward there by, and sailing flat north by the Holme. (hauing passed the Wozmedead and St. Kennets chappell) and then northeast by Whitford point, we went at length to the Lochar or Loghor, or as Lhoyd nameth it, the Lichtw, whose indyaught for a certene space is march betwene Caermardine and Glamorgan shires. It riseth aboute Gwentwe chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboute Bettus receiveth a rill named Amond that entereth therein from northeast. Being past Bettus, it passeth by Laneddie, Arthelias bridge, and ouer against Landilo Calabout, it crosseth from by west, the Combudlie by west of Parkreame, and afterward the Pozlais aboute Langnarch on the same side. When coming to Loghor castell, it taketh in on the east side, the Lhu, whose course is not aboute five miles, and thence hoiding the name of Lochar, it is called Burraie, as some gesse, untill it come to the sea, where it parteth it selfe going on each side of Bachannie stand, a small thing, and not wothie for anie thing I read thereof) as yet to be particularie described. From this water we passed (I saie) by Bachannies Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whose head being in the hilles aboute Penacrols, it passeth by

Pethuaur.
Trangarth,
Peltaie,
Hepfaie.

Dule
wanl

Duleste.

Coil

Cle-doch.

Canie.

Crui

Coiell.

Coit

Coch.

Peth

Alston.

Dule
Dhor

Lochar.

Amond.

Dhor

Combudlie,
Pozlais.

Clet
Shu

Lhu.

Burraie.

Dule

Dule

- by Lanelthele, and thence into the sea. Then went we to the Dullesse a little rill, whose head is not farre from Trinfaren: thence by the Werbzaie and Calicoit points, till we came about to the Wlandyes or Wendzaith mouth, whose description is partly touched already, but because it is not such as I would wish it to be, I will here after my owne manner deale somewhat further withall. Gwendzaith or Wendzaith baur riseth in the lower ground, or not far from the hill Kenneth Maur, whereon castell Careg standeth, and descending by a pretie long course vnder sundrie bridges, cometh at the last to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and so vnto the sea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Wendzaith Achan riseth a mile higher towards the north than Gwendzaith Maur, but out of the same soile, & thence directing his course toward the south-west, it goeth by Lancharog, Llangendarne, Capull Langell, Withon, Lcighdenie, Kidwillie, and so into the sea, about one mile from the fall of Gwendzaith Maur.
- The Towie riseth in the mounteines of Glen, with foure miles by southeast from Lintue, and two from Lingtonon, in a moorish ground foure & twentie miles from Caernardine, and in a forest called Bishops forest, midwaie betwixt Landwibzeuie & Landanuerie castell. For fish, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw or Tasse, whose head breedeth no fish, but if it be cast into it, they turne by their bellies, floate aloft, and die out of hand. It parteth Wycknoch from Cardigonshire also for a certaine season, till it come by the water of Trausnant, that falleth therinto from by cast out of the confines of Wycknoch, vnto Bilin capell, and so to Jfrodofine, where it meeteth with the Tothe, that cometh thither from Lhinuerwin where it riseth, and so through Kelscoth forest, uniting it selfe by the waie with the Wescotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonshire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the same, till it ioine with the Tothe, and both come together beneath Jfrodofine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it cometh to Lhanuair Awbzeie, Lanchobwell, and Lanimphrie, and here it receiveth two waters in one chanell, whereof the first is called Bane, the other Gutherie (which lieth more southerly of the two) and fall (as I said) into Towie beneath Landanuerie, which runneth on till it meet with the first Dullesse that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Wollais, and these on the north-west. Certes the Bane is a pretie brooke rising two or three miles about Capell Jfowith, and descending by Lanzaie and Jftradwalter, it meeteth (I saie) with the Gutherie, whose head is west of Tridcastell in Wycknochshire, and thereby it is not a little increased. But to proceed with the Towie, which being past Lanimphrie and a rill that meeteth with the same, descending from north-west of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuerse waters in one chanell, of which the greatest is called Wodewie, and thereof I find this description.
- The Wodewie, or (as some pronounce it) Wodewie, riseth of two heads, which ioining aboue Lanhangle, the streame runneth on till it meet with the Cleddoch on the left hand, proceeding also further toward Llangadocke, it receiveth not far from thence the Shawbie, whose two heads descend from the blacke mounteines or east edge of Caernardine, thire (as mine information leadeth me.) After this confluence the second Dullesse doth meet with the Towie, whose head is in the hilles aboue Calthogate abbey, north-west from Llangadocke full five miles: then coming downe by Landlobaur, Jflewton, Dnefar castell, and Golden groue, it receiveth the third Dullesse from by north that cometh in by Lanhangle and Dyflan castell, and after that the Co. Cothie, thie, whose race is somewhat long, and therefore his description not viterlie to be passed ouer.
- Not farre from the head (which is three miles from Landanbzeuie, vnder the hulke of Blaue Icoone, a narrow passage, and therein manie heaps of stones) and somewhat beneath Lana Pinent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from Turche, aboue Lanacroles: thence it goeth to Lansawell, Abergolech, Breghuangothie, Lannigod, and so into Towie, which hasting forward by chappell Dcwie, receiveth the Kanelthie from by north, then the Kanelthie, Dcwie from north-west, whose head is aboue Lanie Pinent, and race by Cantwell, Cluert, Comewillie, and Myrling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Towie, the Towie goeth to Caernardine, then to Lanigang, then to Landstefan, S. Jfmaels, and so into the sea.
- Next vnto the Towie is the Tawe, whose head is in the blacke mounteines, as at the rots of Wrenni baur hill in Werbrokehire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurnach, Langudien, Lannualteg, and taking in the Dudderie from south-west, out of the same countie by Lanbederuelstraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Eglesware chappell, beneath which it crosseth the Parlais by north that runneth by Lanbedie and Whitland. Thence meeting with one rill called Wenni, as I take it, that cometh through Cardith forest on the one side, and the Caire on the other, that runneth into it west of Landolozor, it hasteth to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carthinnie, or Carthinnie, (as Leland calleth it) and the Goto or Goto both in one chanell, of which the first riseth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talaconthe, Jfllant, and Languinin, the other is such out of the ground aboue Trologh Bettus, by Jfiddun, & ioining with the former a little aboue S. Clares, they run into the Tawe, and from thence to Lanhangle, and betwene it and Abercoven, admitteth finally the Goven or Goto streame, which Goven comming likewise from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & so into the Tawe, who directeth his course by Lancharne castell, and then into the sea.
- The next water that we come to is the Swair, Swair, which is but a small thing rising aboue Lamberder Helstraie, and going from thence by east of castell Myrchie hill, Crumuer and Argwaire, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, and so we leaue Cairdinshire, and go ouer into Werbroke. Then passed we by an other comming out of Kethe forest called Coit Kethe, the water it selfe rising about Templeton. Thence leauing the Wankesson rocke, we came to Tenbie or Dintedie Jfllowd, and passing into the port betwene the castell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it fertied with two little backe waters, of so small countenance, that they are not worthe of any further talke to be spent in their descriptions: yet the one seemeth to be called Florence brooke, the other Jfresbo, Suntrifon standing betwene them both, whereby their sight cannot perishe. After this we passed betwene Londie and an other Jlet or rocke lieng by north-west of the same, to Luddop point, & so thirtie miles to Abertrewent, where I found a fillie fresh water named Trewend that riseth a mile or thereabout within the land. From thence we went southwards by Brode hauen, till we came to S. Gowan point. Then gathering west and by north before we came at Shepe Island, we found another fresh water, that riseth hort of Kirtog Baharent, and running south of Aggarthor, Windmill hill, or betwene it and Capell Porton and Dupton, it holdeth on flat west all the waie till it come to the Ocean.
- Being passed this water, we cast about toward the north-west, by the Woptons and Pennar, till we

The description of Britaine.

came to the Denmar mouth, out of which the salt water issueth that in maner inuironneth Denbroke. From this (omitting sundrie salt crakes on both sides of the haven, not appertinent to our purpose) we came to the fall of two waters in one channell, above whose confluence Williamston parke standeth, and whereof one (a mare salt course) incloseth three parts of Carew castell. The other rising nere to Coit Rath forrest is a fresh, & going by Gefraiston, Cresswell & Lawzenie, it leaueth the parke on the south side, & goeth into the haven after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two swords, or haven of Milford, whereinto two rivers direct their course from the north-east called Dugledu or the two swords, and betwene them both is a rill which they call also Cultell (that is to saie) the knife. Hereof riseth a merrie tale of a Welchman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peradventure not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hostesse (where he did breake his fast the next morrow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, because he came so sone to his house per anie of his maids were by. Whose hostesse (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous estate, for I slept betwene two swords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indeed that he laie betwene these two rivers, and his best towards the south nere to the head of Cultell. But to passe ouer these tells. Here Leland speaketh of a river called Swilie, but where it riseth or falleth, he maketh no certaine report: wherefore it is requisite that I proceed according to my purpose.

The one of these swords is called Clothele or Clothe, of which I find this short and briefe description. The Clothe riseth at the foot of Wrennie daure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueeth a rill from by north-west before it come at Lanhaddon castell, which commeth from about the moze by Clabaston and Betherston, his head arising in the hill west of Spancloghaie, as Leland doth informe me. Per long also and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the east side from Parbarth castell, comming by Robeston, then going by Cunnaston, Slebach, Biston castell, Sister houses, Spinwade & Partheltwie, at this castell point west of Coit Kenles (as I haue bene informed) it taketh in the other sword, named Dugledie, whereof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is somewhere at north-west, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dugwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, & taking in a rill by the wate from Camrose at the west, it goeth to Hauerford or Hereford west, and there uniteth it selfe with a water, which peradventure is the same that Leland called Swilie. Certes it riseth short of Walton, and comming by S. Edwards chapell and Wendergest, it falleth I saie into the Dugledie, ouer against the towne of Hauerford or Hereford west, but in Welch Hulford; as Lheid doth set it downe. Beneath Hereford it taketh in another water from south-west, whose head is short of S. Margarets chapell, and entrance betwene Harraldston and Herford, which Harraldstone receiueeth the name of Harrald the succellour of Edward the confessor as some call him, who was a greuous man vnto the Britons that remained in the tyme of the said Edward; as I haue noted elsewhere. Then the Dugledie still descending taketh in the fresh rio Freshhope, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making half way to Cultell, & smitting two rills betwene it and the Clotheie on the south side, of no great weight and moment. The Cultell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Boldon, with a straight course from by north, of three or foure miles, rising by west of Slebach, and comming by Bowllston, after whose vntion

with the aforesaid water they run on as one till they meet with the Clotheie, casting out by the wate sundrie salt crakes, as the maine channell doth from thence forth vntill it passe the Sandie haven, the Dale rode (whether a little freshrill commeth of small value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Having thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Milford haven, we cast about by the Blokehouse and S. Annes chapel to Gateholme Ile, that lieth betwene S. Annes and the Millocke point, directlie ouer against Stocke, holme Island that is situate farther off into the sea, towards the south-west, and is full halfe so great as the Scalmeie that I elsewhere described. Betwene the Millocke point also and the Scalmeie, directlie west is the Midland Ile, full so great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and south of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Pardland stone, the other Spelstone, it shall not be greatlie requisite to stand on their discourses, sith they are such as may hardlie be taken for Islands, and even in like sort we may iudge of S. Wydes Ile, which is south-west of Calthrop rode, & likewise of the Gresholme, whereof I find this short description. The Gresholme lieth directlie west of Scalmeie, from whence if you saile thither on the south side, you must needs passe by the Spelstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you must leaue the Pardland stone on your left hand. Wherto if you note well the situation of these Islands already named, and consider them with the Ramseis and S. Dauids land, you shall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Wyde baie, wherein (notwithstanding the greatnesse) are 1000 perils, and no fresh brookes for me to deale withall. Finally, having doubled the Millocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnsearched, at lest wise to see what Islands might there be found, & long entred into the same, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Wydes Island, a verie little place and situate nere the land, befoze I came at Calthrop rode. From thence we went about by the little gauen, Doluach haven, Carnais haven, Shirelace rocke, Carnibodie, and Carnais baies, Portelais, and so into the sound betwene Ramseis and the point. In this sound likewise is a little Ile, almost annexed to the maine; but in the middell thereof, I meane of the sound, is a rocke called the hoise (a mile and moze by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth south east of Ramseie) and moze fortunate than ten of Helens colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Thence passing by S. Stephens, and Whitesand baies, we saluted the Bishop and his clerks, as they went in procession on our left side (being loth to take anie salted holie water at their hands) and came at last to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth *Capitulum promontorium*, except I be deceived. But here gentle reader giue me leave to staie a while, and insert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Deuies or S. Dauids land, whereof some men may peradventure haue vse, his words are these. Being therefore past this haven and point of Demetia, in casting about the coast we come to S. Deuies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth *Capitulum promontorium*, I read to be separated from the rest of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerse other little crakes betwixt Petogale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fischard; beside those that are here mentioned out of a register of that house.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Petogale, a crake ferued with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a baie befoze this crake betwixt it and Milford. From hence about

Dugledu.
Cultell.

Swilie.

Clotheie.

Dugledie.

Swilie.

Gateholme
Ile.
Stockeholme
Ile.

Midland Ile,
Gresholme.

S. Wydes
Island.

A sort of dangerous rocks
lieng on a row
vpon the west
end of South-
baies called
the Bishop &
his clerks.

S. Deuie
or Dauid
land.

Salt

Port
Isle

Port
Isle
Pen
Isle

Port

Isle

Full
Sw

Sea

Isle

Isle

Isle

Isle

Isle

Isle

Isle

Isle

Sauwach. bont foure miles is Sauwach crake, otherwile called Sauerach, whither some fresh water reflozeth: the mouth also thereof is a good relieue for bakers; as it (I meane the register) saith. Thence go we to Portelais thre miles, where is a little portlet, whither the Alen that cometh through saint Dewies close doth run. It lieth a mile south west from S. Dewies, saint Stinans Chapell also is betwene Portelais, and Portmalu. The next is Port Paw, where I found a great estuaries into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: Lhand Wehar is thre miles from Pendwie, where is a salt crake, then to Tredine thre miles, where is another crake to Langunda, foure miles, and another crake is there in like sort where fishermen catch herrings. Here also the Gwerne river diuideth Pendwians from Fitcherdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fitchard at the Gwerne mouth foure miles, and here is a portlet or hauenet also for ships. And thus much of S. Dawids land.

Wesides this also, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and poles, but for asmuch as my purpose is not to speake of lakes and lhinnes, I passe them ouer as halting to Tefie, in Latine Tibius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius or Tiurobius, which is the next riuer that serueth for my purpose. And yet not forgetting to touch the Gwerne, for after we came from saint Dawids head, we coasted along toward the southeast, till we came ouer against saint Catharins, where going northwards by the broad haunen, and the Strombles head, we sailed thence north east, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat south by the Cotw and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hand, & so coasted ouer to Abergwin or Fitchard, where we found a fresh water named Quir, or Gwerne, whose course is in manner directie out of the east into the west, from Urenie hills by pont Haunt and Lanchair, untill it come within a mile of the foresaid towne. It riseth flat north of the Perselie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Laurellidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & so to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I read both. From Abergwine, we cast about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Peneerne, where Newport standeth. The head of this riuer is about Capell Pantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but per it come at Hilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riseth short of Urenie baure, and thence go forth as one untill they come to Newport. Cardigan haunen is the next fall that I did stumble on, wherein lieth a little Island ouer against the north point. Hereinto also cometh the Tefie, a noble riuer which riseth in Lintuiz, and is fraught with delicate samons, and herein and not else where in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Calfoz or Bener to be found. But to proceed. The berie hed thereof (I saie) is foure miles about Stradfoze in Luttie, and after it hath run from thence a little space, it receiueh a brooke from southeast that cometh out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradfoze abbete, beneath which it meeteth with the Spiricke water (that riseth about Stradmitch) and sone after with the Landurch both from the north west and finally the Bzemich about Tregaron, that cometh in by the east; as Leland hath set downe.

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Wionis. Here to Landwibrenie also it crosseh the Wionis by east north east, and then goeth to Landuair, Clebogh, Kellan, and sone after taking in the Patherne from by east, that parteth Cardigan parlie from Carmardine shire, and likewise that Dulas about Lanbedder (which riseth about Langibbe, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the north west, it goeth next of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lantuaire, beneath which it crosseh the Crauelh, thence to

Pencarocke, Lantibether, Lantonic, Lantihangle, and Sandisell, and there it writeth it selfe with the Clethor, or Dettor, which cometh downe thither by Lantiflued chappell, Lanfraine, and finally Lantifell from by north, as I do here affirme. After this confluence it proceedeth on to Landuair, Alloine, Bangor, Langlex, Landeureog and Pelucastell, yer long taking in the herie from by north, whose head is not farre from that of Clethor, and whose course is somewhat enlarged by such rilles as descend into the same. For west of Penwith two becks in one chanell do fall into it, which be namelesse, and but of a little length.

Beneath Tredwaire also it crosseh another from by west, that runneth along by Bettus, Cuan, and finally meeting with the Tefie, they run as one by Kennarth (still parting Cardigon shire from Carmardin, as it hath done sith it met with the Patherne) and so forth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which rising southeast about chappell Cuan, doth part Carmardine and Brednoche shire in sunder, till it come unto the Tefie. From this confluence, and being still a limit unto Cardigon shire, it goeth by Paderdine, and so to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by north descending by Pennerall, by north of Ponoralue or Paderdine, and two other from by south west, of which the one cometh in beneath Hilgaron castell, the other from Lantwood north west of Pstoid Portemer, which lieth southeast of Cardigan, and then going forward betwene S. Dogmasle, & Langordmere, it is not long yer it fall into the Irish sea, flat west and by north from his bysse, and sending vs forth from Penloke into Cardigon shire, whereunto it hath become march euer sithence it came from Kellan, or confluence with the Patherne.

Being come into Cardigon shire, and hauing passed the Cardigon point, an Island of the same denomination lieng by west thereof, we came unto the fall of Airon thre miles beneath Lanchere, it riseth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Penall belonging to Landwibrenie about thre or foure miles from the banks, & runneth on by Lamberwoodie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treullian, Talasferne, and sone after taking in a rill from by south from Siliam by Lanleir it runneth by Jistrade, Kilkennen, Lancharin, and finally into the sea, crossing by the waite the Widdor brooke, which coming from Dehelwode, doth fall into the same, betwene Lanchairin, and Penuenneie. The Arth which is the next fall is no great thing, neither of a nie long course, yet somewhat crotched, and it riseth thre or foure miles or more within the land slope wise, and coming by Lambaderne, and Treueglois, it falleth into the sea, north east of Aherarth.

Being past the Arth, & hauing staid there a while because we found some harborough, we came next of all unto the Werete, which riseth of two heads, above whose confluence standeth a towne, named Lantihangle, Redzod, and from whence it goeth by Lantgruthen to Lariffed, & so into the Ocean. Then went we to the Pstwith, which riseth in the blacke mounteins about Comerstwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, untill it come unto Spittie, Jstwith, Lanaron, Laniler, Lan Pacharne, and so into the sea, taking withall first the Meleuen, then the Kidall or Reddhol not farre from the shore, whereof I haue this description. The Kidall riseth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Kidall, from whence going toward Spittie Kintwen, it crosseh one water on the north, and another beneath it on the southeast, and so goeth on by Lanbedder baure, till it come to Aberistwith, the Jstwith, and so into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Jstwith, and taken

Salique.

our selves againe to the sea, we crossed the Salke or Salique brooke, whereof I find this memorie.

Mallalique.

Lerie.

The Salique brooke descendeth in like sort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Ummaboue toward Cogarth, or Cogirhar, it receiveth the Mallalique, and from thence goeth into the sea, south-west from his originall. From hence we went to the Lerie, an indynght of no great quantitie, neither com- modious as I gesse (yet I may be deceived) for ante ship to harborough in. It riseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hills, and going by Lanthangle castell Swalter, it runneth from thence north-east into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waite from the hills which lie by north-east of his course. But what stand I upon fittes.

wie.

Thus haue I brought my selfe out of Caerdigan shire vnto the Wile, which is limit betwene it and Merioneth for a certeine space, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the head, minding in the description of the same to come downeward as in the rest, which we will do in such good manner as for the time and want of some information is possible to be performed. It ariseth in the south part of Snowdonie and goeth on south right to Lammoth- wile, by Powelhelie, Mathan lath, and comming downe to Dinas Athelw, it receiveth two rilles from north-west, and the third comming by Mallrois called Cluddh from north-east, & so holdeth on crossing the Angell water at the west, which boundeth Mongomerie shire in part, till it come to Rontis, be- neath which water it taketh in the Tovin that pas- seth by Lanthangle, from Talgarth, and then go- eth to Mathauertie, crossing another from by north and so south to Lanthangle, where it meeteth with the Rerig on the one side, and the Gweddall which com- meth from Dowlowen on the other.

B. mts.

After this, our maine river goeth by Pen- gos, and beneath the same taketh in an influent from south-east, called the Dulac, and another from the north-west from thence it passeth on to Pa- genillet, or Pachelet, first crossing the Leuenie from south-east, secondlie the Penfall from north- west, thirdlie the Giron, fourthlie the Amar, fiftlie the Cleidor, these thre last rehearsed falling into it from south-east, & the last hauing his course by Lan- gwinhelin and so into the sea, as mine instruction byholdeth. It seemeth in some mens iudgements to part North-wales and West-wales in sunder, and the same which in Latine sight Deus in Welsh or Wyl- lish Difi or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth seme to fetch his sound. But to proceed with the rest of such falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therefore north-westward we come to a fall fro the north called T Bowen Merioneth which is the mouth of the Difonnie streame, a pretie river rising in the hills about Lanthangle, and west of castell Traherne receiveth the Kidzic, which commeth from Chadzic hill, by Tallillin castell, Treherie, and so into the Difonnie from south-east, fetching his course by Lanegrin, and so into the sea within five miles thereof.

Being past this we did cast about by the Sarna- high point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and so to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with diligence described, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Poth or Derte, for so are the two chiefe heads called out of which this river descendeth, and are about six miles west of the Lin, out of which the Dee hath his issue, and betwene which the Karan baure hills are sitat and haue their being. After the joining of the two heads of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiveth a rill from north-east called Cain, & another beneath the same, comming from Beutose wood, and so hol-

deth on toward the south betwene Lamlith and Lammor abbate, till it meet a little by west of Dol- gelth with the Aun baure, which comming also out of the Wood and soile, & taking in a rill from Gwan- nas, hasteth north-westward (by Dolgelth) to ioin with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Iack- silgunt, then the Hergun, & after a course of foure to five miles it falleth into the sea, hauing watered the vertie hard & inward parts of this shire. From hence we crosse the Shethie which runneth by Cogdale and Lanthwile, alias Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Arto about Lambader, doth fall into the sea, south-east of the point, and flat south of Llandargo, which is a towne sitat on the other side of the turning.

After this we passed by Aberho, so named of the river Pa, that falleth there into the sea, and commeth thither from the Alpes or hills of Snowdonie, moun- teins, no lesse fertile for grasse, wood, cattell, fish and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the seas, where- of all the writers do make so honorable report. From hence we sailed by Abermaw, or mouth of Pato, which commeth in like sort from Snowdonie, and taketh diuerse rivers with him whose names I do not know. Then vnto the Arto a brooke, whose head commeth from by north-east, and in his course receiveth the Cedar on the north side, and so holdeth on till it fall into the sea, after a few windleses which it maketh as it passeth. After this we come to Traith behan, which is the fall of the Dyrud, a pretie river comming from the marches of Caernarvon- shire, which passing by Ffestimog, some after taketh in the Cuntwell, then the Delencid, and so holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the said Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by south hereof, and haue their issue also into the same, I make but small account, because their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith maw, whereinto the Farles hath his issue, a river proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hills, descending by Bethkelerke and Lanthrothen, without mixture of ante other water in all his course and passage. It is parcell of the march also betwene Merioneth and Caernarvon shires. From Traith maw we passe by the Brekid, and come to another water descend- ing from the north by Lanthwile, and after that to the Pote, whose mouthes are so nere together, that no more than halfe a mile of the land doth seme to keepe them in sunder.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie brooke Erke, descending from Padyin hills, into whose mouth two other of no lesse quantitie than it selfe do seme to haue their confluence, and whose courses do come a- long from the west and north-west; the most souther- lie being called Gitch, and the other the Hellie: ex- cept my memorie do faile me. When casting about toward the south (as the coast lieth) we saw the Aber- loch or mouth of the Soth river vpon our right hand, in the mouth, whereof, or not farre by south thereof lie two Islands, of which the more northerlie is called Tndfall, and the other Penryn: as Leland did obserue. I would set downe the British names of such towne and villages as these waters passe by; but the writing of them (for want of the lan- guage) is so hard to me, that I chose rather to shew their falles and risings, than to corrupt their deuoti- nations in the writing: and yet now and then I vse such words as our Englishmen do giue vnto some of them, but that is not often, where the British name is easie to be found out and sounded.

After this, going about by the point, and leaving Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron river, whereupon standeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the Pote betwixt Aberdaron and Gorth- gerns

Edi

Daw.

Arto.

Coni

Ergi

Eoy

Dgo

Dnoi

Lam

Gich

Duc

Ea

Soch.

Aly

Daron.

Edarne becke.

gernes vale, where the compasse of the sea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. When come we about the point to Edarne becke, a mile and more south of Jsewin. And ten or twelue miles from hence is the Wennie brooke, whose course is little above so manie miles; and not farre from it is the Linan, a farre lesse water, comming also from the east: and next vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by south and the Carrog by north after their coniunction doe make their common influence. Having passed this river, we cast about toward the north east, and enter at Abermenate ferrie, into the streids or streame called Penate, betwene Angleseie and the maine, meeting first of all with the Goznaie, which commeth from the Snoddonie out of the Treuernian lake, and passeth by Lanunda into the sea or Penate streame at Southcroke. Next of all we meet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, passeth by Lanahangle, and so falleth into the Penate at Aberfaint, which is on the south west side of Caernarvon: on the other side also of the said towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it standeth betwene two rivers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Brueg.

Conte.

Gegeine.

Dorronnen.

Dgwine.

Auon.

Lannar
Wehan.

Dwegeuelth.

Etc.

Ligoto.

Then come we (saith Leland) to Gwintwisth mirth (or Horse brooke) two miles from Spoilethon, and it riseth at a Well so called full a mile from thence. Spoilethon is a bolue shot from Aberpovle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleseie. Aberpovle runneth thre miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Penate thore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Penate. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mountaine a mile above, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Dorronnen hath his course) almost a mile above it. Aber Dgwine is two miles above that; it riseth at Tale linne, Dgwine pole, five miles above Bangor in the east side of Mithow. Aber Auon is two miles above Aberdgwine, and it riseth in a pale called Lin man Auon, thre miles off. Auon lan bar Wehan riseth in a mountaine therby, and goeth into the sea, two miles above Dwegeuelth. Auon Dwegeuelth is thre miles above Conweie, which rising in the mounteins a mile off, goeth by it selfe into Penate salt arme. On the said thore also lieth Conweie, and this river doth run betwixt Penmaine Maure, and Penmaine Wehan. It riseth about thre miles from Penmaclon hills which lie about fiftie miles from Conweie abbeie, now dissolved out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and west of this river standeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.

This river (which Ptolomie calleth Toefobius, as I take it) after the derivation thereof from the head, passeth on the west side by Spittieuan and Therio, beneath which it taketh in a streame comming from the east out of Denbighshire, deriued from thre heads, and of the greatest called Pag. Some after also another, and then the third, which commeth in from the west by Lanpen Pawr: next of all the Leder on the same side, which commeth by Dolathelan castell: and above that from a Lin of the same denomination. Beneath this and selfe hand lieth like tosse the Ligoto or Ligote, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Dumber and the Ligoto. On the right hand as we still descend, is the Coid, then the Glin, a little lower we meet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be past another on the right side, we come to the Perloid, which commeth out of Lin Cowld, to the Pgan, to the Bulin, to the castell Water on the left, and then to the Melandider on the right, without the sight of anie other, till we come almost to Conweie, where we find a notched streame comming from by west, and called Guffen or Gysfin

into the same by one chanell on the north east side of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gysfin, and ouer against Lanfantraid in Denbighshire; so farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnarvonshire stretcheth also beyond Aber Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Dymethed point, wherein also is a rill, whose fall into the sea is betwene Pencin and Landight. And thus we haue made an end of the chiefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

Dymethed.

The next is a corner of Denbigh, by which we doe as it were step ouer into Flintshire, and whose first water is not great, yet it commeth from south west, and falleth into the north or Irish sea called Virginium, beneath Landillas; as the next that commeth south from Bettas doth the like thre miles beneath Abergele, and is not onelie called Gele (as the name it selfe importeth) but also noted to take his course through the Canges. Having thus gone ouer the angle of Denbighshire, that lieth betwene those of Carnarvon and Flint, we come next of all vnto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Clota, which is a streame not to be shortlie intreated of. It riseth among certelne hilles, which lie not far distant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighshires. Southeast from his fall, and hauing run foure or five miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Paniton on the left hand, and the Wepin on the right: and some after the third from by west, whose head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen also it taketh in the Leuenie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and so holdeth on till it meet with the Cluedoch, then with the Pstrade, which passeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Whaler on the right, and so to his joining with the Clwite, which is beneath S. Asaphes, a bishops see that is inuironed with them both. This Clwite riseth about Gwitherne, & beneath Lanauir taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lannann, and joineth with him five miles beneath Langreneth. The Cluda therefore and the Clwite being met, the confluence passeth on to the sea by Rutland castell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from by east, and hath a course almost of sixtene miles. From hence we take sea toward the Dde mouth: and as we passed by the rest of the thore, we saw the fall of a little brooke nere Basing Werke, of another nere to Flint, of the third at Powleie castell, which with his two armes in manner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Watwarden hold, which in like sort goeth round about the same, & from whence we came to the Dde, where we landed and toke by our lodging in Chester. In this place also it was no hard matter to deliuer & set downe the names of such rivers and streames as are also to be found in Angleseie, finding my selfe to haue some leasure and fit opportunitie for the same: and imagining a Iournie thither also, as vnto the other places mentioned in this description, whither as yet it hath not bene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amisse to take it also in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Gele.

Paniton.

Cluedoch.

Clwite.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnarvonshire to Beaumarise, I went by land without crossing of anie river or streame worthie memorie, till I came to the Bzant, which hath his fall not farre from the southeast point of that Island. This Bzant riseth farre by in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his course southward to Lanthoniell Maall, it goeth on to Bobotweruch, Langainwen, and so into the sea.

The next fall we came vnto was called Paltrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two rivers, the

Fraw.

the Cennie and the Gint, who ioinc not farre from Langrestoll. This also last rehearsed hath his head nere to Penmoneth, the other being forked riseth in the hillie soile about Tregaion and Langwithlog: so that part of the Island obtaineth no small commoditie and benefit by their passage. Pert vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whose head is nere to Angl-netwen, and passage by Cap Paer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth east of Aber-fraw, and so into the sea. The next riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer course than that which I last described. For it riseth two or thre miles about Haneglosse: and passing from thence to Treualghmaic, after the descent of foure miles, it falleth into the sea. After this we came to an other, which riseth more to Cap legan ferwie, and falleth into the sea; southeast of the little Island, which is called Pnis Wealt, it is namelesse also as the other was: and therefore hauing small delight to write thereof, we passed ouer the salt crêke by a bidge into Cair Ribie, which by the same, is as it were cut from the maine Island, and in some respect not worthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north side therefore of Cair Ribie is a little rill or crêke: but whether the water thereof be fresh or salt, as yet I do not remember.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforesaid bidge, into the maine of Angleseie, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by thre riuers, each one hauing his course almost south from other; and the last falling into the confluence of the two first, not halfe a mile from the west, where I first espied the streame: the name of the most northerlie is Linon, of the second Allo; but the third is altogether namelesse for aught that I can learne, wherefore it shall not be necessarie to spend anie time in the further searching of his course. Being past this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eastward, we buffed vpon the fall of a certaine confluence growing by the ioining of the Pathanon and the Geger, which meet beneath and nere to the Langechell. And after the same we passed on somewhat declining southward by the Villarie point, toward the southeast, till we came to the Dulesse: and from thence to Ventraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eastward; and finally southward, till we came to Langurdir; from whence vnto Beaumarise (where began our boiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembered. And thence I go forward with the description of the Dæ.

Linon.
Allo.

Dæ or Dena.

The Dæ or Dena (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, & brother of the best trout, whose head is in Perioneth shire, about thre miles about the lake, situate in the countie of Penhlin, and called Lin Tegnis, whose streame yet verie small, by reason of the shortnesse of his course, falleth into the said lake, not far from Lanullin. There are sundrie other waters which come also into the said lake, which is foure or fife miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by south, whose fall is east, and not manie fur-longs from the Dæ: another hath his issue into the same by Langotwer: the third on the north side of Lanullin, named Leie: the fourth at Glanlntegid called the Fauerne, the lake it selfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Crowerin, a pretie streame, and not a little augmented by the Keline and Sponach which fall by north into the same, and ioineth with the Dæ south of Lanualr; from whence forth it loseth the name, and is afterward called Dæ. East of Bala in like sort it receiueth the Raddoch, then the Cleton, and so passing on by Landright to Langar, it meeteth with a confluence proceeding from the Allwen and the Giron, of which this

Crowerin,

Raddoch.
Cleton.

riseth in the hills about Langham, the other in the mounteins about fife or six miles by north-west of Lanihangle in Denbighshire, where (as I gesse) it falleth into the ground; and after ward rising againe betwene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioineth with the Giron, full six miles about Dole, and before it come to the Dæ. From hence the Dæ goeth by Lanansfrad, and the marches of Perioneth into Denbighshire, and so to Langellon, Dinas, Wren, &c: keeping his course by certeine windleses, till he receiue the Gristioneth, descending by Kurbon, then another est of the same; the third, from by west called Beriog (whose head is not farre from the bounds of Perioneth and course by Lanarmon, Lanansfrad, and Chirke) the fourth from south east out of Shrophshire, called Spolais, and so passeth as bounds betwene Denbighshire, and the Dutliggand of Flintshire, to wit by Wistocke on the one side and Bangor on the other, till it come to 20 Moorthenburie: whereabout it receiueth a chanell descending from foure influences, of which one cometh by Penlie chapell, the second from Hamnere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by east of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betwene Chad and Moorsall. These two later meeting about nether Durtwich, do hold on to Ealerne, as mine information instructeth me.

From Moorthenburie the Dæ goeth north-west wards toward Shockliffe, meeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originall mother to those trouts for which the Dæ is commended) and descendeth from Capell Spolinglast) and the Gwinrog, that runneth through Wretham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wretham, not far from Hantwerne. Some after also our maine riuer receiueth another becke from by east, which is bound on the north-west side to the Dutliggand of Flintshire, and so passeth on betwene Holt castell and Ferneton, Almere and Dulton, as march betwene Denbighshire and Cheshire, and then taketh in the Alannus or Alen; a pretie riuer and worthie to be described. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighshire, and so disposed that it riseth in two several places, each being two miles from other, the one called Alen Spaw, the other Alen Wehan, as I do find reported. They meet also beneath Landegleie, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanueres, where meeting with a rill coming from by west, it runneth on to the Spold to Hortheth, and so in and out to Grefeford, taking the Cagidog from south-west with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and so into the Dæ, a mile and more about the fall of Pototon becke, which also descendeth from south-west out of Flintshire, and is march vnto the same, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dæ hauing Cheshire on both sides, goeth to Aldford with a swift course, where it meeteth with the Belfon brooke, whereof I do find this description following.

The Belfon water riseth in the woddie soile betwene Spuzzon and Welfon castell with a forked head, and leauing Welfon towne on the north-east, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Hakelleie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Goldburne, and Leshall, to Alford, and so into the Dæ, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Witon, and Eberton, where it brancheth againe, sending forth one arme by Stan-neie pole, and the parke side into Persleie arme, toward the north-west, and another by south-west, which cometh as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Wackeford, Charleton, Wpton, the Baites, and so under a bidge to Cheshire, where

The li
of 6 mi
rie of 2

Cluedoch;

Gwinrog;

Alannus.

Wine

where it falleth into the Dee arme at Flockes bzoke, excluding Wirall on the north-west as an Iland, which lieth out like a leg betwene the Werse and the Dee armes, and including and making another fresh Iland within the same, whose limits by north-west are betwene Hozneton, Chester, & Aldford, on the north-east Hozneton and Hakeleie, and on the south-east Hakeleie and Aldford, whereby the forme thereof doth in part resemble a triangle. And thus much of the Dee, which is a troublesome streame when the wind is at south-west, and verie dangerous, in so much that few dare passe thereon. Sometimes also in haruest time it sendeth downe such store of water, when the wind bloweth in the same quarter, that it drowneeth all their grasse and coene that groweth in the lower grounds nere unto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about thre hundred foot, at his departure from the Tigne, and worthilie called a litigious streame; because that by often alteration of channell, it inforseth men to take new bounds unto their lands, for here it laieth new ground, and there translateth and taketh awate the old, so that there is nothing more vncoustant than the course of the said water. Of the monastrie Bangor also, by which it passeth after it hath left Dyton brydge, I find this note, which I will not omit, because of the slaughter of monks made sometime nere unto the same. For although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogether to omit it.

The situation
of the monastrie
of Bangor.

This abbey of Bangor stood sometime in English shailo, by hither and south of the river Dee. It is now ploughed ground where that house stood, by the space of a Welsh mile (which reacheth unto a mile and an halfe English) and to this day the fillers of the soile there do plow up bones (as they saie) of those monks that were slaine in the quarrell of Augustine, and within the memorie of man some of them were taken up in their rotten weeds, which were much like unto those of our late blacke monks, as Leland set it downe; yet Erasmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was such as most men did weare generallie at their first institution. But to proceed. This abbey stood in a balke, and in those times the river ran hard by it. The compass thereof likewise was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this daie two of the gates may easilie be discerned, of which the one is named Port Hagan lieng by north, the other Port Clais situat vpon the south. But the Dee hauing now changed his channell, runneth through the verie middell of the house betwixt those two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As for the square stone that is found hereabout, and the Romane coine, there is no such necessitie of the reherfall thereof, but that I may passe it ouer well inough without any further mention.

Being past the Dee we sailed about Wirall, passing by Hylzie or Hylze Iland, and Leuerpole, Hase, making our entrie into Werse arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we find a water falling out betwene Seacombe and the Ferie, which doth in manner cut off the point from the maine of Wirall. For rising nere to the north-west shoze, it holdeth a course directlie toward the south-east by Wallaseie and Porton, and so leaueth all the north part beyond that water a peninsula, the same being thre square, inuironed on two sides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforesaid bzoke, whose course is well nere thre miles except I be deceiued. Fro hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betwene Bebington and Wombzo chappell, descending from the hilles, which are seene to lie not farre from the shoze, and thence crossing the fall of the Wesson water, we come next of all unto the Wiuer, than the

which I read of no riuer in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windleses and crinklings, befoze it come at the sea. It riseth at Buckle hilles, which lie betwene Kiddleie and Buckle townes, and some after making a lake of a mile & more in length called Kiddleie pole, it runneth by Kiddleie to Chalmondlie.

Thence it goeth to Wrenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a moze that cometh from Parburie: and beneth Sandford brydge the Combus from Combermer or Comber lake: and finallie the third that cometh from about Hozneton, and runneth by Langerlais, then betwene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and so into the Wiuer, which watereth all the west part of England, and is no lesse notable than the first Auzn or third Duze, whereof I haue spoken already. After these confluences it passeth also to Audleyn, Hawthlow, and at Barderton crosseth the Wetleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Widenberie, and so by Barderton into the aforesaid streame. Thence it goeth to Pantwich, but yer it come at Marchford brydge, it meeteth with a rill called Salophzo (as I gesse) comming from Calucleie ward, and likewise beneath the said brydge, with the Lee and the Wuluarne both in one channell, whereof the first riseth at Welfon, the other goeth by Copnall. From thence the Wiuer runneth on to Spynghon and Cardeswijs, and the next water that falleth into it is the Ache (which passeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Marke, the vale Kollall, and Caton, it cometh finallie to Pothwich where it receiueh the Dane, to be described as followeth. The Dane riseth in the verie edges of Chester, Darbishire, & Staffordshire, and comming by Wharnesford, Swithamleie and Bosleie, is a limit betwene Stafford and Darbie shires, almost euen from the verie head, which is in Martwell forrest.

It is not long also yer it do meet with the Bole water, that cometh by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth unto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Cropton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Porton to Sandbach, crosseth another that descendeth from church Cathton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, joining also beneath Wilewisth with the Croco or Croxton, the second great water, whose head cometh out of a lake about Wuerterton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one unto the Dane, at Cropton, as the Dane doth from thence to Boslocke, Dauernham, Shebzuch, Shurlach, and at Pothwich into the aforesaid Wiuer. After this confluence the Wiuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like sort receiueh two bzoakes in one channell, whereof one cometh from about Alloslocke, by Holme & Lassoche, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelford (where it taketh in a rill called Piuereie) thence to ouer Heuer, Holsford, and there crossing the Water, lesse bzoake (growing of two becks and joining at nether Tableie) it goeth forth to Winstambrydge, and then meeting with the other, after this confluence they proceed till they come almost at Barneton, where the said channell ioineth with a pretie water running thorough two lakes, whereof the greatest lieth betwene Comberbach, Andworth and Parburie. But to go forward with the course of the maine riuer. After these confluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Adonbrydge, and Dutton, ouer against which towne, on the other side it meeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: also the second going by Popleie, and Gritton, finallie the third some after from Kinsleie, and then proceedeth on in his passage by Apheton chappell, Frodelham, Rochesauage, and

Combus.

Wetleie.

Salop.

Lee and Wuluarne.

Ache.

Dane.

Bole.

Whelocke.

Croco.

Piuereie.

Waterlesse.

So into the sea : and this is all that I doe find of the
Winter, whose influences might haue bene more
largelie set downe, if mine intunations had bene
amplie deliuered, yet this I hope may suffice for his
description and knowledge of his course.

The *Spersie* riseth among the *Peke* hills, and from thence going downe to the *Widowhouse*, and taking sundrie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwene *Chester* and *Darbishires*. Going also toward *Coitehall*, it meeteth with a faire brooke increased by sundrie waters called *Coite*, whereof I find this short and briefe description. The *Coite* riseth not far from the *Shire* metre hill (wherein the *Doue* and the *Dane* haue their originall) that parteth *Darbishire* and *Chestershire* in sunder, and thence cometh downe to *Coite* houses, *Querton*, *Larhall*, *Shawcrofle*, and at *Wetlibridge* taketh in the *Firth*, and beneath *Werdhall*, the Set that riseth aboute *Thersethall* and runneth by *Duerset*. After this confluence alio the *Spersie* goeth to *Coite* hall, & at *Stockford* or *Stopford* to wne meeteth with the *Tame*, which bindeeth *Chestershire* and *Lancashire* in sunder, and whose head is in the berie edge of *Spokeshire*, from whence it goeth southward to *Sadleworth Firth*, then to *Spukelbirch*, *Stalie* hall, *Alphon Underline*, *Dunkenfield*, *Denton*, *Kedolth*, and so at *Stockford* into the *Spersie* streame, which passeth forth in like sort to *Widdesbirie*, receiuing a brooke by the waie that cometh from *Lime* parke, by *Bunhall* parke and *Cheble*.

From Widdesburie it proceedeth to Foxen, Atton, Alston, Flinton, where it receiveth the Irwell a notable water, and therefore his description is not to be omitted before I do go forward anie further with the Description, although it be not navigable by reason of sundry rocks and Shaloves that lie dispersed in the same. It riseth about Bacop, and goeth thence to Kofendale, and in the waie to Aitensfield it taketh in a water from Haselden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Brandestham, Burie, and about Katchiffe joineth with the Rache water, a faire streame and to be described when I have finished the Irwell, as also the next unto it beneath Katchiffe, because I would not have so manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therefore past these two, our Irwell goeth on to Clifton, Hollond, Cogecroft, Strengwaics, and to Pancheffer, where it uniteth it selfe with the Pike, that runneth thence into by Kaiton Bidleton, Beaton hill, and Blacheleie. Beneath Pancheffer also it maketh with the Medlocke, that cometh thither from the north-east side of Oldham, and betwene Claiton and Carret Valles, and so betwene two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Hence our Irwell going forward to Woodfall, Whiclewyke, Eccles, Barton, and Deuchom, it falleth nere unto Flinton, into the water of Harsfield, where I will staie a while withall, till I have brought the other unto some passe, of which I spake before.

The Rache, Racho or Rilly consisteth of sundrie waters, whereof each one in manner hath a proper name, but the greatest of all is Rache it selfe, which riseth among the blacke stonie hils, from whence it goeth to Littlebrough, and being past Clegge, receiveth the Welle, that cometh thither by Millercaw chappell. After this confluence also, it meeteth with a rill nere unto Maachedale, and sone after with the Sproffton water, and then the Suddle brooke, whereby his channell is not a little increased, which goeth from thence to Griffebeck and so into the Truwell, before it come at Kateliffe. The second streame is called Wadtha. It riseth of two heas, about Tureton church, whence it runneth to Wadtha, and yer long taking in the Waincliffe becke, they go in one channell till they

come beneath Bolton in the Poze. From hence receiving a water that commeth from the roots of Rannepike hill by the way it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the Poze, and so into Whadha water, which taketh his waite to Leuermore, Farnthworth, Leuermelle, and finally into the Irwell, which I before described, and whereof I find these two verses to be added at the last :

Irke, Irrell, Medlocke, and Tame,

When they meet with the Merseie, do loose their name.

Now therefore to resume our *Perseie*, you shall understand that after his confluence with the *Irwell*, he runneth to *Darlington*, and not farre from thence interteineth the *Gies*, or *Giesbroke* water, increased with fundie armes, wherof one commeth from *Lodward*, another from about *Houghton*, the third from *Hulton* parke, and the fourth from *Shakerleis*; and being all united nere unto *Leigh*, the confluence goeth to *Holcroft*, and about *Holling* græne into the swift *Perseie*. After this increase the said streame in like sort runneth to *Rigston*, & there admitteth the *Bollein* or *Holling* broke water into his societie, goeth rising nere the Chamber in *Parwell* Forrest, thith to *Kidge*, *Sutton*, *Wollington*, *Perlebirie*, and *Pewton*, where it taketh in a water comming from about *Pot* *Chappell*, which runneth from thence by *Abdington*, *Woodford*, *Wimesleie*, *Kingete*, and *Ashleie*, there receiving the *Wirkin* broke that commeth from betwæne *Allerton* and *Marshall*, by *Spawberleie*, and sone after the *Mar* or *Par*, that commeth therein from *Par* *towne*, by *Kawlfosne*, and after these confluences goeth on to *Dotonham*, and ouer against *Kirton* beneath *Croftford* bridge into the *Perseie* water, which proceeding on, admitteth not another that meeteth with all nere *Lim* before it go to *Helwall*. Thence also it goeth by *Bruche* and so to *Warrington*, a little beneath crossing a broke that commeth from *Par* by *Wolvleie*, *Wadleie*, and *Saukete* on the one side, and another on the other that commeth thither from *Cropehall*, and with these it runneth on to nether *Walton*, *Adon* grange, and so to *Pentkith*, where it interteineth the *Bold*, and sone after the *Grundich* water on the other side, that passeth by *Preston*, and *Darlebirie*. Finally our *Perseie* going by *Houlton*, it falleth into *Liverpole*, or as it was called of old *Liverpole* *hauen*, when it is past *Kun* *corne*. And thus much of the *Perseie*, comparable unto the *Niluer*, and of no lesse fame than most rivers of this *Iland*.

Being past these two, we come next of all to the Harbocke water, that falleth into the sea at Harbocke, without finding anie mo till we be past all Wirrall, out of Lirepole haven, and from the blacke rockes that lie bypon the north point of the aforesaid Island. Then come we to the Altmouth, whose fresh rising not far into the land, commeth to Felson, and some after receiuing another on the right hand, that passeth into it by Aughton, it is increased no more before it come at the sea. Neither find I anie other falles till I meet with the mouth of the Parrovv and Doglesse, which haue their recourse to the sea in one channell as I take it. The Doglesse commeth from by west of Ravenstpeke hill, and ver long runneth by Andertonford to Worthington, and so (taking in two or thre rilles by the waie) to Wlgen, where it receiue two waters in one channell, of which one commeth in south from Wrin parke, the other from northeast. Being past this, it receiue one on the north side from Standish, and another by south from Holford, and then goeth on toward Rufford chappell taking the Taub wisthall, that descendeth from a boue Skelmerdale towne, and goeth through Aathan parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of Derby.

factien.

yarrow.
Bagen.

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Bollet
broke.

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Birkin.

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Bodleya

Sannoc

Drigle. 02
Drigle.

Wire.

Calder:

Land of
Shelmore.

Blank
Barton

Derbie.

Derbie. It meeteth also on the same side, with Per-
ton mere water, in which mere is one Island called
Petholine beside other, and when it is past the hang-
ing bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Parrow.

Parrow.
Wagen.

The Parrow riseth of two heads, whereof the se-
cond is called Wagen brooke, and making a conflu-
ence beneath Helbie wead, it goeth on to Burgh,
Glestan, Crofton, and then joineth next of all with
the Dugglesse, after which confluence, the maine
streame goeth south to Bankehall, Charleton, Hoiv,
Heskett, and so into the sea. Leland writing of the
Parrow, saith thus of the same, so farre as I now
remember. Into the Dugglesse also runneth the
Parrow, which commeth within a mile or therea-
bout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandshire
from Derbyshire. Under the foot of Chole also
I find a rill named Ceole, and about a mile and
a halfe from thence a notable quarreile of stones,
whereof the inhabitants doe make a great boast and
prize. And hitherto Leland.

Ribble.

The Ribble, a river verie rich of salmon and lam-
prerie, doth in manner inuiron Preston in Ander-
nesse, and it riseth nere to Ribblesdale about Gif-
borne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Salletie,
Gathburne, Waddington, Clithero castell, and be-
neath Pitton meeteth the Woder at north-west, which
riseth not farre from the crosse of Great in Porke-
shire, and going thence to Shillburne, Peluton, Rad-
holme parke, and Stoneie hirst, it falleth yer long in-
to the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble wa-
ter hath not gone farre, but it meeteth with the Cal-
der from southeast. This brooke riseth about Holme
church in Porckeshire, which lieth by east of Lanca-
stershire, and goeth by Towleie and Burneleie,
where it receiveth a trifling rill, thence to Higham,
and yer long crossing one water that commeth from
Whitcoler by Colne, and another by and by named
Widle brooke, that runneth by Pew church in the Wi-
dle, it meeteth with the Calder, which passeth south
to Paniam; and thence receiuing a becke on the o-
ther side, it runneth on to Altham, and so to Spar-
tholme, where the Benburne brooke doth ioine with
all, that goeth by Alkington chappell, Dunkinhalgh,
Wistton, and so into the Calder, as I haue said be-
fore. The Calder therefore being thus enlarged,
runneth south to Keade, where maister Powell
diuellet, to Whallie, and some after into Ribble, that
goeth from this confluence to Saltsburie hall, Rib-
cheser, Osbastin, Samburie, Keuerden, Law, Rib-
bles bridge, & then taketh in the Dartwent, before it
goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine
sea. The Dartwent diuideth Lelandshire from An-
dernesse, and it riseth by east about Dartwent chape-
pell, and some after uniting it selfe with the Blache-
burne, and Kobleworth water, it goeth through
Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton
hall, and so into the Ribble. As for the Sarnocke
brooke, it riseth somewhat about Longridge chappell,
goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lea hall, and
so into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to saie of
this river.

Calder.

Widle.

Benburne.

Dartwent.

Blacheburne
Kobleworth.

Sarnocke.

Wire.

Calder.

Plimpton.
Barton.

The Wire riseth eight or ten miles from Car-
stan, out of an hill in Wiredale forrest, from whence
it runneth by Shirehed chappell, and then going by
Wabland, or Waddler, Grendale castell (which
belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Carstan, and Wike-
land hall, it first receiveth the second Calder, that
commeth downe by Edmerseie chappell, then ano-
ther channell increased with sundrie waters, which I
will here describe before I proceede any further with
the Wire. I suppose that the first water is called
Plimpton brooke, it riseth south of Golder, and com-
meth by Catford hall, and yer long receiuing the
Barton becke, it proceedeth forward till it ioineth

with the Broke rill that commeth from Bowland
forrest, by Clanghton hall, where maister Broke,
hales doth lie, & so through Perisco forrest. After this
confluence the Plime or Plimpton water mee-
teth with the Calder, and then with the Wire, which
passeth south to Michaele church, and the Raw cliffes,
and about Thozmeton crosseth the Skipton that go-
eth by Dotton, then into the Wire rode, and finallie
through the sands into the sea, according to his na-
ture. When we were past the fall of the Wire, we
coasted by by the salt cotes, to Coker month, whose
head, though it be in Wiredale forrest, not far from
that of the Wire, yet the shortnesse of course deser-
ueth no description. The next is Cowdar, which is
comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is not in-
creased with any other waters more than Coker,
and therefore I will rid my hands thereof so much
we sooner.

Being past these two, I came to a notable ri-
uer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of Sa-
tutes hath) Lonwire Anno 13 Ric. 2 cap. 19, and gi-
ueth name to Lancaster, Luncaster, or Luneca-
ster, where much Romane monie is found, and that
of diuerse stamps, whose course doth rest to be de-
scribed as followeth; and whereof I haue two de-
scriptions. The first being set downe by Leland, as
maister Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deli-
uered it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was gi-
uen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he
saith) to search out and viewe the same, but verie late
lie to speake of. The Lune (saith maister Moore) of
some commonlie called the Loine, riseth at Crosse-
ho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondsire out
of three heads. South also from Dent dale is Gar-
dale, an vplandish towne, wherein are sene manie
times great store of red dære that come downe to
feed from the mounteins into the vallies, and there-
by runneth a water, which afterward commeth to
Sebbar vale, where likewise is a brooke meeting
with Garddale water, so that a little lower they go
as one into Dent dale becke, which is the river that
afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie
often noted it. Beside these waters also before men-
tioned, it receiveth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great
brooke, which commeth out of the North, betwene
Westmerland and Richmondsire, which taking
with him the aforesaid channells, doth run seauen
miles yer it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it
entresth into Landdale, corruptlie so called, perad-
uenture for Lunedale, & runneth therein eight or
nine miles southward, and in this dale is Birbie. Hi-
therto maister Moore, as Leland hath exemplified
that parcell of his letters. But mine other note fol-
loweth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riseth
at Wusfall head, by west, and going by Wusfall
foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the Beder that descen-
deth thither from Beder dale. From hence our
Burbecke goeth to Beder dale foot, & so to Ebarie,
where it meeteth with foure rilles in one bottome, of
which one commeth from besides Dytton, another
from betwene Kasebecke and Sunbiggin, the third
and fourth from each side of Langdale: and after
the generall confluence made, goeth toward Round-
swath, about which it uniteth it selfe with the Bar-
row. Thence it runneth to Hotogill, Delaker,
Firebanke, and Billington, beneath which it mee-
teth with a water comming from the Hozill hilles,
and afterward crossing the Dent brooke, that run-
neth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they
continue their course as one into the Burbecke,
from whence it is called Lune. From hence it go-
eth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in ano-
ther rill comming from by east, then to Birbie,
Landdale, and about Whittenton crosseth a brooke
comming

Broke.

Skipton.

Coker.

Cowdar.

Lune.

Burbecke.

Beder.

Barrow.

Dent.

Greteie.

wennie.
Winburne.

Rheburne.

Docker.
Berie.

Spzota.

Ken.

winlar.

winander.

comming from the countie stone by Burros, and
some after beneath Lunfall and Greteie, which des-
cending from about Angelbozow hill, passeth by
Twistleton, Angleton, Thorne-ton, Burton, Wrat-
ton, and nere Thurland castell, toucheth finally with
the Lune, which brancheth, and some after uniteth it
selfe againe. After this also it goeth on toward spew
parke, and receiue the Wennie, and the Winburne
both in one chanell, of which this riseth north of the
crosse of Greteie, and going by Bentham and Ro-
berts hill, about Wraie taketh in the Rheburne
that riseth north of Wulfecrag. After this conflu-
ence also about spew parke, it maketh his gate by
Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaster, Crcliffe,
Alculiffe, Soddais, Dytton, and so into the sea. Thus
haue you both the descriptions of Lune, make your
conference or election at your pleasure, for I am
sworne to neither of them both.

The next fall is called Docker, and peraduen-
ture the same that Leland doth call the Berie, which
is not farre from Wharton, where the rich hitson
was borne, it riseth north of Docker towne, and go-
ing by Barwic hall, it is not increased before it
come at the sea, where it falleth into the Lune water
at Lunelands. Next of all we come to Witham becke,
which riseth not far from Witham towne and parke,
in the hilles, where about are great numbers of
goates kept and mainteined, and by all likelihood
reioyseth in the end to Linlands.

Being past this, we find a forked arme of the
sea called Kenlands: into the first of which diuerse
waters do run in one chanell, as it were from foure
principall heads, one of them comming from Grar-
rig hall, another first by west of Whinfield, & joining
with the first on the east side of Skelmerie parke.
The third called Spzot or Spzota riseth at Slod-
dale, & commeth downe by west of Skelmer parke,
so that these two brookes haue the aforesaid parke
betwene them, & fall into the fourth east of Barne-
side, not berie farre in funder. The fourth or last cal-
led Ken, commeth from Bentmers side, out of Ken
moze, in a pole of a mile compasse, berie well stozed
with fish, the head whereof, as of all the baronies of
Kenland is in Westmerland, & going to Stauelope,
it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Ingles. Then lea-
uing Colnehead parke by east, it passeth by Barne-
side, to Kendall, Helston, Sigath, Siggeswic, Le-
uenbridge, Whinethorpe, and so into the sea. Certes
this Ken is a pretie depe riuer, and yet not safelie
to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers,
by reason of rolling stones, & other huge substances
that off annoie & trouble the middest of the chanell
there. The other peece of the forked arme, is called

Winlar, the hed whereof is about Winlar chapell,
& going downe almost by Carpmaunfell, & Pether-
lake, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, or lands,
for all this coast, & a gulfe from the Ramside point to
the Spealnasle, is so peppered with sands, that it is al-
most incredible to see how they increase. Those also
which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kenlands:
but such as receiue the descent from the fosse, Wi-
nander, and Sparke, are called Leuenlands, as I
find by sufficient testimonie. The mouth or fall of the
Dodon also is not farre from this impediment:
wherefore it is to be thought, that these issues will
yer long become berie noisome, if not choked by al-
together. The Winander water riseth about Cui-
balralesstones, from whence it goeth to Cangridge,
where it maketh a mere: then to Ambleside, and ta-
king in yer it come there, two rilles on the left
hand, and one on the right that commeth by Claper-
gate, it maketh (as I take it) the greatest mere, or
fresh water in England; for I read it is ten miles
in length, finally, comming to one small chanell a-

boue spewbridge, it reacheth not about six miles per
fall into the sea. There is in like sort a water, cal-
led the fosse that riseth nere unto Arneside, and
Tillerthwates, and goeth forth by Crisdale, Satter-
thwate, Kulland, Potobridge, Boboth, and so falleth
with the Winander water into the maine sea. On
the west side of the fosse also commeth another
through Furnesse felles, and from the hilles by north
thereof, which yer long making the Thurstan lake
not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end,
in a narrow chanell, passeth forth by spibthwaits,
Blareth, Colwilton, & Sparke bridge, and so into the
sea. Having passed the Leuen or Conilands, or Co-
nitionelands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I
come to the Leu, which riseth at Celwike chapell, and
falleth into the sea beside Plumpton. The Katoth
descending out of lotw Furnesse, hath two heads,
whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by
Winerstone abbete, and joining both in one chanell,
they hasten into the sea, whither all waters direct
their boiage. Then come we to another rill south-
west of Aldingham, descending by Claffon castell;
and likewise the fourth that riseth nere Lindell,
and running by Watolton castell and Furnesse abbete,
not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the
sea ouer against Maueie and Maueie chapell, ex-
cept mine aduertisements misleade me.

The Dodon, which from the head is bound un-
to Cumberl and Westmerland, commeth from
the spire stone hill bottome, and going by Blacke-
hill, Southwake, S. Johns, Wastate parke, & Brough-
ton, it falleth into the saltwater, betwene Kirbie,
and Gallum castell. And thus are we now come vnto
the Kauenglasse point, and well entred into Cum-
berland countie.

Commig to Kauenglasse, I find hard by the
towne a water comming from two heads, and both
of them in lakes or poles, whereof one issueth out of
Denocke or Deuenocke mere, and is called De-
nocke water, the other named Eke from Eke pole
which runneth by Eskdale, Dalegarth, and some af-
ter meeting with the Denocke, betwene Patu-
borthwate and Kauenglasse, falleth into the sea. On
the other side of Kauenglasse also commeth the spite
brooke, from spiterdale as I read. Then find we an-
other which commeth from the hils, and at the first is
forked, but some after making a lake, they gather a-
gaine into a smaller chanell: finally meeting with
the Wyenge, they fall into the sea at Carleton south-
east, as I weene of Dzig. The Cander, or as Leland
nameth it the Calder, commeth out of Copeland for-
rest, by Cander, Sellsfield, and so into the sea. Then
come we to Cuer water, descending out of a pole a-
boue Colwalshow, and thence going by Cuedale, it
crosseth a water from Arladon, and after proceedeth
to Egremond, S. Johns, and taking in another rill
from Hyde, it is not long yer it meeteth with the sea.

The next fall is at sporesbie, whereof I haue no
skill. From thence therefore we cast about by saint
Bass to Derwentet hauen, whose water is truelie
written Dargwent or Derwent. It riseth in the hils
about Bozrodale, from whence it goeth into the
Grange, thence into a lake, in which are certeine Is-
lands, and so vnto Belswic, where it falleth into the
Bure, whereof the said lake is called Burslemere, or
the Borthmere pole. In like sort the Bure or Borth-
mere water, rising among the hils goeth to Legbur-
thelworth, Fozneside, S. Johns, and Whelcote: and
there meeting with a water from Crisdale, by Ma-
kethwate, called Grisse, it runneth to Burnesse, Bels-
wic, and there receiue the Darwent. From Bels-
wic it like sort it goeth to Thorneiswate (and there
making a plash) to Armaniswate, Isell, Buthwate
and Coker mouth, and here it receiue the Cokar,
which

Fosse.

Sparke,

Leu.
Katoth,

Dodon.

Denocke.

Eke.

spite.

Wyenge.
Cander.

Dargwent,

Borthmere,

Grisse.

Cokar.

wire.

Clim

Crock

Clam

Eden

Helbi

Belli

Dzue

Dzue

Dzue
Crock
LineDzue
Win

Grisse.

Dzue

Dzue

Dzue
Crock
Line

which rising among the hills cometh by Lowe-
water, Bakenhwater, Loxton, and so to Cokar-
mouth towne, from whence it passeth to Widge-
ham, and receiveth a rill called the Wiltre, on the
south side that runneth by Dein, it leaveth Ham-
burne and Wiltketon behind it, and entereth into
the sea.

Leland saith that the Wiltre is a crêke where ships
lie off at rode, and that Wiltketon or Wiltkington
towne doth take his name thereof. He addeth also
that there is iron and coles, beside lead ore in Wiltre-
dale. Nevertheless the water of this river is for the
most part so troubled, as comming thorough a sub-
die or foddie moze, so that little good fish is said to
live therein. But to proceed. The Elmereth in the
mines about Amantree, and from Amantree goeth to
Percebie, Harbie, Wotm, and there taking in a rill
on the left hand comming by Tozpenne, it goeth to
Watton castell, Alwarbie, Birbie, Dereham, and so
into the sea. Hence we go about by the chappell at the
point, and come to a baie served with two fresh wa-
ters, whereof one rising westward goeth by War-
ton, Kabbie, Cotes, and so into the maine; taking in
a rill which fall from by south, called Croco, that com-
meth from Crockdale, by Bromfield. The second is
named Wampole brooke, & this riseth of two heads,
whereof one is about Cardeu. Hence in like sort it
goeth to Thurebie, Croston, Dinton, Camlesbie,
Wampall, the Larch, and betwene Whitterdage and
Kirbie into the saltwater. From hence we double the
Botwinckle, and come to an estuarie, whither thre
notable rivers doe resort, and this is named the Sol-
weie mouth. But of all, the first exceedeth, which is cal-
led Eden, and whose description doth follow here at
hand.

The Eden well fraught with salmon, descendeth
(as I heare) from the hills in Athelstane moze at the
foot of Hnstat Hozuell hill, where Swale also riseth,
and southeast of Wallerfang forrest. From thence
in like maner it goeth to Wallerfang towne, Pen-
dragon castell, Wharton hall, Petbie, Hartleie cas-
tell, Kirkebie Stephan, and per it come at great
Pulgrane, it receiveth thre waters, whereof one is
called Helbecke, because it cometh from the Derne
and Clinge mounteins by a towne of the same de-
nomination. The other is named Bellow, and descen-
deth from the east mounteins by Solwarbie, & these
two on the north east; the third falleth from Kauen-
strandale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Bla-
terne, and so into Eden, that goeth from thence by
Warcop, and taking in the Dyne about Burellis on
the one side, and the Hoxton becke on the other, it ha-
steth to Applebie, thence to Cotwbie, where it crosseth
the Wibecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and
there meeting with the Crowt becke, and beneath the
same with the Linenet (whereinto falleth an other
water from Thurenlie meeting withall beneath Cle-
bion) it runneth finally into Eden. After the conflu-
ences also the Eden passeth to Temple, and some af-
ter meeting with the Milbarne and Blincorne wa-
ters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and
Hornebie, where we will staie till I have described
the water that meeteth withall nere the aforesaid
place called the Wille.

This water cometh out of a lake, which is fed
with six rills, whereof one is called the Parke, and
nere the fall thereof into the plash is a towne of the
same name; the second hight Harteshop, & runneth
from Harteshop hall by Depebale; the third is Pa-
terdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fifth Glenk-
guin, but the first runneth into the said lake, south of
Cotwbiwater. Afterward when this lake cometh to-
ward Hole towne, it runneth into a small chanell, &
going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by

the waie from Daker castell. Thence it goeth to
Stokebidge, Boneworth, and some after meeteth
with a pretie brooke called Loder, comming from
Thornethwaite by Banton, and here a rill; then by
Helson, and there another; thence to Asham, Clif-
ton, and so joining with the other called Wille, they go
to Brougham castell, fine churches, Hornebie, and
so into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that com-
meth downe from Pencath. Being past Hornebie,
our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and some after re-
ceiveth a rill that cometh from two heads, and join-
ning beneath Winstell, it hasteth to Lasenbie, then
to Kirke Oswald (on each side whereof cometh in a
rill from by east) thence to Donneie, and there a rill,
Ansable, Cotchill, Cozbie castell, Wetherall, New-
bie; where I will staie, till I have described the Ir-
ding, and such waters as fall into the same before I
go to Carleill.

The Irding ariseth in a moze in the borders of
Tindale, nere unto Hozle head crag, where it is
called Terne becke, untill it come to Spicrag hill,
that divideth Northumberland and Gillesland in
sunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being
therfore come to Duerhall, it receiveth the Pultrorse
becke, by east, and thence goeth on to Duerdinton,
Petherdinton, Leuercoff, and Castledread, where it
taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke
Cambocke, Askerton castell, Walton, and so into
Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdrington,
Newbie, & so into Eden. But a little before it come
there, it crosseth with the Gillie that cometh by
Lankin, and some after falleth into it. After these
confluences, our Eden goeth to Linthocke castell,
(and here it interteineth a brooke, comming from
Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then unto Car-
leill, which is now almost trivironed with foure
waters.

For beside the Eden it receiveth the Peder, which
Leland calleth Logus from southeast. This
Peder riseth in the hills south west of Penrudoche,
from whence it goeth to Penrudoche, then to Gra-
stoke castell, Cateleie, and Benderside hall, and then
taking in a water from Unthanke, it goeth to Cath-
waide, Pettrellwaie, Newbiggin, Carleton, and so
into Eden, north east of Carleill. But on the north
side the Wuserth brooke doth swifflie make his en-
trance, running by Leuerdale, Scalbie castell, and
Houfledon; as I am informed. The third is named
Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which rising about
the Skidlow hills, runneth to Hosedale, Caldbecke,
Watnell, Haberham, Rose castell, Dawson,
Brounson, Harrington, and west of Carleill falleth
into Eden, which going from thence by Grimsdale,
Kirke Andros, Beaumont, falleth into the sea be-
neath the Kowelisse castell. And thus much of the
Eden, which Leland neuertheless describeth after an-
other sort, whose words I will not let to set downe
here in this place, as I find them in his commen-
taries.

The Eden, after it hath run a pretie space from
his head, meeteth in time with the Wille water, which
is a great brooke in Westmerland, and rising about
Haredale, a mile west of Loder, it cometh by the
late dissolved house of Shappe priorie, thre miles
from Shappe, and by Wampton village into Loder
or Lodon. Certes this streame within halfe a mile
of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles
course, and afterward waring narrow againe, it
runneth forth in a meane and indifferent bottome.
The said Eden in like sort receiveth the Amote a-
bout thre miles beneath Brougham castell, and in-
to the same Amote falleth the Dacor becke (alreadie
touched) which riseth by north west in Paterdale hills,
four miles about Dacor castell, and then going
through

Wiltre.

Elmer.

Croco.

Wampole.

Eden.

Helbecke.
Bellow.

Dyne.

Hoxton.

Wibecke.
Crowt becke.
Linenet.Milbarne.
Blincorne.

Wille.

Parke.

Harteshop.

Paterdale.
Roden.
Glenkguin.

Loder.

Irding.

Terne.

Pultrorse.

Cambocke.

Gillie.

Pedar alias
Logus.

Wuserth.

Wille after
Leland.

Loder.

Amote.

Dacor.

through Dacor parke, it runneth by east a good mile lower into Chinote, a little beneath Delamaine, which standeth on the left side of Dacor. In one of his booke also he saith, how Carleill standeth betwene two streames, that is to saie the Deua, which cometh thither from by south west, and also the Logus that descendeth from the southeast. He addeth more, ouer how the Deua in times past was named Glast or Glasta, and that of the names of these two, Lugbaila for Carleill hath bene deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cause of this his coniecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certaine, that I vse the names of most riuers here and else where described, accordinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to speake here and there of such as are more ancient, where iust occasion moueth me to remember them; for the better vnderstanding of our histories, as they doe come to hand.

Blacke Lenen and white Lenen waters, fall into the sea in one chanell, and with them the Lamford and the Esk, the last confluence being not a full mile from the maine sea. The white and blacke Lenen joining therfore about Bucknesse, the confluence goeth to Blacken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Tomunt water meeteth with the Esk. In like sort the Kirkfop joining with the Lidge out of Scotland at Kirkfop foot, running by Stangerdike side, Harlow, Hatty water, and taking in the Esk about the Pote, it loseth the former name, and is called Esk, vntill it come to the sea.

Having thus gone thorough the riuers of England, now it resteth that we proceed with those which are to be found vpon the Scottish shore, in such order as we best may, vntill we haue fetched a compasse about the same, and come vnto Barwicke, whence afterward it shall be easie for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did set forth in the beginning of our voyage. The first riuer that I met withall on the Scottish coast, is the Esk, after I came past the Soluete, which hath his head in the Cheviot hills, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the sea at Boro on the sands. This Esk hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Soluete first at Atterith. After this I passed ouer a little crake from Kirkfop, and so to Anand, whereof the ballie Anandale doth seeme to take the name. There is also the Rhyde, whereof cometh Rhydale, the Ken, the Dee, the Crake, and the Bladnecke, and all these (besides diuerse other small rilles of lesse name) doe lie vpon the south of Gallowaie.

On the north side also we haue the Kuan, the Arde, the Galloway, the Burwin, the Glude (where vpon sometime stood the famous citie of Alcluide, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourglesse, and the Lame. From hence in like manner we came vnto the Lewind mouth, wherevnto the Blake on the south west and the Lomund lake, with his flouting fies and fish without finnes (yet verie holefome) doth seeme to make his issue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariseth sometimes so high, and swelleth with such terrible billowes, that it causeth the best mariners of Scotland to abide the leisure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoise by sailes on hie. The like is seene in windie weather, but much more perillous. There are certein fies also in the same, which moue and remoue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them especiallie, which otherwise is verie fruitfull for pasturage of cattell.

Pert vnto this is the Lene, the Kage, the Long, the Coile, & the Heke, which for the exceeding greatnesse of the ir heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinsie, the Forreano, the Carbat, the Lean,

and the Abir, wherevnto the Spanfeis, the Lohne, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zefe do fall, there is also the Sell, the Zord, the Dwin, the Fehinise, the Dine, the Lang, the Durn, the Hew, the Brun, the Bell, the Dolon, the Faro, the Felle, the Herre, the Con, the Glasse, the Gaur, the Urdall, the Fers (that cometh out of the Calbell) the Fairloke, which two latter lie a litle by west of the Dyghades, and are properlie called riuers, because they issue ouerlie from springs; but most of the other takes, because they come from linnies and huge poles, or such low botomes, fed with springs, as seeme to haue no accesle, but onelie recessle of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

But to proceed. Having once past Dungsbie head in Cathnesse, we shall yet long come to the mouth of the Willsie, a prettie streame, comming by south of the mounteins called the Spaidens pappes. Then to the Broowe, the Clin, the Twin (where into runneth three riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carleu) the Felle, which beside the plentie of salmon found therein is neuer frozen, nor suffereth yce to remaine there, that is cast into the pole. From thence we come vnto the Parding, the Finderne, the Spate (which receiues the Wille) the Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Lenin, and the Bogh, from whence we saile vntill we come about the Bughan head, and so to the Dolone, and De: which two streames bring forth the greatest samons that are to be had in Scotland, and most plentie of the same. Then to the north Esk, whereinto the Clinond runneth about Brechin, the south Esk, then the Louen and the Lati, which is the finest riuer for water that is in all Scotland, and wherevnto most riuers and lakes do run. As Farlake, Pith, Coure, Loch, Cannach, Linell, Lozon, Frelwer, Erne, and diuerse other besides small rilles which I did neuer loke vpon.

Then is there the lake London, vpon whose mouth saint Andrewes doth stand, the lake Letwin, vnto whose streame two other lakes haue recourse in ffalland, and then the Firth or Fortha, which some doe call the Widdie and Scottish sea, whither the kingdome of the Northumbers was sometime extended, and with the riuer last mentioned (I meane that cometh from London) includeth all fife, the said Fortha being full of oysters and all kinds of huge fish that vse to lie in the depe. How manie waters run into the firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iustlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rilles, & lakes that fall into the same, as Clackie, Alon, Dune, Berie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Darse, Forkefson, Kotham, Puthell, Blene, and diuerse other which I call by these names, partlie after information, and partlie of such townes as are nere by to their heads. Finallie, when we are past the Hae, then are we come vnto the Tweede, whereinto we entred, leauing Barwicke on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Walidon hill standeth, and containeth a triangle of so much ground beyond the said riuer, as is well nere foure miles in length, and three miles in bredth in the broad end: except mine information doe faile me.

The Tweede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualsis or Toefis, & betwene which and the Line the countie of Northumberland is in manner inclosed, and watred with sundrie noble riuers) is a noble streame and the limes or bound betwene England & Scotland, wherby those two kingdomes are now diuided in sunder. It riseth about Dymilar in Gubale (or rather out of a faire well (as Leland saith) standing in the mosse of an hill called Airfane, or Harefan in Tweede dale ten miles from Pibble) and so comming by Pibble, Lander, Wybitogh, Else, Warke, Forham,

Deua,

Glast,

Lenen,
Lamford,
Esk,Tomunt,
Kirkfop,
Lidge,

Esk,

Lene,
Long,
Coile,
Heke,
Robinsie,Foston
Carbat
Lean
Abir
Arke
Zefe
Sell
Dine
Dwin
Fehinise
Dors
Lang
Durn
Hew
Brun
Bell
Dolon
Faro
Felle
Herre
Con
Glasse
Gaur
Urdall
Fers
Fairloke
Dyghades
Broowe
Clin
Twin
Shin
Sillan
Carleu
Felle
Calder
Wille
Broowe
Clin
Twin
Shin
Sillan
Carleu
Felle
Parding
Spate
Downe
De
Esk

Eli.

Bjont

Boren

Whitak

Warne.

Porham and Hagarstone, it falleth into the sea beneath Bartolke, as I heare. Thus saith Leland. But I not contented with this so short a discourse of so long a river & brieve description of so faire a streame, will ad somewhat more of the same concerning his race on the English side, and rehearfall of such rivers as fall into it. Comming therefore to Kidam, it receiveth betwene that and Cecham a becke, which descendeth from the hilles that lie by west of Wlindam. Going also from Kidam by Longbridgeham (on the Scottish side) and to Carham, it hatheth immediatlie to Marke castell on the English, and by Spilaw on the other side, then to Canevall, Cald streame, and Almouth, where it receiveth fundrie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whose description insueth here at hand.

Certes there is no head of anie river that is named Till, but the issue of the furthest water that cometh hereinto, riseth not farre from the head of Alwaie in the Chentot hilles, where it is called Brennich, wherof the kingdome of Brennicia did sometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hart-
side, Ingram, Wynton, Cravole, Hedgelle, Wuelete, and Bewise, beneath which it receiveth one water comming from Rodham by west, and some after a second descending from the Middleton, and so they go as one with the Wynton, by Chanton to Fobolzie (where they crosse the third water falling downe by north from Hotwoborne by Wescelbridge) thence to Woller, there also taking in a rill that riseth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Harleie, whereleie, and the rest afore remembred, wherby the water of Wynton is not a little increased, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more called Wynton, but the Till, untill it come at the Tweede. The Till passing therefore by Meteland and Dedington, meeteth some after with a faire streame comming from by south west, which most men call the Wobwent or Wobent.

It riseth on the west side of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence hasteth to Wattons, beneath the which it joineth from by south east with the Helleboyne, and then goeth to Budon, Dohneham, Kilham, and a little by north of Peloton Kirke, and betwene it and west Peloton, it taketh in another water called Clin, comming from the Chentot hilles by West pole, and from thenceforth runneth on without anie further increase, by Copland, Cuart, and so in the Till. The Till for his part in like sort after this confluence goeth to Womeridge, Fodcastle, Catall castle, Heaton, & north of Almouth into the Tweede, or by west of Wescel, except my memory doth faile me. After this also our aforesaid water of Tweede descendeth to Crotehugh, the Pelobiggins, Porham castell, Foyd, Lungridge, & crossing the Whitaker on the other side from Scotland beneath Catemill, it runneth to Wdo, to Bartolke, and so into the Ocean, leaving (as I said) so much English ground on the north west ripe, as lieth in manner of a triangle betwene Catemills, Bartolke, and Lamminton, which (as one noteth) is no more but two miles and an halfe everie waie, or not much more, except he be deceived.

Being past this noble streame, we came by a rill that descendeth from Wobuden by Barlington. Then by the second which ariseth betwene Middleton and Delcham or Dereham, and runneth by Ckill and the Kasse, next of all to Warnemouth, of whose backe water I read as followeth. The Worne or Gwerne riseth south west of Crockelaw, and going by Worneford, Wadford, Spindlestone, and Woddy, it leaseth Peloton on the right hand, and so falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almost nine miles from the head within the land, and receiveth a rill be-

neath Pellington, which cometh betwene betwene Hewland and Wichester, and hath a bridge beneath the confluence, which leadeth over the same. From Warnemouth, we sailed by Hambroto castell, and came at last to a fall betwene Wedwell and Peloton. The maine water that serveth this issue, riseth about Carleton from the foot of an hill, which seemeth to part the head of this and that of Worne in sunder. It runneth also by Carleton, Conleie, Dorford, Wynton, and Euggell, and finally into the sea, as to his course apperteineth.

From this water we went by Dunstanburgh castle, onto the Chaine or Alnemouth, which is served with a pretier river called Alne, the head wherof riseth in the hils west of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celnus. From thence also it runneth by Kile, Kile, Clington, and Whittingham, where it crosseth a rill comming from by south, and beneath the same, the second that descendeth from Circhild at Wyone, & likewise the third that riseth at Peloton, and runneth by Colingham castell and Lemmaton (all on the southeast side or right hand) and so passeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, comming from about Shippleie from by north, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewise, & then to Denngie, receiving there a rill from by south and a rill from by north, and thence going on to Wiltton, betwene Almouth towne and Woddon, it sweepeth into the Ocean.

The Cocket is a goodlie river, the head also there, of is in the roots of Remblespeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteside, and there meeting with the Alwaie (which descendeth from the north) it goeth a little further to Linbridge, and there receiveth the Kidele by south west, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Hoc, which cometh from the Woldland and hillie soile by Alington, & falleth into the same, west of Parke head. It joineth also ver long with the Kidland, which cometh in north by Wiltone, and then bieth to Sharpton, to Harbolic, where it crosseth the Pardop water by south, then to Wodhouse, and swallowing in a little becke by the waie from south west, to Bickerton, to Lofons, Peloton, and running apace toward Whittton towne, it taketh a brooke withall that cometh in north west of Alnham, nere Elshaw, and goeth by Sharnwood, over neether Trewhet, Snitter, and Wharton, and some after uniteth it selfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Kethburie, or Whittton towne, to Halse, to Wunkeborne, Welben, taking withall some after the Doo or burne called Doo, which falleth in from by south, then to Elshaw, Felton (receiving there about the Favellie brooke, that goeth by Wintning by south east, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Hason, to Wasinfaugh by north) and from thence to Horricke Warthworth castell, and so into the sea.

Where is furthermore a little fall, betwene Pawkellam and Drurith, which riseth about Stokes wood, goeth by east Churnington, and Whittington castle, and after ward into the Ocean. The Lune is a pretie brooke rising west of Choleie, from whence it goeth to Crillington, Wgham, Linton, and ver long to the sea. Lanbecke (in old time Dura) is far greater than the Lune. It issueth by west and by north of west Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wakington, Middleton, and Angerton. Here it meeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the north, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Spotteden to Spittforth, and there in like manner crosseth the Font, which issuing out of the ground about Pelobiggins, goeth by Bonnetie Kirke, Wiltton castle, Stanton, Puncing, Peloton, and so into the Lanbecke, which runneth in like manner from Spittforth to Sporth castell within two miles wherof it

Kile, or Alne,
alias Chaine.

Cocket.
Alwaie.

Kidland.

Yardop.

It may be
Leland mis-
keth Cicking-
ton water for
one of these.

Lune.

Wanbecke.

Font.

ebbeth and floweth) the river Chappell, Bottle caskell, Shepwas, and so into the sea, three miles from the next haven which is called Withe.

Withe. Withe water riseth about kirke Praton, and goeth by Welle, Ogle, and (receiving the Port alie the Bocket, that springeth east of S. Oswalds) passeth by Portgate, Whittington, Jennike hall, Spadefennes, Hawkewell, the Grange, & Whittingtons. After it hath taken in the Port from the east (whose head is not farre from that of Hartleie streame) and is past Barwicke on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Colupon, and at Witthes nuke, into the deepe Ocean. Hartleie streamelet riseth in Wate-slade parish, goeth by Hailwell, and at Hartleie towne yeldeth to the sea.

North Tine. The Tine of Linna, a river notable for good salmon, and other good fish, and in old time called Alan, riseth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth by above Welkirke in the hills, & thence goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiveth a confluence of Kirlop and the Shele) thence to Cragheles, Leapellish (receiving on the south a rill out of Lindale) then to Shilburne, against which it taketh in a becke that cometh out of Lindale called Shill, also two other on the same side, betwene Parro and Fatwton hall, and the third at Thorneburne, and so goeth on to Grenesled, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north also made by the confluence of one rill coming by Thecam, and another that passeth by Holmhead, and likewise another on the south coming from Lindale, by Chuden, Dalacastell, and Bokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellside, to Billingham, and at Khebes mouth meeteth with the Riddle, a verie prettie water, whose description is given me after this maner.

Riddle. The Riddle therefore riseth within three miles of the Scottish march, as Leland saith, & cometh through Riddesdale, whereunto it giveth the name. Another writeth how it riseth in the roots of the Carter, and Redquibe hills, and ver it hath gone farre from the head, beside a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop of Petop from the north and the Chellop on the south, beside sundrie other wild rills namelesse and obscure, as one on the north side next unto the Petop or Spelhop; another by south out of Riddesdale, the third west of Wardop, the fourth runneth by Wul-law to Rochester, then two from south-west, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durt, then the Smallburne from the west. Next to the same is the Otter or Otterburne on the north side also the Querele, and finally the last which descendeth from Ellsdon hills, by Pankridge and joineth with our Riddle, north-west of Pankhowgh, after which the said Riddle goeth by Wob-burke, Kilingham, Leame, and so into the Tine, a little lower than Belingham or Bilingham, which standeth somewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at the least above the towne of Berham. After this confluence it passeth to Aghall, to Carehouse (crossing Shittington becke by west which also receiveth the Pare on the south side of Shittington) another also beneath this on the same side, made by the confluence of Wobbeburne, and Middleburne, at Roseburne, beside the third called Worleis or Worle above, and Simons burne beneath Shepeshale, and likewise the Swaine from the north that runneth by Swinburne castell, west of all the Rill from the northeast, which cometh by Whittington, & so holding his course directlie southwards, it goeth by S. Oswalds through the Priethwall, to Wall, and so into south Tine, beneath Agram, and north-west (as I do wene) of Berham.

Tine, S.

The south Tine ariseth in the Chemot hills, and

per it hath gone farre from the head, it meeteth with Elgill on the east, and another rill on the west, and so going by the houses toward Awtten more, it joineth with Schud from by west, and some after with the Went from by east about Lotwiber. From Lotwiber it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (crossing the Gilders becke on the one side, and the Alne on the other) to Thornehope, where it is enlarged with a water on each side, to Williamstone, and almost at Anareldale, taketh in the Anare, and then runneth withall to Fetherstone angle. At Fetherstone angle likewise it meeteth with Hartleie water, by south-west coming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from south-east, and thence when it cometh to Willester castell, it carrieth another withall from by west, Thirlewall called Kippall which riseth in the forest of Lotwes, and goeth by the Wiltstone, Blinkinsop, & Widdon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north rising west of Swinheld, which goeth by Greneleg to Halthwell: thence going by Wintanhe, it collecteth another rill from by south, descending from the hills that lie north of Coddewood, and then proceeding unto Wilmotteslogge, it admitteth the Wilmots becke from the south, and another running by Whadale hall on the north side of Wellingham; after which it meeteth with the Alen a proper water, and described after this maner.

East Alen. The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is called east Alen, the other west Alen. The first of them riseth south-east of Sidton Sholes, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by east after which confluence it runneth to Petwhele, Allington, Cadbon, Oldstone, & in the course to Stamerpele, meeteth with the west Alen. The west Alen riseth in Killop low hills above Whetelste sholes, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hatocapole, Woston, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it proceedeth on to Permandobie, and crossing there another rill in like maner from by west, it goeth by Whitefield, and joining some after with the east Alen, they run as one to Statuert pole, Blankford, and so into the Tine between Beltingham and Lees, from whence the Tine runneth on by Lees Haddon, Widdohall, Dwiners, Whermebie, Costlets, & by Warden, till it cross the north Tine, and come to Berham, from whence it goeth to Wilsan, crossing two waters by the waie, whereof one cometh from by south, and is called the Wollish which holdeth his course by Stelehall, and Petwiggitt receiveth another coming from Grimbydger: the other called Woll somewhat lower descending from Heddele, and running by Kiling, till it fall into the south side of our streame from Wilsan; it goeth to Bywell castell, over against which it receiveth a rill that runneth by Wintole, thence it passeth to Kilingham, Bundo, Wilsan, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Ketton, Bladon, and next of all joineth with the Darwent, from by south.

Darwent. This river riseth about Rineton, and Kildamhope in Northumberland, from two heads: the north being called Were, and the southerly the Gwent; and joining so well per long in chanel as in name, they runne on to Wintertwoth, next Wiggin, Blankeland, Adon, Alperthel, Blackheadie, Wintertwoth side, Wanthel, Chelster, and there taking in a water from Heddele in Northumberland, next to Blackehall in the bishopricke, it goeth on to Spen, Walthide, Wilsan, Stowell, and so into Tine, which passeth from thence by Wilsan, and meeting with another water coming from Wilsan, by Kauenworth castell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Petwocastell, Felling, Fethersteworth, Walsker, Walswon, Hedburne, and next to Berro or Cirtoie, where

Croze.

East Alen.

West Alen.

Were.
Ward
Wailop
Kellop

Walsen

Hedde

where Beda dwelled in an abbey; now a gentlemen's place (although the church be made a parish church, whereunto diuers towns resort, as monke Caton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Souththeltes, Harton, Westthorpe, Hebburne, Hedworth, Warbleie, Fellin, Follinsbie, the Hetworthes) and from thence to the south and Norththeltes, and so into the sea, five miles by north-west of Wethermouth, and (as I gesse) somewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Newcastell, and hereby doth the Coze run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off also is a place called Colchester, whereby Leland getteth that the name of the brooke should rather be Cole than Coze, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie; for in the life of S. Oswyn (otherwise a feeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies used for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leaue this short aduertisement. In this countie also are the three bales of dales, thereof men haue doubted whether theues or true men do most abound in them, that is to saie, Riddesdale, Eildale, and Aldersdale: this last being for the most part Scottish, and without the marches of England. Peter the lesse, liethens that by the diligence chafelle of Mather Gilpin, and finallie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue bene called to some obedience and zeale vnto the word, it is found that they haue so well profited by the same, that at this present their former sauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wilfulness and fiercenesse so qualified, that there is great hope lest of their reduction vnto ciuillite, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue bene acquainted withall. But to proceed with the rest.

Ptolomie, writing of the Wre, calleth it Wedia, a river well knowne vnto Beda the famous preest, who was brought by in a monastirie that stood vpon the bankes thereof. It riseth of three heads in Kelloppellaw hill, whereof the most southerlie is called Burdop, the middlemost Wallop, and the northerli-est Kellopp, which uniting themselves about S. Johns chapel, or a little by west thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by east Pate, and so to Frosserleie. But yer it come there, it receiueth three rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one cometh in by Stanhope, another west of Woodcroft hall, and the third at Frosserleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath these, I find yet a fourth on the south side, which descendeth from south-west by Bolltop, Withoppleie, Withorpes, and Landeto, as I haue bene informed. Being therefore united all with the Wre, this streame goeth on to Walsingham, there taking in the Walscroppburne, beside another at Wadale, the third at Harpleie hall (and these on the north side) and the fourth betwene Witton and Witton castell called Bedburne, comming by Hamsterleie, whereby this river doth now war be-
60 ris great. Going therefore from hence, it passeth to Bishops Akeland, and beneath it receiueth the Garondesse, which (as Leland saith) riseth six miles by west of Akeland castell, and running south thereof, passeth by west Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andriewes Akeland, and bishops Akeland, and then into the Wre which goeth to Newfield, and Walsingham. Here vnto this place also and somewhat beneath Sunderland, the Wre, crosseth one brooke from south-east by Het. Crofsele, Cronsfurth, Turdale, and Cordale, and two other from by north-west in one botome, whereof the first cometh from about Agh by Langley: the other called Coue, from about Ainchleie by Newbiggin, Lanchefer, north Langley,

and through Beare parke, & so meeting beneath Mel-
leie or Hedleie with the other, they fall both as one
into the Wre, betwene south Sunderland and
Burnall. From hence our river goeth on to Hothog-
well, Shirkelie, old Duresme (and there taking in
the Hidding brooke by north-east) it goeth to Dures-
me, Finkleie, Harbarhouse, Lumleie castell (where
it meeteth with the Dilis, whose heads are united be-
twene Delton and Whitwell (and after called Hed-
leie) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Be-
dikes, Wifferton, Wiltton parke, Bishops, Wre-
mouth, and so into the sea, betwene north Sunder-
land and north Wethermouth towne, which now is
called monke Wethermouth of the monastirie some-
time standing there, wherein Beda read & wrote manie
of his booke, as to the world appeareth. This mouth
of Wre is eight miles from Durham, and six from
Newcastell. Being thus passed the Wre, & entered
into the Bishopprie, yer we come at the mouth of the
These, almost by two miles, ouer passing a rill that
runneth by castell Eden, and Hardwicke, and likewise
Hartlepole towne, which lieth ouer into the sea in
maner of a byland or peninsula, we meet with a pret-
tie fall, which groweth by a river that is increased
with two waters, whereof one riseth by north-west a-
bout Hozetons, and goeth by Stottfeld and Clarton,
the other at Dabulton, going by Bzeerton, W-
tham, and Grettam, finallie joining within two
miles of the sea, they make a prettie portlet: but I
know not of what securitie.

The These, a river that beareth and feedeth an ex-
cellent samon, riseth in the Blacke lowes, about
two miles flat west of the southerlie head of Wre
called Burdop, and south of the head of west Alen,
and thence runneth through Tildale forest: and ta-
king in the Langdon water from north-west it run-
neth to Durtpit chapell, to Newbiggin, and so to
Spiddleton, receiuing by west of each of these a rill
comming from by north (of which the last is called
Hude) and likewise the Lune after ward by south-west
that riseth at three severall places, whereof the first
is in the borders of Westmerland and there called
Arnegill becke, the second more southerlie, named
Lunebecke, and the third by south at Bandoz Skarth
hill, and meeting all about Arnegill house, they run
together in one botome to Lathekirke byrge, and
then into the These. Having therefore met with
these, it runneth to Spickelton (where taking in the
Shirkwith water) it goeth to Kumbald kirke (cross-
ing there also one rill and the Wader brooke by south
west) and then going to Hozetwood hag, and Hozet-
wood parke, till it come to Bernards castell.

Here also it receiueth the Thurelgill water com-
ming east of Wre crosse in Hozeshire, from the
spittle in Stanmoze by Trag almost south-west, and
being united with the These, it goeth by Stratford,
Egleston, Hokebie, Hozpe, Wicliffe, Duington,
Winton, and betwene Barfurth and Gainsfurth
meeteth with another rill, that cometh from Lang-
leie forest, betwene Rabie castell and Standozpe, of
whose name I haue no knowledge. But to proceed.
The These being past Kamforth, runneth betwene
Persore and Cliffe, and in the wate to Crofts byrge
taketh in the Skerne a pretie water, which riseth a-
bout Crimdon, and goeth by Fithburne, Wadburie,
Hzeaton, Wzaforon, Skirmingham, the Burtons,
Houghton and Darlington, & there finallie meeting
with the Cocke becke or Ware, it falleth in the These
beneath Stapleton, before it come at Crofts byrge,
and (as it should seme) is the same which Leland cal-
leth Gretteie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to
Sockburne, nether Dunleie, Spiddleton row, New-
sham, Parne (crossing a brooke from Leuent bridge)
called Lenen or Leuinus in Latine, whose crinkling
I.ij. course

Coze.

Wre.
Burdop,
Wallop,
Kellopp.

Walscropp.

Bedburne.

Hidding
brooke.
Dilis.

These.

Hude.

Lune.
Arnegill.

Shirkwith;
Wader.

Wre crosse;

Skerne.

course is notable, and the streame of some called Thozpe, which I find described in this maner.

Thozpe alias
Leland.

The Thozpe riseth of sundrie heads, whereof one is aboute Pinching Thozpe, from whence it goeth to Bonmethozpe, and so to Stokeleie. The second hath two branches, and so placed, that Bilddale standeth betwene them both: finally, meeting beneath Calbie they go by Caton, and likewise unto Stokeleie. The last hath also two branches, whereof one cometh from Inglesbie, and meeteth with the second beneath Broughton; & going from thence to Stokeleie, they meet with the Thozpe about the towne, as the other fall into it somewhat beneath the same. From hence it goeth to Kiddleie, and there taketh in another rill coming from Dotto, thence to Crathozpe, hooke, Lenanton, Milton, Inglesbie, and so into the These, betwene Harne and Barwicke, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our These hath on to Barwicke, Presston, Thozpe abbey, and Artham, which standeth on the southeast side of the river almost betwene the falles of two waters, whereof one descendeth from west Hartburne by long Pelton, Elton, & Stockton; the other from Stillington, or Shillington, by Whitton, Thozpe, Blackestone, Billingham, and Porton. From Artham finally it goeth to Wellas, Middleburgh, and so into the sea. Leland describing this river speaketh of the Wilke, which should come threinto from by south under Wilke bridge, by Danbie, and Northalarton, and should ioine with a greater streame: but as yet I find no certeine place there to bestow the same.

Crathozpe.

Best of all we come unto the high Cliffe water, which rising about Hutton, goeth by Gifbozow, and there receiveth another streame coming from by southeast, and then continuing on his course, it is not long yet it fall into the sea. The next is the Scaling water, which descendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Holemouth, not farre from whose head standeth Holgraeue castell: then to Sandford crake, and next of all to Elke mouth, which riseth about Danbie wood, and so goeth to Calston, there meeting by the waie with another rill coming from about Westerdale by Danbie, and so they go on together by Armar and Thwate castell, till they ioine with another water about Glasdale chappell, thence to new Wiggin, taking yet another hooke with them, running from Godland ward, and likewise the Thur, and so go on without any further increase by Busworth, yet long into the sea.

Elke.

Thur.

There is also a crake on each side of Robin Whodes baie, of whose names and courses I have no skill, saving that Fillingale the towne doth stand betwene them both. There is another not far from Scarbozow, on the north side called the Harwood hooke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Bunifon, and some after meeting with another rill on the south west, they run as one into the ocean sea. From Scarbozow to Widdlington, by Flambozow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we saw at Widdlington, riseth at Dugglebie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helderthozpe, Butterwicke, Boithozpe, Forhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riseth by againe at Rudston) Thozpe, Cathozpe, Widdlington, and so into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I meete yet long with a river that riseth short of Withersie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wiffed, from thence to another that cometh by Rolfe, Haltham, Carvingham: then to the third, which riseth about Humbleton, and goeth to Esterwicke, Heddon, and so into the Humber. The fourth springeth short of Spyt-

leie, goeth by Wiffon, and falleth into the water of Humber at Spersete, as I heare.

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will describe also here, and then crosse over unto the southerlie Thozpe. The furthest head of Hull water riseth at Bilham, from whence it goeth to Leththozpe crake, and so to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with sundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the northest side, coming from about Wiffed; the second on the north west bank from Passerton; the third from Emmelwell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which ioined beneath little Wiffed, and the fourth which falleth into the same: so that these two latter run unto the maine river both in one chanel, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to Kasseie, to Godale house, and then taking in a water from Hornesie mere, it goeth on through Weuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finally into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from south Spethertwicke, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluer-ton, I saie no more, for it is enough to name them in their order.

Thre alids
Dugge, or

Burne,
wile.

Shell.

Swale.

The description of the Humber or Ifis, and such water-courses as doe increase hir chanel.

Chap. 15.



Here is no river called Humber from the hed. Wherefore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he gesseeth, hath the same denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Ouse, as be side Leland sundrie ancient writers have noted before us both. Certes it is a noble arme of the sea, and although it be properlie to be called Ouse or Ocellus even to the Hauke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber of Humbrus or Umar, a king of the Scythians, who invaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make him selfe monarch of the same. But as God hath from time to time singularly provided for the benefit of Britaine, so in this businesse it came to passe, that Humber was put to flight, his men slaine: and furthermore, whilst he attempted to save himselfe by hasting to his ships (such was the preele of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne vessel, and the rage of weather which hastened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned together in that arme. And this is the onelie cause wherefore it hath bene called Humber, as our writers saie; and whereof I find these verses:

*Dum fugit obstat ei flumen submergitur illic,
De quo suo tribuit nomine nomen aqua.*

This river in old time parted Lhoegres or Eng-land from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the pongest sonne of Brut. But since that time the limits of Lhoegres have bene so enlarged, first by the prowesse of the Romans, then by the conquests of the English, that at this present date, the Tweede on the one side, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betwene us and those of Scotland. In describing therefore the Humber, I must needs begin with the Ouse, whose water bringeth forth a berie sweet, fat and delicat samon, as I have bene informed, beside sundrie other kinds of fish, which we want here on the south and

Fosse.

Ouse.

Hull or
Hulne.

and south west coasts & rivers of our land, whereof I may take occasion to speake more at large hereafter.

Ure alids
Dyze, or Fosse.

The Ure therfore riseth in the furthest parts of all Richmondsyre, among the Cotterine hilles, in a mosse, toward the west fourtene miles beyond Wileham. Being therfore issued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Harbrow, Hathhouse, Butter-side, Askebydye (which Leland calleth the Askaran, and saith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obscure bydges) then to Askarth, through Wanlesse parke, Wenseleie bydye (made two hundred yeares since, by Alwin, parson of Winstanw New parke, Spennithorne, Danbie, Geruise abbey, Clifton and Watham. When it is come to Watham, it receiveth the Burne, by south west (as it did the Wille, from verie dæpe scarrie rockes, before at Askaran) and diuerse other wild rilles not worthy to be remembred. From Watham, it hasteth unto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by south west) then to another Tanfield, to Hewton hall, and Pothbydye, at the higher end of Kippon, and so to Huickes bydye. But per it come there it meeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the same, they run as one to Thozpe, then to Albozow, and lone after receive the Swale.

Burne,
Wile.

Skell.

Swale.

Here (saith Leland) I am brought into no little freid, what to conjecture of the meeting of Fiss and Ure, for some saie that the Fiss and the Ure doe meet at Wozowbydye, which to me doth seeme to be verie unlikelye, fith Iurium taketh his denomination of Fiss and Vro, for it is often saie that the lesse rivers doe mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thamesis and other is easie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Ure after his passage vnder Wozowbydye, but onelie of Fiss or the Dyze in these daies, although in old time it held vnto Pothke it selfe, which of the Ure is truelie called Ure-wyck (or Pothke short) or else my persuasion doth faile me. I haue red also Ewerwyck and Pothwyck. But to proceed, and leaue this superfluous discourse.

From Wozowbydye, the Dyze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldwycke, taking in Wburne water, from the south west, then to Linton vpon Dyze, to Hewton vpon Dyze, and to Hunketun, meeting with the Ffid per long, and so going withall to the Kedhouses, to Wopleton, Clifton, Pothke (where it crosseth the Ffosse) to Foulforth, Widdlethorpe, Acastre, & Acastre, Kelsket, Wellehall, Walelebie, Selbie, Turmonhall, Skurt-hall, Wokelath, Woke, Sandhall, Kednesse, White-giff, Wisset, Blacketoff, Ffordket, Wozowndet, and so into Humber.

Fosse.

Dyze.

Hull or
Hulne.

The course of the Dyze being thus described, and as it were simple without his influences, now will I touch such rivers as fall into the same also by themselves, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voiage from the Hauenspurne, vntill I come nere to the head of these, & so southwards about againe by the bottome of the hille soile vntill I get to Burston, Sheffield, Scrobie, & the verie south point of Humber mouth, whereby I shall crosse them all that are to be found in this walke, & leaue (I doubt) some especiall notice of their seuerall heads and courses. The course of the Hull, a streame abounding with surgeon and lampreie, as also the rivers which haue their issue into the same, being (as I say) already described, I thinke it not amisse, as by the waie to set downe what Leland saith thereof, to the end that his trauell shall not altogether be lost in this behalfe; and for that it is short, and hath one or two things worthy to be remembred contained in the same.

The Hulne (saith he) riseth of three seuerall heads, whereof the greatest is not far from Diefield, now

a small village sitene miles from Hull. Certes it hath bene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of sepulture of Alfred the noble king sometime of that nation, who died there 727, the ninetene Cal. of Iulie, the twentieth of his reigne, and whose tombe or monument doth yet remaine (for ought that I doe knowe) to the contrarie with an inscription vpon the same written in Latine letters. Nere vnto this towne also is the Danefield, wherein great numbers of Danes were slaine, and buried in those hills, which yet remaine there to be seene ouer their bones and carcasses. The second head (saith he) is at Estburne, and the third at Crimmeswell, and meeting all together not farre from Wiffeld, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue said already.

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From hence also it goeth through Weuerleie meadows, and comming at the last not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great vessels) almost to Weuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or stood in Weirwald, vntill John of Weuerleie (whom Leland nameth out of an old autho; to be the first doctor or teacher of diuinitie that euer was in Orford, and (as it should seme also by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an house where the vniuersitie college now standeth; & therfore they write him, Sometime fellow of that house) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Weuerleie (as some affirme) to this daie. In deed all the countrie betwene the Weirwent & the Humber was sometime called Weira, and the lower part Caua Deira in respect of the higher soile, but now it is named the east Riding. But what is this to my purpose? The Hulne therfore being come almost to Weuerleie towne, & meeting thereabout also with the Cottingham becke comming from Westwood by the waie, it hasteth to Kingston vpon Hulne or Hull, and so into the Humber without anie maner impeachment.

Cottingham.

The Fowlneie riseth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Harewell, Seton, Williams bydye, and lone after spreading it selfe, one arme called Skellket goeth by Cane Catwleie to Wozowndet and so into the Dyze. The other passeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chapell, Blacketoff, and so into the aforesaid Dyze, leauing a verie pretie Island, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walsding fen more, though otherwise obscure to vs that dwell here in the south.

Fowlneie.

Skellket.

The Darwent riseth in the hilles that lie west of Robin Whodes haie, or two miles above Aiton bydye, west from Scarborough as Leland saith; and per it hath run farre from the head, it receiue two rilles in one bottome from by west, which soine withall about Longdale end. Hence they go together to Wzoreie, and at Hacknesse take in another water comming from about Silleie. Afterward it cometh to Aiton, then to Hathbydye, and there crosseth the Kenford that descendeth from Roberteston. After this also it goeth on to Wotterstunton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shitburne, and the thirde yet lower on the further banke, that descendeth from Wumton. From these confluences it runneth to Fowlbydye, Arbydye, Woldingham bydye, & so to Cotehouse, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yelding great plentie of delicate samons to such as fish vpon the same. Leland reckoning by the names of the seuerall brookes, numbreyth them confusedlie after his accustomed order. The Darwent (saith he) receiue diuerse streames, as the Shitthuton. The second is the Crambecke, descending from Hunderskell castell (so called *Tanquam a centum fontibus*, or multitude of springs

Darwent.

Kenford.

Shitthuton.
Crambecke.

Rie.
Ricoll.
Seuen.
Coffie.
Pickering.

Docklington.

Rie.

Coffie.

Seuen.

Don or
Doue.
Hodgebecke.

Ricoll.

Fesse.

Holbecke.

springes that rise about the same) and goeth to Ric, which comming out of the Blackemore, passeth by Riuers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Coffie, and Pickering brooke. The Seuen also (saith he) riseth in the side of Blackemore, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile about a certeine bridge over Ric goeth into the streame. The Coffie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Ric two miles beneath Pickering, about Kirbie minster. Finallie, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemore, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Coffie, meeting by the way with the Docklington becke, and an other small rill or two, of whose names I haue no knowledge. Wherto Leland. But in mine opinion, it had bene far better to haue described them thus. Of those waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first cometh from Swenton, the second from Eberston, the third from Ellerton, the fourth from Thorneaton & Pickering, and the fifth on the other side that cometh thither from Winttingham. For so should he haue dealt in better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also vnto their proper places.

But to proceed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & per the Darwent come at Wickham, it crosseth the Ric, which riseth of two heads, and joining west of Locon they run through Clansbie parke. Finallie, receiuing the Coffie, it meeteth at the last with an other streame increased by the falls of six waters and more per it come into the Darwent. The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is aforesaid) in Blackemore, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Purton, Rozmanbie, Pewfound, How, and so into the Ric. The second named Don hath his originall likewise in Blackemore, and descending by Kalmore, Keldon and Edson (where it receiueth the Hodgebecke, that cometh by Bernesdale, Kirbedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof Ridall (as some thinke, but falslie) doth seeme to take the name. Then fesse, which riseth about Wilisdale chappell, and meeteth with the Ric at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go together vnder the Ric bridge, to Kins abbeie, and thence (after it hath crossed a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Pewton, Gunton, and so to Sawlton or Sawlton, as I doe find it written. Here also it taketh in the Holbecke brooke, that cometh thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Wabie, next into the Seuen, then into the Ric, and so into the Darwent, which from thence doth run to Wickham.

Being past Wickham, it meeteth with a water that cometh therein from Crinnton to Setterington at southeast, and thence it goeth on to Walton and Walton (where the prouerbe saith that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is worth but six pence, carie awaie whilse you may, so as you can keepe them from running through the parkes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the other, whereof this cometh from Wardsall, that other from Conisthorpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Gramburne and Doutham bridge (crossing by the waie an other brooke comming from saint Edwards goze, by Falsen) then to Aldbie, Buttercrum (alias Butterham) bridge, Stamford bridge, Kerbie bridge Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Wubwith, Wresill, Wabithorpe, and so into the Duze, where with I finish the description of Darwent: sauing that I haue to

let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an arme ran some time from the head of Darwent also to Scarborough, till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shalder and so choke by his course.

The fesse (a slow streame yet able to beare a good vessel) riseth in *Nemore Calutario*, that is, Walters wood or Catwad, among the wooddie hilles, and in his descent from the higher ground, he leaucth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by 10 Sparton abbeie, Sparton, Stillington, Farlington, Colthorpe, Criswic, Huntington, & at Pothe into the Duze. The Rile riseth first north at Pewton, from whence it goeth by Thorneaton on the hill, Kuskell parke, Astone, Tollerton, and so into the Duze about Pewton vpon Duze. The Swale is a right noble riuer, & march in some places betwene Richmondshire and Westmerland, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles about Kirbedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and nere vnto Palen taketh in the Barneie water, which cometh from the north east. Thence it goeth by Harcaside to Keth (where it meeteth with the Arcliffe) and so to Flemington, Crinton, Parrike (taking in the Holgate that cometh from by south: and in the waie to Thope, the Parrike becke, or peradventure 20 Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descendeth from the north) then to Thope, Applegarth, Richmond, Castie and Bunton.

Here by north it interteineth two or thre waters in one chanell, called Kauenfswath water, whereof the two furthest doioine not farre from the Watltons, and so go by Kauenfswath, Hartforth, Cilling, and at Skebie meet with the third, comming from Richmond beacondward. By west also of Bunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rbe, running from Keldale, and being past Bunton, it goeth to Caterfic bridge beneath Bunton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Thirtost, Anderbie Steele: and before it come vnto Catenbie, it meeteth 40 with the Bedall brooke, alias Lemings becke, that cometh west of Kellirbie, by Cunstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Cattenbie likewise it goeth to Malobie, & at Wakenbirie receiueth the Wilske, which is a great water, rising betwene two parkes about Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbeie in another; and after the confluence which is about Sibley bridge, goeth on betwene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Wirtbie, Hutton Coniers, Danbie, Wilske, Passord, Marlaby, and taking in there a rill from Bunton Aluerton, it proceedeth to Wtterington, Pewlie, Kirbie Wilske, Pewton, and Blackenburie, there meeting (as I said) with the Swale, that runneth fro thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Copcliffe, and Kaniton, and about Eldmire meeteth with sundrie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the northwesterlie is called Catwodebec: the south easterlie Hebecke, which ioine est of Thorneaton more, and so go to Thorneaton in the street, Kilington, Thirke, Sowerbie, Craswic, and some after crossing another growing of the mixture of the Wilslow, and liketwisse of the Cuckewold becke, which ioine about Widsforth, and running on till it come almost at Watlton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their famous by Thorneaton bridge, Pitton vpon Swale, and so into the Duze.

The Skell riseth out of the west two miles from Fountaines abbeie, and cometh (as Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Rippon, as the Wre doth on the other. And on the bankes herof stand the famous abbeie called Fountaines or Adfontes, so much renowned for the lustie monks that sometimes

Lauer.

Ridde.

Rile.

Swale.

Billingale.

Barneie.

Arcliffe.

Holgate.
Parrike
becke.

Coner.
Burne.

Kauenfswath.

wharfe a
Gwerfe.

Rbe.

Bedall
Leming.

wilske.

Walside
Walsbu

Cocket

Catwodebec
Hebecke.

Cuckewold
becke.

Wils.

Witter
Winter

Lauer. sometimes d'welled in the same. It receiveth also the Lauer water (which riseth thre miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall nere unto Rippon) and finally falleth into the Aire, a quarter of a mile beneath Rippon towne, & almost midwaie betwene the North and Wyck bridges.

Spide. The Spide, which the booke of Statutes called Nidder (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto noteth it to be enriched with fozze of famen, as are also the Wharfe and Aire, riseth among those hilles that lie by west north west of Snarethorpe, five miles above Wakeleie bridge, and going in short processe of time by Westhouses, Lodgehouses, Woodhall, Pethowes, Wilesmore, Kainigill, Colthorpe, Colthwall, Bureleie, Wytham, Hampelwale, and some after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Wiltton parke, Snarethorpe, Wiltford, Catthall, Wiltfordhope, Hunketon, or Ponmoke, and so into the Duze, fourtene miles beneath Snarethorpe, being increased by the waie with verie few or no waters of any countenance. Leland having said thus much of the Spide, addeth here unto the names of two other waters, that is to saie, the Couer and the Burne, which do fall likewise into the Aire or Duze. But as he saith little of the same, so among all my pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the first riseth six miles above Couerham by west, and falleth into the Aire, a little beneath Spideham bridge, which is two miles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riseth at Poze hilles, and falleth into the said river a little beneath Spideham bridge. And so much of these two.

Wharfe alias Swerfe. The Wharfe or Swerfe ariseth about Lightershaw, from whence it runneth to Weggermons, Rosemill, Yubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniffon in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill coming from Halthongill chapel, by Arnecliffe, and joining withall northeast of Kettlewell crag, it passeth over by the lower grounds to Gillington, and receiveth a rill there also from Gillington parke, it proceedeth on to Bainfall bridge. Furthermore at Applethorpe, it meeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Warden towne, Bolton, Beth and Wille hall, where it crosseth a rill coming from by west, thence to Addingham, taking in there also another from by west, and so to Kettlewell, and receiveth per long another by north from Denton hall, it passeth to Wiltton Thanaour, Deltete, and Lethelie, where it taketh in the Wadside, & the Washburne (both in one streame from Lindale ward) and thence to Castlet chapel, and there it crosseth one from by north, and another per long from by south, and so to Bardwood castell, Kereble, Woodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherbie, Thopatch, Pethoton, Tadcaster, and when it hath received the Cockbecke from southwest, that goeth by Bartwiz, Abercromby, Leadhall, and Grimston, it runneth to Ertou, Kirbie Wharfe, Wskell, Kither, Punapleton, & so into the Duze beneath Catwood, a castell belonging to the archbishop of Poche, where he bleth off to lie when he refresheth himselfe with change of aire and shift of habitation, for the avoiding of such infection as may otherwise ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his house.

31a. The Aire or Arre riseth out of a lake or tarne south of Darnbrooke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fish but red trout, and perch. Leland saith it riseth nere unto Dytou in Crauen, therefore the odds is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Patlam, Hamth, Kirbie, Woldale, Calton hall, Aetou, and so forth till it come almost to Gargraue, there crossing the Otterburne water on the west, and the Wintburne on the north, which at Flathis re-

ceiveth a rill from Heltou, as I heare. Being past Gargraue, our Aire goeth on to Elton, Elwood, and so forth on, first receiveth a brooke from south west (whereof one branch cometh by Sperton, the other by Thorneaton, which maketh about Wroughton) then another from northeast, that runneth by Skip-ton castell. After this confluence it passeth by manifold windlesse, which causeth thirteene bridges at the last to be over the same within a little space, to Pethbiggin, Wzableie, and Kildwisc, by south east whereof it meeteth with one water from Spablis, and Glusburne or Clukelburne, called Cluke; another likewise a little beneath from Seton, beside two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Redden, and over against this towne the Lacocke and the Wazth do meet withall in one channell, as the Sperton water doth on the north, although it be somewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Kishworth hall, and so to Wungleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Shippeleie, and there crossing another from Thorneaton, Leuenthorpe, and Wzableie, it goeth to Calverleie, to Wyllfall, and so to Lades, where one water runneth thereinto by north from Wettlewood, & two other from by south in one channell, whereof the first hath two armes, of which the one cometh from Publeie chapel, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made above Farnelleie hall. The other likewise hath two heads, whereof one is above Pozeleie, the other cometh from Doringleie, and meeting with the first not far south west of Lades, they fall both into the Aire, and so run with the same to Swillington, and there taking in the Rodwell becke south of the bridge, it proceedeth to Ellerton, Castleford, Wotherton & Ferribybridge, there receiveth the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riseth of diverse heads, whereof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Warkin, Kellington, middle Hodeleie, Templehirst, Gotsolball, Snath, Kewcliffe, Pethland, Arme, and so into the Duze with an indifferent course. Of all the rivers in the north, Leland (as I have said of his booke as I have sene) saith least of this. Mine annotations also are verie slender in the particular waters wherebie it is increased: therefore I was compelled of necessity to conclude even thus with the description of the same, and had so left it in deed, if I had not received one other note more to add unto it (even when the leafe was at the presse) which saith as followeth in manner word for word.

50 There is a noble water that falleth into Aire, whose head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Cresson chapel, to Lingfield, and there about receiveth one rill name Clrabright bridge, and also the Hedden by north west, it goeth to Wzableie hall, and so taking in the third by north, it proceedeth on eastward by Wzableie bridge chapel (and there a rill from southwest) and so to Coppleie hall. Beneath this place I find also that it receiveth one rill from Hallifax, which riseth in two heads, and two other from southwest, of which one cometh by Waresland, and Staneland in one channell, as I find. So that after this confluence the aforesaid water goeth on toward Cotwold bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles above the same on the north side, so beneath that bridge there falleth into it a pretty rivre increased by sundrie waters coming from by south, as from Partheden chapel, from Hohnelworth chapel, and Kirbie Pethon, each one growing of sundrie heads, whereof I would saie more, if I had more intelligence of their severall gates and passages.

But to proceed. From Cotwold bridge it runneth to Spunfeld, and receiveth per long one rill from Leuerlage hall, and another from Wurtall by Wewelsburie; it goeth on northeast of Thornehill, south

Chald.

South of Hoybitie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Woller by new Wilner Dam, and some after another from north west, called Chald, rising in the Deke hils, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from south east, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newland, Alstices, and finally into the Aire, west of Calwellwood, as I learne. What the name of this riuer should be as yet I heare not, and therefore no marvel that I do not set it downe, yet is it certaine that it is called Chald, after his confluence with the Chald, and finally Chaldair or Choldar after it hath ioined with the Aire or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head: It shall suffice the reader thus farre to haue theiued the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it ouer untill another time.

Trent.

The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onely for store of salmon,urgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it doth abound, but also for that it is increased with so many waters, as for that onely cause it may be compared either with the Duze or Sauerne, I mean the second Duze, whose course I haue lately described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the moze, and from thence goeth to Hilton abbey, Bucknell church, and above Stoke receiveth in the Foulkeboke water, which cometh thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finally making a confluence they go to Handlet, where they meet with another on the same side, that descendeth from Foulcassell under Linc, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saying: that it riseth in the hils above Foulcassell, as may be seene by his commentaries.

Foulkeboke.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it crosseth a riueret from north east, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Aston, Stoke Burton, the Sandons and Weston, a little above Shubburne & Watwood, it receiveth the Sow, a great channell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leaving the Trent at Shubburne, till I come backe againe. The Sow descendeth from the hilles above Whitemoze chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Statone, and beneath Shalbord ioineeth with another by north east that cometh from bishops Offeleie, Egleshall, Cheshire, Kauntton. After this confluence also it runneth by Bridgeford, Millington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it crosseth the Penke becke, that riseth above Pigleton, & Westwood, & above Penke bridge uniteth it selfe with another coming from Knightleie ward, by Gnasball church, Caton: and so going forth as one, it is not long yet they fall into Sow, after they haue passed Drayton, Dunstan, Acon, and Banwich, where losing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them do ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, upon the southerlie bankes.

Sow.

Penke.

From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Watwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Dulleie bridge, and another south of Kiddleleie) thence by Hapsherie, Hapshane, Kidware, and so toward Porball, where I must staie a while to consider of other waters, wherewith I meet in this voyage. Of these therefore the lesser cometh in by south from Fapball, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brooks, whereof the first riseth in Hedewood forest, north east of Haggerstie parke, wherinto falleth another west of Hamsted Kidware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Whateleie moze, above Weston Conie, and thence going to the same towne, it cometh to Drucote, alias Dracote, Painleie, Gratwith, Grimleie, Aldmaston, Hamsted, Kidware, and finally into the Trent, directlie west of Porball, which runneth also

Blith.

from thence, & leaving Kings Bromleie in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blache water coming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth straightwaie to Catton, where it meeteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth.

Tame.

It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Pettehall, and goeth south by Hamsted, toward Pirball and Birmingham Aston, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them coming from Tipton, the other from Aldbury, and so running as one by Webburie till they fall into the same. The latter cometh from Wollshall, and ioineeth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Barneton hall, beneath which it meeteth with the Rhee, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, crossing finally the Cole, whose head is in the forest by Kingesnoztow wood, and hath this course, whereof I now giue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forest by Kingesnoztow wood, and going by Parelleie and Kingesheirst, it meeteth betweenes that and the parke, with a water running betweenes Helmedon and Sheldon.

Rhee, Cole.

Don.

Thence it passeth on to Colehull, by east whereof it ioineeth with a brooke, mounting south west of Colhull called Blith, which going by Bentwood and Barston, crosseth on each side of Temple Walsall, a rill, whereof one cometh thorough the Quienes parke or chafe that lieth by west of Benelworth, & the other by Benelworth castell it selfe, from about Palelie parke. After which confluences it proceedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Colehull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, uniteth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water coming from Anleie on the east) and some after on the other doth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Rhee, a common name to all waters that moue and run from their head. For in Cræke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onely to flow. Leland nameth the Birmingham water, whose head (as I heare) is above Porfield, so that his course should be by Kingesnoztow, Bencicham, Budston hall, till it fall beneath Barneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confluences on by L. & Kingesheirst parke, and going by east of Drayton, Walslet parke, to Falsheleie bridge, it meeteth with another water called Burne, also coming from Hammerwich church, by Chesserford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north side of Drayton, Walslet parke, whereof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner deliuered unto me.

Blith.

Bamfild.

Burne.

Rhee.

Hamleie.

Churne.

Dunsmet.

Yendor.

Bula Ca Shenhir.

Anchor.

Cerne.

Witoret, Wincelei.

It riseth above Burton, from whence it goeth by Monneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Per long also it taketh in a water from north east, which cometh by Hinglecote, Shapton, Cunton, Wicrosse (uniting it selfe with a water from Bosworth) Ratcliffe, & so to the Anchor, which after this confluence passeth by Whittendon, Crindon, Wollsworth, Armington, Lamworth, & so into Tame, that hasteth to Hopwas, Comberford hall, Telford, and some after crossing a rill that riseth short of Swinfield hall, and cometh by Felfriske, it runneth not farre from Crorhall, and so to Catton, thereabout receiuing his last increase not worthy to be omitted. This brooke is named Hese, and it riseth in the great parke that lieth betweene Wollthorington, and Smethike, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Pesham, and Stretton, and thereabout crossing

Hese.

ing a rill about Petherfale grange, from Duerfale by east, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Crowall, into the Rhaine, and both out of hand into the maine river a mile above Kepton. Leland writing of this river (as I earli noted) saith thereof in this wise. Into the Rhaine also runneth the Wemicham brooke, which riseth foure or five miles about Wemicham in the Blacke hills in Worcestershire, and goeth into the aforesaid water a mile above Crundwath bridge. Certes (saith he) this Wemicham is a town maintained chiesly by smiths, nailers, cutlers, edge tole forgers, lozimers or bitmakers, which have their iron out of Stafford and Warwic shires, and coles also out of the first countie. Hitherto Leland shew for sometime the Trent, which being grown to some greatnesse, goeth on to Walton, Drakeham, and there crossing a water that cometh by Painsbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Wintghall, Wightmore, and Pulton Souch, where it receiveth two chanelis within a short space, to be described apart.

Don. The first of these is called the Dou or Doue, it riseth about the three shires mere, and is as it were limes betwene Stafford and Warbithshires, untill it come at the Trent. Descending therefore from the head, it goeth by Charlesworth, Willburie grange, Hartington, Willcoat, Eaton, Wunsington grange, and above Hope receiveth the Spanifold water, so called, because of the sundrie crackling rills that it receiveth, and turnagaines that it selfe sheweth before it come at the Dou. Rising therefore not farre from the edge of the (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Shapne, Warlow chapel, and Welton. Beneath Welton also it taketh in the Hansleie water; that cometh out of Blackemore hilles to Waterfall, where it falleth into the ground; and afterward mounting againe is received into the Spanifold, north of Whitwelle (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Flam, and above Hope doth cast it selfe into Don. Having therefore met together after this manner, the Dou proceedeth on to Wharlington, beneath which it crosseth one water descending from Wharlington by Jennie Bentleie, and another somewhat lower that cometh from Hoochon hall by Hognaston and Ashburne, and then going to Patterfield, Parburie, Elaston, Katoxon Katoxesser, it meeteth with the Churne, even here to be described before I go anye further. It riseth a good waie above Delacrosse abbie, and comming thither by Hellestie wood, it taketh in the Dunsmere, betwene Harracrosse and Leike.

Yendoe. Thence it goeth to the Malgrange, and a little beneath receiveth the Yendoe that cometh from above Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and having crossed the Atherhirst brooke above Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ppston, Frogball, Below hill, Alton castell, Ppston wood, and at Kowcester falleth into the Don, which ver long also receiveth a rill from Crowden, and then going to Eton meeteth first with the Teine that cometh thither from each side of Cheddle by Teinetpone, Wamhirst and Stranehill. Secondlie with the Wincester or Wtoreter water, and then going on to Werchington, Sioberie, Cawolton, it crosseth a brooke from Sidmister college, by Saperton. From this confluence in like sort it passeth forth to Tilberie castell, Sparston, and at Edergton meeteth with the water that cometh from Pelderleie by Longford (whereinto runneth another that cometh from Hollington) and so to Hilton. These waters being thus joined, and manie ends brought into one, the Don it selfe falleth ver long likewise into the Trent, above Pulton Souch. So that the maine river being thus enlarged, goeth onwards with his course, and betwene Willington and Kepton meeteth

with two waters on sundrie sides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riseth nere Dainbrie Aies, and runneth by Trussellie and Althe: the other that entereth above Kepton, descendeth from Wartsburne, so that the Trent being past these, beth to Twiford, Inglesbie, Staunton, Welfon, Pulton, and Alton, ver long also meeting with the Darwent; next of all to be dispatched. The Darwent, or (to use the verie British word) Dow; givine (but in Latine *Fluvius Derwentanus*) riseth plaine west, nere unto the edge of Warbithshire, above Blackwell a market towne, and from the head runneth to the Peto chappell, within a few miles after it be risen. From hence moreover it goeth by Ptoeden house, Darwent chappell, Warbithshire bridge, and at Witham bridge doth crosse the Riene or Rousins that cometh from Petofole hill, by Petherburgh, Hope (crossing there one rill from Castleton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Patherfage, from Stonie ridge hill) and so goeth on to Pableie, Stockehall, receiving a rill by the waie from by west, to Stonie Middleton, and Bassow, and having here taken in the Warbroke on the one side, and another from Halsop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Kowseleie, where it is increased with the Wile comming from by west, and also a rill on the east, a little higher. But I will describe the Wile before I go anye further.

Wile. The Wile riseth above Worsdon well, and there is increased with the Hawkehow, and the Wile brooke, whose heads are also farther distant from the edge of Warbithshire than that of Wile, and races somewhat longer, though neither of them be worthy to be accounted long. For the Wile, having two heads, the one of them is not farre above the place where Wilebecke abbete stood, the other is further off by west, about Wilebecke to tone: and finallye joining in one they runne to Cucknete village, where receiving a becke that cometh downe from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Kufford, or the Spanbecke. Into this also do other two rills repaire, whereof the one goeth through and the other hard by Spanfield, of which two also this latter riseth west about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clippson (three miles lower) and so likewise to Kufford, whereof I will speake hereafter. In the meane time to returne againe to the Wile. From Worsdon well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowolow, Peto meadow, Apil houses, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receiveth the Lathkell, that runneth by Duerhad: don, and the Wadford, both in one bottome after they be joined in one at Alport. And this is the first great water that our Darwent doth meet withall. Being therefore past the Kowseleies, the said Darwent goeth to Sanctiffe, Darleie in the peake, Wensleie, Smitterton hall, and at Patlocke taketh in a rill by notheast, as it doth another at Crumford that goeth by Botethall.

Amber. From Patlocke, it proceedeth to Matfson, or Matfson, Well bridge, Alderwasl, and joineth with another streame called Amber comming in from by north by Amber bridge, whose description shall insue in this wise, as I find it. The head of Amber is above Coddon hall, or (as Leland saith) est of Chesterfield, and comming from thence by Middleton to Dgkton hall, it taketh withall another brooke, descending from Hardwice wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Hgham, Wackensfield, and above Dale bridge meeteth with a brooke running from Huchnalward to Shireland parke side, there crossing the Poretton becke, and so to Alforton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wikingfeld, to Hedde, Fritchlin, and so into Dar.

Eggleburne.

Soyre, or
Souris.

Eie.

Leland calleth
one of these
rilles Croco.warke, or
wyrke.

Darwent, taking the water withall that descendeth from Swanstoye by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewise it runneth to Welper, where it meeteth with a rill comming from Hozleie parke: thence to Hakenie, and at Dusefeld, receiveth the Eggleburne, which ariseth about Wikestworth of Duseworth, but in the same parly out of a rocke, and commeth in by Turnedith. From Dusefeld, it passeth to Bradfall, Darleie abbey, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comming from Spirkaston by Weston underwood, Kideleson and Sperton. If a man should say that Darwent river giueth name to Darbie towne, he should not well know how euerie one would take it, and peradventure thereby he might happen to offend some. In the meane time I beleue it, let other iudge as please them: for my coniecture can preiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaston, Ambaston, the Welles, and so into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thympton taketh in the Soze, a faire streame, and not woorthie to be ouerpasse.

It riseth in Leicestershire about Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharnford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that commeth by Dounton and Broughton Asteie. Thence to Sparlebozow, and before it come to Elton, crosseth another on the same side (descending by Burton, Glen, Winstow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leicesters towne, Belgrau, Burfall, Wanlip; and per it come at Cullington or Colton, crosseth the Eie, which riseth nere Decam about Biamston, going by Inawstow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whitforden; and beneath (a litle) receiveth a rill on the right hand from Colnopton. Thence to Stapleford, & some after crossing a brooke from about Spixton, Colton, Carthorpe and Sapbie, it runneth to Witterbie, Buntingbie; and per it come at Hilton, meeteth with two other small rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Woulde; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Helton goeth by Silsonbie, there meeting with another from northeast over against Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Eie is changed into Marke or Wyrke, and so continueth until it come at the Soure. From hence also it goeth to Asferbie, Hadgate, Habie, Trussington, Katcliffe; and some after crosseth sundrie waters not verie farre in number, whereof one commeth from Quetton, by Twisford, Ashbie, and Gadesbie; another from Loschie, by Baggrau, and Crawlston, and joining with the first at Quennibow, it is not long yer they fall into the Marke. The second runneth from Engarsbie, by Barheleie, and Silson. But the third and greatest of the thre, is a chanell increased with thre waters, whereof one commeth from Hoxton by Burton, Kilbie, Fosson and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Asteie, and meeting with the third from Sapcote, and some Staunton, they run together by Sparbozow, and some after joining about Elston, with the first of the thre, they go as one by Elston to Leicesters. Belgrau, Wanlip, and about Cullington do fall into the Marke, and some after into the Soure. The Soure in like sort going from thence to mount Sozrell, & taking in another brooke southwell from Leicesters forrest, by Glenfield, Aulie, Thurcaston and Kodelie, joineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sozrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnelwood forrest, and goeth by Wadegate and Southwell) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanford, there also taking in one rill out of Nottinghamshire by northwell; and some after another from southwell, comming from Baceden to

Shepeshew, Carrington, & Digby grange, and likewise the third from Worthington, by Dillworth, long Whitton, and Wathorpe. Finally, after these confluences, it hasteth to Sutton, Kingston, and Katcliffe, and so into the Trent.

These things being thus brought together, and now resumming the discourse of this faire river, it doth after his meeting with the Soure, proceedeth with all to Barton, where it taketh in the Trent, which riseth about Wike, and thence goeth to Selton, Wanlip, Coddon, Cawth, Cawthorpe, and crossing a water from Wadley runneth to Colham, Croston (and there taking in another rill comming from Hoxton by Shipley) it proceedeth on to Stapleford, long Caton, and so into the Trent. After which time it goeth to Clifton, and per it come at Cullington, where it taketh in a brooke that passeth from Staunton to Biamton and Buntington, and thence to Nottingham, where it crosseth the Trent, which riseth about Hoxton, and passing by Haple, Wike, Bickham, Bickham, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thorpe & Farnthorpe, where it brancheth and maketh an Island, and into the smaller of them goeth a brooke from Wadley castell, which rising betwene Cawthorpe and Cawthorpe in Leicesters is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Biamton to Hapthorpe, & beneath which it meeteth with a brooke that commeth by Wike, Croston, and thence holdeth on with his course, betwene Wadleyhope and Waker castell, and so to Bottelworth, Pozmanton, Buntington, Shilton, there receiuing the Snake from by South (whose head is nere Clifton, & cometh from thence by Hickling, Langer, Waltham, Hoxton, and Sparbozow) and per long another comming from Wingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hapthorpe, Petwarke castell, and so to Wadleyhope, where the branches are reunited, and thence goon by Holme to Cromwell (and some after taking in a brooke comming from Wadleyhope, by Wadfall, Calwinton, Pozmott and Willobbie) to Carlton, and so to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Cronton, where it toucheth a streame on each side, whereof one commeth from Hoxehouse by Wadley & Crothorpe, another from Langthorpe by Collingham, and Wadthorpe. From hence likewise it passeth to Clifton, Petwton, Wadleyhope, Cawthorpe, Bickham, Cawthorpe, Wadley, Stockwith; and leaving Arholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hoxdike water out of the Ile, and so goeth forth to Wadleyhope, Cawthorpe, Frusdore, Buntington, Cawthorpe, Wadley, Burton, Wadley, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the swift Dene by the waie, which for his noblenesse is not to be ouerpasse, especially for that Anno 1536 Hen. 8. 28. it was (by Gods providence) a state of great bloudshed like to haue fallen out betwene the kings side and the rebelles of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battell should haue bene stricken, and without any apparent cause (a litle shoyre of raime excepted farre impossible vpon such a sudden to haue made so great a water) the said river arose so high, & ran with such vehemencie, that on the morow the armies could not toine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification ensued, and those countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the description hereof is not to be ouerpasse, because of the fine grasse which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is so fine and batable, that there goeth a proverbe vpon the same; so oft as a man will commend his pasture, to say that there is no better feed on Dene banke: that maketh it also the more famous.

The Dene therefore riseth in Yorkshire among the Peke hilles, and hauing receiued a water comming by Angbirchworth (where the colour thereof is

Sibthor

Crawley,

Cawthorpe

Rother.

Fber.
Bampton

Crawley

Snake.

Cawthorpe

Sibthorpe

A miracle.

Bampton

berie

Epishop.

Coweie.

Kother.

Iber.
Wampton.

Crawleie.

Cummo.

Skelebyoke.

Hampall.

verie blacke) it goeth to Wernistone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Drifping to Thurgoland, and some after (joining by the wate with the Epishop water, that runneth by Epishop chappell, and Bondshelpe) it meeteth with another comming from Bowterson chappell. Then goeth it by Waddesleie wood to Waddesleie bidge, and at Aluerton receiveth the Wadfeld water. Then passeth it to Crokes, and so to Sheffield castell (by east whereof it receiveth a brooke from by south that commeth through Sheffield parke.) Thence it proceedeth to Westford bidge, Whike bidge, and south west of Timleie receiveth the Cowleie streame that runneth by Ecclefield. Part of all it goeth to Kotheram, where it meeteth with the Kother, a goodlie water, whose head is in Darbieshire about Willie, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doleie, till it come at Kotheram, by north Wainfield church, Wingerwoth, and Fozeland hall, twelue miles from Kotheram. to Chesserford, where it meeteth with the Iber, and Wampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one channell. Thence it runneth to Lopton castell, and per long crossing one water comming from Wyonesfeld by Whittington on the one side, and the second from about Wymington on the other, it goeth through Stalle parke, and some after meeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note.

The Crawleie riseth not farre from Hardwojc, and going by Stanesbie and Wodhouse, it receiveth aboue Petherhope, one water on the one side comming from the Old parke, and another from Warlbarn hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Wodthorpe. After this confluence likewise they run as one into the Kother, which hasteth from thence to Eckington (there crossing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and so to Kilmarth, in the confines of Darbieshire, where it taketh in the Cummo from by east. Thence to Boughton, uniting it selfe therabout with another by west from Gledes, called Pesebyoke, which disideth Foxeshire from Darbieshire, and so runneth to Ecton, Whiston, there taking in a rill from Aston, and so to Kotheram, where it meeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yielding plentie of samon all the wate as it passeth) hasteth to Aldwarke, Swatton, Perburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will next describe, and faie with the Doue, untill I have finished the same. It riseth at Combwoth, and so commeth about by Wretton hall, to Darton ward, where it crosseth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Catwohne united of two heads. From hence it goeth to Barton grange, then to Wyar, where it toucheth with a water from south west, & then goeth to Werfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Spotboto, it uniteth it selfe with a faire river, increased by diuerse waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) north east of Perburgh. After this confluence likewise the Doue goeth by Spotboto, to Warneswoth, Doncaster, Wheatleie (there meeting with the Hampall craike on the north east side, which riseth east of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Birke Sandall, Wyanwith ferrie, Stanfords, Fishlake, and so to Thorne or Thurne, where it crosseth the Idle (whose description followeth) and finally into Trent, and so into the Humber.

But before I deale with the description of the Idle, I will adde somewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the description thereof be not so exaclie deliuered me as I looked for; yet such as it is I will set downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect so much as to me is possible. It riseth by south of Spaunfield, five miles from Kumsford abbey, and when the streame commeth nere the abbey, it casteth it selfe abroad and maketh a faire lake.

After this it commeth againe into a narrow channell, and so goeth on to Kumsford village, carrying the Babbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a mettie long course, it goeth to Batortie or Wautrie, a market towne in Pottinghamshire, five miles from Doncaster, and so into the Trent. Beneath Kumsford also commeth in the Girt, which goeth into Southwell milles, and so into the Trent: Now as concerning our Idle.

The Idle, which some call Wier streame, riseth at Sutton in Ashfield, from whence it runneth to Spaunfield, Clipston & Allerton; where it taketh in a water that riseth in the forrest, one mile north of Wledwoth, and runneth on by Kughford abbey, till it come to Allerton. The forresters call this Spanbecke, whereof Leland also speaketh, who describeth it in this maner. Spanbyoke riseth somewhere about Linthirst wood, from whence it goeth to Blithhope, and so to Allerton. But to proceed. The Idle hauing taken in the Spanbecke, it runneth to Bothomfall, by Boughton, & Werlethorpe: but yer it come there, it meeteth the Peding Waiden, or Widding brooke, which rising about Teuersfall, goeth to Wlealeie, Pettelwoth, Sawcan, Warlop, Wudeleis, Thurbie, Bothomfall, and so into the Idle. After this it proceedeth to Houghton, west Wraiton, but yer it touch at Graunton or Gaunston, it taketh in the Wille, which commeth from Clowne, to Crestwell, Holbecke, Wodhouse, Willebecke, Pamenton, Clieie, Graunston, and so into the Idle. Being thus increased, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Wdsall, Kettford, Bollam, Tilneie, Watterleie abbey, and so to Batortie, where it meeteth another from the shire Wkes, that riseth aboue Geitford, passeth on to Wozklop (or Kadsfarth) Wberton, Blbie, and Blith, there uniting it selfe with thre rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Waddingwell to Carleton, and so thorough a parke to Blith towne, another from by west Furbecke thre miles, and so to Blith: but the third out of the White water nere to Blith, and there being united they passe on to Scrobie, and so into the Idle.

From hence it runneth on to Wlisen, to Sadlers bidge, and next of all to Santoff, where it meeteth with the Sandbecke, which rising not farre from Sandbecke towne, passeth by Tichhill, Kofington bidge, Wampton, Kilholme, Lindholme, and one mile south of Santoff into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it meeteth with the Doue, and so with it to Crowleie. Finally, inuitroning the Ile of Arholme, it goeth by to Garthorpe, Facorbie, & so into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wille, Wile, or Wollie (as some write it) saith thus thereof, The Wille hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Willebecke abbey stand; the other riseth further off by west aboue Welbecke or Willebecke towne: finally joining in one, they runne to Cuckeneie village, where crossing a becke that commeth in from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Kufford. To this river likewise (saith he) two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Spaunfield (rising foure miles from thence by west) and then cometh thre miles lower to Kufford; the other (so far as I remember) goeth quite thorough the towne.

Of such falles of waters as ioine
with the sea, betweene Hum-
ber and the Thames.

Chap. 16.

Having in this manner descri-
bed the Ouse, and such rivers
as fall into the same: now it
resteth that I proceed in my
votage toward the Thames,
according to my former or-
der. Being therefore come a-
gain into the maine sea, I
find no water of any countenance or course (to my
remembrance) till I come unto the Ancolme a good-
lie water, which riseth east of Spereate Haling, and
from thence goeth by middle Haling. Then receiving
a short rill from by south, it runneth on under two
bridges, by the waite, till it come to Wellingall, north-
east: where also it meeteth with another brooke, from
Wetbie that commeth thither by Wresbie, goeth by
Cadnetre (taking in the two rilles in one bottom),
that descend from Hotham, and north Leisete; and
thence to Hestled, Clamford, Wardenleie, Thorne-
ham, Applebie, Hotham, north Ferritbie, and so into
the sea.

Being past Ancolme, we go about the Helle, and
so to the fall of the water which commeth from Hele-
bie, by Cotham abbey, Persham abbey, Thymeton,
and leaving Corhill by west, it falleth into the Oze-
an. The next is the fall of another brooke coming
from flitting, all alongst by Stallingburne. Then
crossed we Grimstrie gullet, which issuing aboute
Crebie commeth to Lasebie, the two Cotes, and then
into the sea. After this we passed by another portlet,
whose backwater descendeth from Salestrie by Ath-
bie, Biggelsiete, Wath, and Townete, and finallye
to the next issue, before we come at Saltstete, which
branching at the last, leaveth a prettie fild wherein
Comholme villiage standeth. This water riseth short
(as I heare) of Eathetwell, from whence it goeth to
Rathbie, Hallington, Cullington, Looth, Laidring-
ton, Avingham, and then branching aboute north So-
merton, one arme meeteth with the sea, by Craue-
thorpe, the other by north Somercote.

Saltstete water hath but a short course: for rising
among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the sea, at
Saltstete haven: howbeit the next unto it is of a
longer race, for it riseth (as I take it) at Catwithe
paroch, and descendeth by Legburne, the Carletons,
the west middle and east Saltstetes, and so into the
Ocean. The water that riseth aboute Dimesbie and
Dibie, goeth to Catwithe, Swabie abbey, Cla-
thorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and north
east of Thetiltorpe into the maine sea.

Waplethorpe water riseth at Tharethorpe, and
going by Harkelie, Folethorpe, and Ruthorpe, it
is not long per it meet with the Germane Ocean.
Then come we to the issue that commeth from aboute
Hotham, and thence to Spumbe chappell, whither the
water coming from Clarbie, Willotobie, and
Southbie (and whereinto another rill falleth) doth
runne, as there to do homage unto their lord and so-
ueraigne. As for Ingold mill crake, I passe it over,
and come straight to another water, descending
from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the
issue of a faire brooke, which (as I heare) doth rise at
Tetford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagender-
bie, Athwardbie, Sawthorpe, Partnetre, Athbie, the
Sleepings, Thorpe cross, and so into the sea. As for
Wainstete water, it commeth from the east sea, and
goeth betweene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Wain-
stete totone, and treading the path of his predecessors,

emptyeth his channell to the maintenance of the sea.

Now come I to the course of the Witham, a fa-
mous river, whereof goeth the bittoke, frequented of
old, and also of Ancolme, which I before described:

Ancolme ele, and Witham pike,

Search all England and find not the like.

Leland calleth it Linds, where the like, and I have Linds, wi-
read all these names my selfe; and thereto that the than, lity.
Lincolnshire men were called in old time Corita-
ni, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodu-
num, in which region also Ptolome placeth Rige,
which some take to be Nottingham, except my memo-
rie doe faile me. It riseth among the Withams, in
the edge of Lincolnshire, and (as I take it) in south-
Witham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colster-
moth, Easton, Kirkstoke Pauntun, and Pauntun
Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from
by southwell, as I heare. From Grantham it run-
neth to Spau, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneston, where
crossing a becke from north east, it proceedeth further
southwest ward by Spereston, toward Foston (there
also taking in a brooke that riseth about Denton, and
goeth by S. W. brooke) it hasteth to Dodington, Cla-
pale, Barnetbie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Basing-
ham, Thurstbie, and beneath Amburgh croseth a wa-
ter that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton
castell.

After this confluence also, our Witham goeth
still south on his waite to the Withams, Boltham,
Wacebidge, and Lincolne it selfe, for which the Ro-
mans wrote Nicholl by transposition of the letters,
or (as I may better saie) corruption of the word. Bot
per it come there, it maketh certeine poles (whereof
one is called Swan pole) and some after dividing it
selfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower
part of Lincolne, each of them having a bridge of
stone over it, thereby to passe thorough the principall
street: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare
their fisher botes, so the lesser is not without his seme-
rall commodities. At Lincolne also this noble river
meeteth with the ffolle dike, whereby in great floods
vessels may come from the Trents side to Lin-
colne. For betwene Larkstete, where it beginneth,
and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not above se-
ven miles, as Leland hath remembered. Bishop Ar-
water began to cleanse this ditch, thinking to bring
great vessels from Trent to Lincolne in his time:
but sith he died before it was performed, there hath
no man bene since so well minded as to prosecute
his purpose. The course moreover of this our streame
following, from Lincolne to Boston is fiftie miles
by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you shall have
but 24. For there are four common places where
men are ferried over; as Short ferrie, five miles
from Lincolne, Laterfall ferrie, eight miles from
Short ferrie, Dogstike ferrie a mile, Langreth fer-
rie five miles, and so manie finallye to Boston.

But to go forward with the course of Linds
(whereof the whole pvince hath bene called Lin-
desete) when it is past Lincolne, it goeth by Shepe-
wath, Walsburg, Fiskerton, and some after tak-
eth in sundrie rivers in one channell, whereby his
greatnesse is verie much increased. From this con-
fluence it goeth to Wadbolfe, and there receiving a
rill (descending from betwene Southbie and Randbie,
and going by Barton) it slideth south by Topham to
Laterfall castell, taking by there in like sort thre
small rills by the waite, whereof I have small notice
as yet: and therefore I referre them unto a further
consideration to be had of them hereafter, if it shall
please God that I may live to have the filling of these
rude pamphlets yet once againe, & somewhat more
leasure to peruse them than at this time is gran-
ted. Finallye, being past Laterfall, and Dogstike
ferrie,

Waco'me.

Hills.

Saltstete.

Waplethorpe.

Witham

Wace.

Bark.

Bolton
Boston,
Som-
pington

Folle dike.

Wadbolfe

Wad.

ferrie, the **Witham** goeth toward **Boston**, & thence into the sea. Thus haue I byedie dispatched this noble riuer **Witham**. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a friend, I will yeld so farre but to his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and let downe also what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be sufficientlie described alreadye.

Into **Witham** therefore from by north, and seven miles beneath **Lincolne**, there falleth a faire water, the head whereof is at **Hakethorne**, from whence it goeth by **Hantworth**, **Snarford**, **Kesbie**, **Stainton**, and at **Bullington** meeteth with a water on each side, whereof one cometh from **Haiton** and **Turrington**, the other from **Subbroke**, and likewise beneath **Witlings** with the third comming from **Warkethorpe** by **Stansted**, and joining all in one, some after it is not long per it fall into the chanell of **Witham**, and so are neuer more heard of. There is also a brooke by southwell, that cometh from **Kesbie** to **Cateleie**, **Witlingams**, and the ferrie. At **Laterfall** it meeteth with the **Wane**, which riseth about **Burgh**, and nere vnto **Ludford** goeth downe to **Dunnington**, **Stamgod**, **Hemmingstie**, **Bamburgh**, **Fillington**, **Bozne** castell (where it crosseth a rill from **Weldyworth**) **Thornton**, **Sperton**, **Haiton**, **Kesbie**, **Combie**, **Laterfall**, and so to **Dogolke** ferrie.

Above **Boston** likewise it taketh in a water comming from **Lusbie** by **Bolingbrooke**, **Sticheford**, **Sticaneie**, **Sibbeseie** and **Hildike**. And to **Boston** towne it selfe do finallye come sundrie brookes in one chanell, called **Hammond becke**, which rising at **Donesbie**, runneth on to **Wrightbold**, where it casteth one arme into **Holtwell** water. Thence it halseth toward **Dunnington**, receiuing foure brookes by the waie, whereof the first cometh from **Spilthorpe**, the second from **Fokingham**, called **Bollingborow**, or (after some, I wrote not vpon what occasion) **Sempingham** water, the third from **Widge end**, the fourth from **Sempingham**, and afterwards the maine streame is found to run by **Kirton holme**, and so into the **Witham**. Into the **Witham** likewise falleth the **Holtwell**, which riseth of a spring that runneth toward the east from **Haltwell** to **Onesbie**, **Conden**, **Cressford**, and so to **Cathbridge**, where it receiue another rising at **Witham** and west of **Spanthorpe**, and the second comming from **Laund**, and so run from thence together to **Willethorpe** and **Cathbridge**, and then into the **Haltwell**, which after these confluences goeth to **Telford** and **Calcoate**, where it meeteth with a braine, comming from **Bourne**, and so through the fennes to **Pinchbecke**, **Surdaxet**, and **Fosdike**, where it meeteth with the **Welland**, in the mouth of the **Witham**, as I haue noted vnto you.

Hauing thus set forth the riuers that fall into the **Witham**, now come we to the **Witham** or **Welland**, whereunto we repaire after we be past **Boston**, as drauing by litle and litle toward the **Grithies**, which inhabit in the fennes (for **Grith** in the old **Saxon** speech doth signifie deepe fennes and marishes) and these beginning at **Peterborow** eastward, extend themselves by the space of thre score miles & more, as **Hugh** of **Peterborow** writeth. This streame riseth about **Sibbertoft**, and running betwene **Bolworth** and **Holthorpe**, it goeth to **Fedingworth**, **Sperton**, **Wobberham**, **Trussell**, **Herborow** (receiuing there the **Waie**, which cometh from **Waie** brooke castell) to **Bolton**, **Weston**, **Wilsand**, **Ashleie**, **Spedburne**, **Kokingham**, and **Catcot**, where a riuer called **little Cie** meeteth withall, comming from east **Boxton** by **Alerstone**, **Stoche**, **Falton**, and **Drie stoche**. From **Catcot** it goeth to **Grith**, **Harringworth**, **Seton**, **Wauerlie**, **Duddington**, **Collie** **Wetton**, **Etton**, and there ioineth with the third called

Marke, not far from **Betton**, which cometh from **Lie** by **Wesson**, **Willing**, **Lincoln**, **Luffenham**, &c. Thence it goeth on by **Lintwell**, to **Stanford** (crossing the **Broke** water, and **Whitnelbecke**, both in one bottome) and from **Stanford** by **Calington**, **Sperte**, to **Sperte**, **Deeping**, **Croftland** (where it almost meeteth with the **Auon**) then to **Spalding**, **Whapland**, and so into the sea.

Leland writing of this **Witham**, addeth these words which I will not omit, sith in mine opinion they are worthy to be noted, for better consideration to be had in the said water and his course. The **Witham** (saith he) going by **Croftland**, at **Peterbore** diuideth it selfe into two branches, of which one goeth by to **Spalding** called **Peterbore**, and so into the sea at **Fossedike** Stow: the other named the **South** into **Wilsbeck**. This latter also parteth it selfe two miles from **Croftland**, & sendeth a rill called **Wilsby** lake by **Whorone**, where it meeteth with an arme of the **Pene**, that cometh from **Peterborow**, and holdeth course with the broad streame, till it be come to **Spurho**, six miles from **Wilsbeck**, where it falleth into the **South**.

Out of the **South** in like sort falleth another arme called **Shapes** etc, and at **Hopelode** (which is foure tene miles from **Lincoln**) fall into the sea. But now the course of that streame is ceased, wherevpon the inhabitants sufficeine manie grieuous floods, because the mouth is stanchd, by which it had access before into the sea. Vnto **Leland**. Of the course of this riuer also from **Stanford**, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being past **Stanton** (saith he) it goeth by **Burghleie**, **Willington**, **Calington**, **Sperte**, **Deeping**, east **Deeping**, and comming to **Waldrum** hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to **Singlesole**, receiue the **Pene** out of **Cambridge** shire, and then going by **Wotensdale**, **Trekenhole**, and winding at last to **Wilsbeck**, it goeth by **Luerington**, **Saint** **Spertes**, and so into the sea. The other arme halseth to **Croftland**, **Clowthhouse**, **Wetherhouse**, **Wilsale**, **Croftbecke** and **Spalding**. Here also it receiue the **Walton** **dyane**, **Longtoft** **dyane**, **Deeping** **dyane**, and thence goeth by **Wicksam** into the sea, taking with all on the right hand sundrie other **dyanes**. And thus farre be.

Next of all, when we are past these, we come to another fall of water into the **Witham**, which descendeth directlie from **Whaplade** **dyane** to **Whaplade** towne in **Holland**: but because it is a water of small importance, I passe from thence, as halting to the **Pene**, of both the more noble riuer: and about the middell thereof in place is a certeine swallows, so deepe and so cold in the middell of summer, that no man dare diue to the bottome thereof for coldnesse, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue bene touched with frost, much lesse to be couered with ice. The next therefore to be described is the **Auon**, otherwile called **Pene**, which the said author describeth after this maner. The **Pene** beginneth foure miles about **Portsmouth** in **Pene** mere, where it riseth out of two heads, which ioine about **Portsmouth**. Of this riuer the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce **Hampton** for **Auondune**, which error is committed also in south **Auondune**, as we may easilie see. In another place **Leland** describeth the said riuer after this maner. The **Auon** riseth in **Pene** mere field, and going by **Dundale** and **Peterborow**, it diuideth it selfe into thre armes, whereof one goeth to **Whorone**, another to **Wilsbeck**, the third to **Kamsleie**: and afterward being vniued againe, they fall into the sea not verie farre from **Lin**. Finallye, the descent of these waters leaue here a great sort of **Islands**, where

Marke.

Broke water
Whitnel.

Peterbore:
South.

Wilsbylake.

Shapes etc.

Auon.
Pene.

Witham.

Bake.

Bare.

Bolling-
borow,
Semp-
ingham.

Witham.

Bake.

of Elie, Crofoland, and Persland, are the chiefe. *U*berta Leland.

*H*otobreit, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this river at the fall, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoever the other do want. The Auon therefore arising in *P*enemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at *N*orthampton, & one about Kings thorp, from whence it goeth to *D*allington, and so to *N*orthampton, where it receiveth the *W*eldon. And here I will staie, till I have described this river. The *W*eldon therefore riseth at *F*aulles in manie knightes poles, and in *W*abbie plasches also are certeine springs that resort unto this streame. *F*aulles poles are a mile from *C*haretton, where the head of *C*hare river is, that runneth to *B*anberie. There is but an hill called *A*lberie hill betwene the heads of these two rivers.

From the said hill therefore the *W*eldon directeth his course to *W*abbie, *P*etwenham, *C*uertton, *W*eldon, betwixt which and *F*lozetowne, it receiveth the *F*lorus (a pretie water rising of foure heads, whereof the one is at *D*auentrie, another at *W*atford, the third at long *W*acke, the fourth about *W*ilton) and then passeth on to *H*eiford, *K*illingberie, *U*pton, and so to *N*orthampton, where it falleth into the *Auon*, receiuing finally by the waie the *B*ugthoke water at *H*eiford, *W*atthall water nere *K*illingberie, and finally *P*reston water beneath *U*pton, which running from *P*reston by *W*atton, meeteth at the last with *U*ilton rill, and so fall into *Auon*. How to resume the tracation of our *Auon*. From *N*orthampton therefore it runneth by *H*oughton, great *W*illing, *W*hitstone, *W*obington, and *W*illingborough, where we must staie a while: for betwene *W*illingborough and *H*igham Ferries, it receiveth a pretie water comming from about *K*illmarth, which going by *A*rdingworth, *D*ailborough, *K*ultheton, *P*eterton, *C*addington, *B*oughton, *W*arketon, *K*ettering, *B*erton, and *B*urton, meeteth there with *K*othwell water, which runneth west of *K*ettering to *H*isham, the greater *H*ardon, and then into the *Auon*.

Being therefore past *Burton*, our maine streame goeth to *H*igham Ferries, *A*rtleborough, *K*ingsted, *W*oodford, and meeting thereby with *C*ranford rill to *W*harston, north whereof it ioineth also with the *W*cleie water, that commeth from *S*udborough and *L*owicke, to old *W*inkles, *W*aden ho, *P*ilketon, *D*oke (where it taketh in the *L*ueden becke) and so to *D*undell, *C*otterstocke, *T*anloner, and betwene *C*othering and *W*armington receiveth the *C*orbie water, which rising at *C*orbie, goeth by *W*eldon, *D*enehap, *W*ulwich, *B*lethertwicke, *F*inchles, *A*rthorpe, *P*eluton, *C*othering, and so into the *Auon*. After this, the said *Auon* goeth to *E*lton, *P*allington, *P*erwell, *S*utton, *C*assor, *A*lerton, and so to *P*eterborough, where it diuideth it selfe into sundrie armes, and those into severall branches and draines, among the fennes and medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it meet with the sea on the one side of the countrie, and fall into the *D*uze on the other.

The *D*uze, which *L*eland calleth the third *F*lis, falleth into the sea betwene *P*ersland & *D*oloneham. The chiefe head of this river ariseth nere to *S*tanes, from whence it commeth to *W*ackeleie (sometime a noble towne in *N*orthampton shire, but now scarce like a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betwene *S*ilam and *A*stwell (which runneth by *W*hitfield and *T*imewell) and another on the right from *J*mileie, it goeth on by *W*elshbie, *F*ulwell, water *S*tretford, *B*uckingham, and *B*erton, beneath which towne the *C*rin falleth into it, whereof I find this short description to be inserted here. The *C*rin riseth not farre

from *W*arburge in *N*orthamptonshire, from hence it goeth by *W*eth, *W*inford, *C*oddington, *T*imford, *S*table *C*anah, where it come at *W*abbie, meeteth with the *C*aran brooke descending from *C*aranburge, and so they go together by *W*abbie, till they fall into the *D*uze, which carrieth them after the confluence to *W*hampton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from *W*hitlewood forest by *L*uffeld, *L*eamsted and *F*olcot) and so to *W*earhampton, *C*ulverton, *S*tonie *S*trattford, and *W*oluerton.

Here the *D*uze meeteth with a water (called as *L*eland conceiveth, the *C*ere or *W*ere) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betwene *W*eldon and *W*errenham in *N*orthamptonshire, and goeth by *T*otocaster, and *A*lderton, and not farre from *W*oluerton and *H*auerham into the foresaid *D*uze, which goeth also from hence to *P*etwopaganell, where in like sort I must staie a while till I have described another water, named the *C*le; by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This river riseth in the vertie confines betwene *B*uckingham and *B*edfordshires, not farre from *W*hippsnade, and going on toward the north-west, by *C*aton and *L*atton, it commeth to *L*inchlade, where it entereth wholie into *B*uckinghamshire, and so goeth on by *H*ammond, *B*ickle, *F*ennie *S*trattford, *S*impson, *W*alton and *S*iddleton, beneath which it receiveth the *S*atu from above *H*alcot, and so goeth on till it meet with the *D*uze nere unto *P*etwop, as I have said. Being united therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble river, to *K*athbirie, *W*uringham, *F*ilgrane, *L*atwondon, *P*etwington, *W*adfield on the one side, and *T*urue on the other, till it come at length to *B*edford after manie windles, and then meeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manie waters, that I was enforced to make an imagined staie here also, and view their severall courses, supposing my selfe to looke downe from the highest steeple in *B*edford, whence (as best meane to view ante countrie wheresoeuer) I note the same as followeth.

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from *W*otton, and met withall nere *W*ellswade: another that grew of two waters, whereof one descended from *B*alocke, the other from *H*itchin, which ioined beneath *A*cleite, and thence went to *L*angford and *C*olworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, whereof one is not farre from *W*ad end, the other from *W*oburne (or *H*otburne) and ioining about *F*litton, they go to *F*litton (where they receive *A*ntill brooke) and so by *C*hiphill, and *C*hickland, they come to *S*hafoz, from whence taking the aforesaid *L*angford water with them, they go forth by *W*ellswade, *S*andie, *W*lamham, and nere unto *W*hemisford are united with the *D*uze. And now to our purpose againe.

After this the *D*uze goeth by *B*erkeford, to *W*arrentingham (meeting there with the *W*arelie becke) and so runneth to *S*. *P*etes (or saint *P*edes, in old time *C*oluesburg, as *C*apgrauc saith *In vita Nati*) to *W*arston, *W*orwodes, and so to *C*odmanchester, in old time called *C*unicester, which (as it should seeme) hath bene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this present it is; for out of the ruines thereof much *R*omane coine is found, and sometimes with the image of *C*. *A*ntius which hath long haire, as the *R*omans had before they received barbarians into their citie; and thereunto the bones of diuerse men of farre greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I upon these things: From hence therefore our water goeth on to *H*un-

Stoucus.

Helenus.
Elmerus.

Vedunus.

Florus.

Bugius.

Kilis.

Kother.

Wcleie.

Cobie.

Flis.

Sila.

Imelus.

Cria.

Venus.

Cle aliis
Clauis.

Rumelin

Granta

Saw.

These rise
not far from
Whitborough
& one of them
in Higham
parke.Venus or the
were.

Stoucus.

Bady

Rha.

Scoucus.

Helenus.
Elmerus.

Widius.

Granta.

Huntingdon, Wilton, saint Iues, Holfwell, and Erith, receiue in the meane time the Stow (nere vnto little Parton) and likewise the Ellen, and the Emmer, in one chanell a little by west of Huntingdon.

Finallie, the maine streame spresding abrood into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie flets are enforced by the same; although of fies, Marchland, Ancarig or Ancarie be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland also hight thozie *Acruda terra*, or ftoze of bushes saith Hugo le Blanc) sometime growing in the same, and Ancarig because sundrie Ancres haue liued & bozne great waite therein. But howsoeuer this case standeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it selfe with ranging a while about the pleasant bottoms & lower grounds, it meeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a swift course vnto Downham. Betwene it also and the Auon, are sundrie large meres or playshes, by south west of Peterborough full of polots and carpes, whereof Whittleseie mere, and Kameleie mere (whereinto the Riualle falleth, that commeth from aboute Wroughton, Wilton, and great Kiuellseie) are said to be greatest. Of all the riuers that run into this streame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Granta-byzshire, as appereth by the register of Henrie the 2. of Canturburie) is the most noble and excellent, which I will describe euen in this place, notwithstanding that I had earli appointed it vnto my second booke. But for so much as a description of Duze and Granta were deliuered me togither, I will for his sake that gaue them me, not separate them now in sunder.

The verie furthest head and originall of this riuier is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Suffex, wherein (as the townesmen saie) are foure springes that run foure sundrie waies vnto the maine sea. Leland sought not the course of this water about Peterport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpon the song of the swan, he writeth thereof after this maner insuing. Although docto: John Caius the learned physician, and some other are of the opinion, that this riuier comming from Peterport, is properlie to be called the Khe: but I may not so easilie dissent from Leland, whose iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he saith.

The head of Granta or Granta, is in the pond at Peterport, a towne of the east Saxons, which going in a bottome beside the same, receiue a pretie rill, which in the middelt thereof doth driue a mill, and descendeth from Wilkin Bonham, that standeth not farre from thence. Being past Peterport, it goeth along in the lower ground, untill it come to Broke Walden, west of Chipping Walden (now Saxton Walden) hard by the lord Awdleys place; where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his household do sojourne, and sometime was an abbey of Benedicaine monks, before their generall suppression. From Awdleys end it goeth to Littleburie, the lesse and greater Chesserfords, Pealdune, Winestone, Drocton or Salsdon, and nere vnto Shaleford receiue the Wabzen that commeth by Linton, Abbingdon, Wabzenham, and Stapleford: and so going forward it commeth at the last to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But per it come altogether to Trompington, it meeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but some other the Khe (a common name to all waters in the Saxon spech) whereof I find this description, to be touched by the waite. The Khe riseth short of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, and passing under the hygge be-

twene Elden Hordon and Downton, and leauing Eadlow on the west side (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Alton, Barrington, Haselingsfield, and so into Granta, taking sundrie rills with him from south and south west, as Wendie water south west of Crawden, Whaddon broke south west of Dwell, Gildred becke south west of Alton, and finallie the Dyme which commeth out of Armington or Dymendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Forton, and falleth into the same betwene Barrington and Harleston, or Harston; as they call it.

Now to proceed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one side, and Grantchester on the other, it hasteth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which descendeth from a castell of the same denomination, wherein the Biscotes and Deuerels sometime did inhabit. Whence it goeth by sundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the quenes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinittie college, &c. vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betwene the towne and the castell to Chelsterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Sture (at whose bridge the most famous mart in England is yearely holden and kept) from Chelsterton it goeth to Dittton, Alton, and per long meeting with two rilles (from Bottlesham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningseie, & Water Bech: and finallie here joining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and so forth into the Duze, fiftene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the third ffitis or Duze, out of the aforesaid author: wherevnto I haue not onelie added somewhat of mine owne experience, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent obseruation of the course of this riuier hath not a little helped me in the description of the same. Now it resteth that we come nether to the coast of Northfolke, and set forth such waters as we passe by vpon the same, wherein I will deale so pfectlie as I may: and so farre will I trauell therein, as I hope shall content euen the curious reader: or if a nie fault be made, it shall not be so great, but that after some trauell in the finding, it shall with ease be corrected.

The first riuier that therefore we come vnto, after we be past the confluence of Granta, and the Duze, and within the iurisdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This streame riseth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, about the greater Wilhelham, and from thence it goeth on to Sawnton, Burie, Farnham Martin, Farnham Alhallowes, Farnham Genouefa, Wengraue, Flemton, Lackeford, Ichlingham, and so to Gilden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that springeth not farre from Catleige, and going by Asheleie, Apulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well provided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Waddingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the last not farre from Felham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Duze. With the Burne also there ioineth a water comming from about A. so gate, a little beneath Felham, and not verie far from Gildenhall.

The Dune head, and rising of Wauenhete, are not much in sunder: for as it is supposed, they are both not farre distant from the bridge betwene Alton and Ford, wherby the one runneth east and the other west, as I haue bene informed. The Dune goeth first of all by Felham, then to Hopton, & to Binets hall, where it meeteth with a water coming out of a lake short of Banham (going by Dintodenham, Herling, Casthorpe) and so on, both in one chanell, they run to Gtoston. Here they meet in like

Sturme.

Walbecke.

Burne.

Dale.

Dunus.

Wabzen.

Whe.

fort, with another descending from two heads, where of the one is nere unto Wakenham, the other to Thuesstocke, as I heare. Certes these heads ioine a boue Glesworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Priworth, Thorpe, Berdwell, Humington, Fakenham, and so into the Dune at Ewston, as I said. From hence also they hasten to Doleham, which of this riuer doth seeme to be his name. Southward I passe over as not worthie the description, because it is so small.

Next unto this riuer on the south side is the Bradanus, which riseth at Bradenham, and goeth by Beeton, north Beckenham, south Beckenham, Kirkingham, Bedneie, Langford, Egboz, Puntford, North Old, Stockebridge, Feredham, Belgie, and so into the Duze. The nextest unto this is another which riseth about Lukeham, and from thence cometh to Lerham, Spallingham, Pewton, the castell Acre, Acres, Perboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie, Roughton (which at one time might haue bene my liuing if I would haue giuen sir Thomas Rugboud monie enough, but now it belongeth to Gundenill and Caius college in Cambridge) Westchurch, and so to Linne. As so doth also another by north of this, which cometh from the east hilles by Congenham, Grinston, Balwale, Galtwood, whereof let this suffice. And now giue eare to the rest sith I am past the Duze. Being past the mouth of fall of the Duze, we meet next of all with the Kiling chafe water, which Ptolomie (as some thinke) doth call Metaris, and descendeth from two heads, and also the Ingell that cometh from about Snettisham. From hence we go by the point of saint Edmund, and so hold on our course till we come unto the Burne, which falleth into the sea by south from Waterden, and going betwene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burnham Porton, it striketh at the last into the sea; east of Burnham Porton a mile at the least, except my coniecture do faile me. The Glou or Glouie riseth not far from Baconthorpe, in the hundred of Cansted; & going by and by into Holt hundred, it passeth by Huntworth, Hohnage, Glawinford, Blackneie, Clare, and so into the sea, receiuing there at hand also a rill by east, which descendeth from the hilles lieng betwene Kiling tostone and Masburne.

The Wantsume riseth in Northfolke at Galesend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Waterford, Eotwinton, Skelthorpe, Farnham, Penthorpe, Kieburg, Ellingham, and Billingsford. And here it receiue two waters in one bottom, of which the first goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the other by Wandling and Gressonhall, and so run on ech his owne wate, till they meet at Houndlington, south west of Billingsford with the Wantsume. From hence they go all together to Below, Jeng, Weston, and Poroton; but per it come to Poroton, it meeteth with the Poloke, which (liuing about Peryham) goeth by Patterhall and Barrow. After this the said Wantsume goeth on by Kingland, and so to Porowich the pontificall see of the bishop, to whom that iurisdiction apperteth, which seemeth by this memorie yet remaining in the corrupted name of the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Leland addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to proceed. Betwene Porowich also it receiue two waters in one chanel, which I will severallie describe, according to their courses, noting their confluence to be at Wicleie, within two miles of Porowich, except my annotation deceiue me. The first of these hath two heads whereof one mounteth by south west of Whinboro, goeth by Cerneston, and is the verie Hiere or Pore that doth beareth the name of Wantsume, so some as he meeteth withall. The other head riseth at Wood in Spittford hundred, and after confluence with the Hiere

ere at Caston, going by Bandon, Biston, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefield (not farre from Wicleie as I said) doth meet with his companion, which is the second to be described as followeth. It hath two heads also that meet north west of Thersfane; and hereof the one cometh from Finton hall, by Wrenningham from about Wotton, by Hemnall, Fretton, Stretton, and Lashow, till they ioine at Thersfane, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Thersfane therefore they go together in one to Pewton, Shotesham, Dunston, Catto, Arminghale, Wicleie, Lakenham, and Crowle, and then fall into the Wantsume beneath Porowich, which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere, Pore, or Gare therefore proceeding in his voyage, as it were to salute his grandame the Ocean, goeth from thence by Palswye, Surlingham, Clarton, and Pardleie; and here it meeteth againe with another riueret descending from about Shotesham to Thersfane, Shedgrave, Hockingham, and so into Gare or Pore, whereof Pardleie the towne receiue denomination. After this it goeth to Fretthorpe, and about Burgh castell meeteth with the Waueneie, and so into the sea.

Into this riuer also falleth the Bure, which riseth at a towne of the same name, passeth by Spilton, Buresdune, Coppeleie, Parington, Blekeling, Bure, Aleham, Hampton, Burton, Hozled, Werrham bridge, Hozning, Kanelworth, and beneath Bassewice receiue the Thurine which riseth about Kolesbie; then to Obie, Clipsebie (there also receiuing another from Filbie) Kimham, Catto, and by Parmouth into the Ocean. The Waueneie afore mentioned, riseth on the south side of Wilingham, and is a limit betwene Northfolke and Suffolk. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Oze, it meeteth with the Cie, which riseth nere Dekold, or betwene it and Baisworth; & goeth on by Bzome, Oze, and so into the Waueneie. From thence our Waueneie runneth by Silam, Bzobish, Bedam, Harleston, Kednam, Albozow, Firton, Bungeie, Shepemeadow, Barham, Beckles, Albie, & at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or receiuing Milford water (which is most likeli) it goeth along by Somerleie, Hozmingstet, S. Naues, (there receiuing the Frithstane or Frisan brooke, out of low or litle England) Frisan & Burgh castell, where it meeteth with the Hiere, & from thenceforth accompanieth it (as I said) unto the sea. Wilingham water cometh by Pensted, Cinsted, or Cnt Gate, and falleth into the sea by south of Hissland.

The Cokell riseth south south west of Cokeleie towne in Wiltshire hundred, & nere unto Hassetworth it meeteth with the rill that cometh from Wisset, and so going on together by Menhaston, and Bliborow, it falleth into the sea at an haven betwene Koidon and Walderwicke. A little rill runneth also thereto from Cston by Sowold, and another from Dunwich, by Walderwicke; and hereby it wanteth little that Cston Pesse is not cut off and made a pretie Island.

The Ford riseth at Porford, and going by Fordleie, and Theberton, it falleth at last into the Pimere crake. Into the Desford haue runneth one water coming from Albozow ward, by a narrow passage from the north into the south. By west where of (when we are past a little Ile) it receiue the second, descending from betwene Talingston and Framingham in Blomes hundred; which coming at last to Parleford, meeteth with a rill south west of Farnham called the Cleme (that cometh by Kerdlesham, the Cleinhams) and so passing forth, it taketh another at Snapebridge, coming from Carleton by Sarmundham, Sternefield & Snape. Then going to Iken (where it meeteth with the Hiere

Bradanus
forte.

Linus.

Congunus.

Kiling.

Ingeli.

Glouius.

wantsume.

Vocis.

Hierus.
Gerne.

Iken, or

Desa.

Clarust

Wauen.

Bure.

Irus.

Thurinus.

Wanen.

Stara

Cinos.

Fritha.

Cokelus.

Ford.

Dus.

Fromis

Siema.

Thames & Ike. rill at the west side) it fetcheth a compasse by Sudburne east of Oxford, and so into the haven. Next vnto this by west of Oxford, there runneth by another creeke by Buteleis, whereinto the waters comming from Celleford, and from the Ike, do run both in one bottome. And thus much of Oxford haven.

Deu. The Deueriseth in Debenham, in the hundred of Hertefmère, and from thence goeth to Spickford, Winton, Creetingham, Lethingham, Wickham, hitherto still creeping toward the south: but then going in manner full south, it runneth nere vnto Ash, Kenblecham, Wifford, Spelton, and Woodbydige, beneath which it receiueh on the west side, a water comming of two heads, whereof one is by north from Oteleie, and the other by south from Henleie, which ioining west of Spertelham, go vnto the said towne and so into the Deue, east of Spertelham abouesaid. From thence the Deue goeth by Walsbyngfield and Henleie, and meetinge sone after with Brightwell brooke, it hasteth into the maine sea, leaving Watowseis on the east, where the fall thereof is called Watowseis haven.

Clarus fons. The riseheth not farre from Baton, in Hertefmère hundred, and thence descendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Petoton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from Kattleden, by one house) and so going on to Pebeham (through Bosmère and Cladon hundreds) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ipswich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer against Ipswich, the Chatham water, that goeth by Belfed, and so into the Ure, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous deepe and large pit, whereof some marriners saie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and ioining the name of the riuer withall, it commeth to passe that the haven there is called Urewell, for which in these daies we do pronounce it Uwell. Into this haven also the Sture or Stoure hath readie passage, which remaineth in this treatise next of all to be described.

Sturus. The Sture or Stoure parteth Essex from Suffolke, as Houeden saith, and experience confirmeth. It ariseth in Suffolke, out of a lake nere vnto a towne called Stourmère. For although there come two rilles vnto the same, whereof the one descendeth from Thirlo, the Wratings and Ketton, the other from Worsted parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in summer time they are often drie, so that they cannot be said to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforesaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth standeth a prettie towne named Panitree, which carrieth some shadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariseth at Stourmère, which is a pole containing twentie acres of ground at the least, the one side whereof is full of alders, the other of reeds, wherein the great store of fish there bred, is not a little succoured. From this mere also it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Catwoldish, Bently, Paules Beauchampe, Willford, Forerth, Buresleie, Sudburie, Witteres, Worsted, Stoke, Pallard, Lanham, Wedham, Stroxford, east Warford, Brampton, Panitree, Catwode bridge, and so into the sea, where in the verie fall also it ioineth with Uwell haven, so nere that of manie they are reputed as one: and parted but by a shingle that doth run along betwene them: neither doth it passe clere in this voyage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receiuing sundrie brookes and rilles not here to be omitted.

For on Essex side it hath one from Hemsted, which goeth by Wamsted, and Birdbrooke: another rising short of Forerth, that runneth by water

Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the same at Badlington, west of Sudburie: and the third that glideth by Horkeleie, and meeteth withall west of Worsted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke side, it receiueh one descending from Catledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Kibbington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The second descendeth northward from Poling field, and ioineth therewith east of Clare. It was in old time called Cicux or Ceuxis, and it meeteth with the Stoure in such wise that they seeme to make a right angle, in the point almost whereof standeth a ruinous castell. Holobett as sitthence which time this water (in some mens iudgement) hath bene named Clarus (not so much for the greatnesse as clerenesse of the streame) euen so the Stoure it selfe was also called Cns as they say, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this Iland of no small fame and honour. But these are but mere fables, sith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an house of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the same, because of an honour the prince had in those parties: which may suffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariseth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Kibbie hundred, and ioining about Stanfield, it goeth by Watton, Somerton, Worsted, Stansted, and north of Forerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth issueth from betwene the Walsbyngfields, and goeth by Edwardstone, Worsted, Alington, Polsted, Stoke, and so at south Worsted falleth into the same. The fifth riseth northwest of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Wymleie, Wolding, and receiuing Kettle Basson water south west of Chelworth (and likewise the Wretton that commeth from Wrettenham, by Wicheham, and Bisseton street on the south east of the same towne) it goeth in by Hedging, Aldham, Hableie, Lainham, Shellie, Wigham, and so into the Stoure. The first is a little rill descending south west from Chappell. The seuenth riseth betwene Chappell and Wentleie, and going betwene Latington, and Whetted, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of.

As for Oteleie Dril, that riseth betwene Oteleie, Oteleie, and Wikes parkes, and so goeth into the Stoure, on Essex side, west of Harwich, and east of Re Ie, I passe it ouer, because it is of it selfe but a rill, and not of anie greatnesse, till it come to the mill aboue Kamleis bridge, where I was once almost drowned (by reason of the ruinous bridge which leadeh ouer the streame being there verie great) as an arme of the sea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Next vnto this, we came to another that runneth south of Beaumont by Gosse, and falleth into the sea about the middelt of the Bale, betwixt Harwich and the Haze. Betwixt the Haze also and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riseth at little Wentleie, and thence goeth to Cendring thorp, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and east of little Holland, into the deepe sea.

The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Wington that goeth by Elberie, and east of Welham falleth into the chiefe head which riseth about Hedgewell in Essex, from whence also it goeth to Welham and Heddingham, otherwise called Pngham: also Heddingham or Heuedingham, or Heuesittgham of the superstitious which accrued therevnto, because the chiefe lord of the same from time to time kept residence in the towne. For Heued or Hed signifieth the chiefe, in the old English language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet standing in England cannot easie be forgotten.

The thirde falleth in south of Peldam, and being once met all in one chanel, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I said) to Hedningham, Hawsted, Erles Colne, Makes Colne, Foridon, Wardsfold, Colchester, in old time Camalodunum, and so into the sea at Wicheleseie. Some thinke that Colchester and Camalodunum are sundrie cities and situat in diuerse places whereby Maldon (or Thancester out of whose ruines the said towne of Maldon was erected) should rather be Camalodunum than Colchester, but hereof I can not iudge. In deed if (as Leland saith) Maldon should be written Malodunum, it were a likelihood that these assertions should be probable. Some reason also may be gathered for the same out of Dion, and such as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colchester water. But I dare not presume to conclude any thing hereof, least I should seeme rashly to take hold of euerie conjecture. This I relie vpon rather as a more certaintie, that in the first edition of this treatise I was perswaded, that the sea entring by the Colne made three severall passages fro thence into the land: but now I vnderstand that these are severall entrances and streames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Strand (a causeie that leadeth vnto Herseie Ile, ouer which the sea meeteth with a contrarie course) and the thirde the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all these three haue their falles either ouer against or nere vnto the aforesaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the Shore. Into the Colne or Colinus also (whereof Leland thinketh Colchester to take his name, and not *A colonia Romanorum*, although I may not consent to him herein) do run manie salt creekes beneath sfingerling ho, of whose names sith I do not know, nor whether they be serued with anie backewaters or not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further likelihood of their positions. Into that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will saie so much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

There is a pretie water that beginneth nere vnto Wimbach or Wimbiche church in Essex, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Wimb, which is beautifull or faire, & Wache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onelie the hills on eith side of the said rilllet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decayed, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough erecting building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buye their felwell, and yet haue their rents in simple maner inhauced. This said brooke runneth directly from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordships possessions in those parts, descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime cheefe owners of the same. By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the cheefe (whereof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Pant) and which (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. Certes by the report of common fame it hath bene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in times past from Wille abbeie beside Maldon vnto the morges in Radwinter for coine. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there nere to a red willow, when the water courses by act of parliament were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Wimbich (surnamed the great eater, because he

would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord John of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping by the head of Pantwell, to put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that brooke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof do yet remaine. But for the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a wolfe vnto the other in their mischeuous modes. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to hoxlebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certaine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to do his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: whereupon ensued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Wimb is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird equier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Wille abbeie. The thirde commeth out of the pard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from John Cockswets house, named the Kotherwell, which running under Kotheres bridge, meeteth with the Wimb or Pant on the northwell end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Kother from Wendish hall: but because it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the cheefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Wendishes, now twome out of knowledge, and vntied partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Althdon. It belonged first to the Wendishes gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one lateng the said manour to mortgage to the monks of Feuerham, at such time as R. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he staid longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Whereupon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalves, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaie of payment vpon the daie assigned. Whereupon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the day came, the monks for all this made seizure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further recompense, maugre all the friendship that the aforesaid Wendish could make. The said gentleman also toke this contenting part in such choise, that he wrote a note yet to be seene among his euidentres, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either kinne or kinne or kinne frier, as one of the name and descended from him by lineall descent hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that meet and ioine with our Pant.

The next is named Frashwell. And of this spring

Wimb or
Pant.

Barus

Chelm

Althd

Roxf

Ed.

Frashwell
doff

both the whole hundred beare the name; after this
confluence the river it take water vnto it falleth from
by paxthorpe farre as I remember. Certes, all these,
saying the first and second, are within your lordships
townes afore said. The streamer therefore running from
hence (as now, as I said, called Frothwell, of Froth,
which signifieth a frog) falleth immediatlie vnto old
Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and
afterward with full streame (receiuing by the waie,
the Finch broke that cometh thorough Finchings-
field) to Chalford, Bocking, Stiffen, Bawley, and so
to Blackwater, where the name of Frothwell cea-
seth; the water being from henceforth (as I heare)
commonlie called Blackwater, untill it come to
Spaldon, where it falleth into the salt arme of the
sea that beareth vpon the towne; and which of some
(except I be deceived) is called also Pant: and so
much the rather I make this coniecture, for that I
thenceforth from some where vpon the banks thereof,
in the hundred of Danseie, whose ruines (as they
saie) also are swallowed vp by the said streame, which
can not be verifed in our river that runneth from
Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great
current, exceedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one
hundred fot. But to returne to our Pant, *alias* the
Owin. From Blackwater it goeth to Corall, Ca-
sterford, Baxsted and Wickham, where it meeteth
with the Barus, and so going together as one, they
descend to Heiebridge, and finally into the salt wa-
ter aboue Spaldon, and at hand as is afore said. As
for the Barus, it riseth in a stately parke of Essex
called Bardsfield, belonging to sir Thomas Wroth
whilst he liued, who hath it to him and his heires
males for ever, from the crowne. Being risen, it
hatheth directlie to old Salting Baine, crossing a
rille by the waie comming from Kaine, blacke
Potleie, white Potleie, Falkeburne, Wittham,
and falleth into the Blackwater beneath Baxsted
on the south.

Beside this, the said Pant or Owin receiue the
Chelme or Chelmer, which ariseth also in Wimbech
afore said, where it hath two heads: of which the one
is not farre from Wyddokes (where master Thomas
Wise man esquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a
farme called Wighams in the same paroch, and join-
ing ver long in one chanel, they bie them toward
Thackeb under Wyddes bridge, meeting in the waie
with a rill comming from Bolton end, whereby it is
some what increased. Being past Thackeb, it goeth
by Tilteie, and long after receiue one rill which
riseth on the north side of Lindell, & falleth into the
Chelmer by north east at Tilteie afore said, & another
coming from south west, rising south east from Lind-
sell at much Cisson. From thence then holding on
still with the course, it goeth to Candfield the more,
Dunmow, little Dunmow, Falsed, Lees, both Mal-
tams, Springfield, and so to Chelmersford. Here
vpon the south side I find the issue of a water that ri-
seth fife miles (or thereabouts) south and by west of
the said towne, from whence it goeth to Dunasing,
Buttesburie (here receiuing a rill from by west, to
Ingatstone, Parget Inge, Widdford bridge, Writ-
tle bridge, and so to Chelmersford (crossing also
the second water that descendeth from Horford
south west of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this
suffice.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward
Spaldon by Badoth, Wotting, Wodham water,
Billie, and so to Blackwater north west of Spaldon,
receiuing neuertheless ver it come fullie thither, a
becke also that goeth from Lees parke, to little Lees,
great Lees, Hatfield, Denerell, Wotting, and so in
to Blackwater (whereof I spake before) as Spaldon
streame doth a rill from by south ouer against saint

Witches, and also another by Bradwell. After which
the said streame groweth also to be a great, pal-
seth by the Tollyhunts, Collesbie, and so forth into the
maine sea nere vnto Percie: betwene which fall
and the place where Salute water entreteth into the
land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius some
time into Britaine, when he being hardlie beset, did
send vnto him to, aid and speedie succour, who also be-
ing come did not onelie rescue his legat, but in like
manner won Colchester, and put it to the spoile, if it
be Camalodunum.

The Barne riseth somewhere about Rownell, Barne,
and thence goeth to Hull bridge, south Frambridge,
Wickshot ferrie, and so to Foulmelle. And as this
is the short course of that river, so it brancheth, and
the south arme thereof receiueth a water comming
from Hakewell, to great Starbridge, and beneath
Hakeham doth meet by south with the said arme,
and so finish by his course, as we do our voyage also
about the coast of England.

Thus haue I finished the description of such ri-
uers and streames as fall into the Ocean, according
to my purpose, although not in so precise an order
and manner of handling as I might, if information
promised had been accordingly performed; or others
would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this
will I saie of that which is here done, that from the
Solucie by west, which parteth England & Scotland
on that side; to the Tweede, which separateth the said
kingdoms on the east: if you go backward, contra-
rie to the course of my description, you shall find it
so exact, as beside a verie few by-rivers, you shall
not need to be any further aduise for the finding and
falling of the afore said streames. For such hath bene
my helpe of master Shacksfords cardes, and conse-
rence with other men about these, that I dare pro-
nounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore,
this I haue also to remember, that in the courses of
our streames, I regard not so much to name the ve-
rie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And
therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke
my dutie discharged, if I hit vpon any part or par-
cell of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled
me, I meane the euill writing of the names of ma-
nie townes and villages: of which I haue noted
some one man, in the description of a river, to write
one towne two or thre manner of waies, whereby
I was enforced to chose one (at aduenture most
commonlie) that seemed the likeliest to be found in
mine opinion and iudgement.

Finally, whereas I minded to set downe an
especiall chapter of ports and creeks, lieng on ech
coast of the English part of this Ile; and had prou-
ided the same in such wise as I iudged most conue-
nient: it came to passe, that the greater part of my
labour was taken from me by death, and therefore
as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I
would haue giuen ouer to set downe any thing
therefore at all: and so much the rather, for that I
see it may proue a spurre vnto further mischafe, as
things come to passe in these daies. Nevertheless,
because a little thereof is passed in the beginning of
the booke, I will set downe that parcell thereof
which remaineth, leauing the supplie of the
rest either to my selfe hereafter,
(if I may come by it) or to
some other that can
better performe
the same.

Barus.

Chelmer.

Lindell.

Horford.

Lees.

Of

Of such ports and creeks as our sea-
faring-men doo note for their benefit upon
the coasts of England.

Chap. 17.

I tate be that I haue in
these former chapters omit-
ted sundrie hauens to be found
upon the shore of England,
and some of them serued with
backe waters, through want
of sound and sufficient infor-
mation from such as haue
written vnto me of the same. In recompense where-
of I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports
and creekes, whereby (so farre as to me is possible) I
shall make satisfaction of mine ouersights. And albeit
it I cannot (being too much abused by some that
haue bereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring
my purpose to passe for all the whole coast of Eng-
land round about, from Berwikke to the Solue: yet
I will not let to set downe so much as by god hap
remaineth, whereby my countriemen shall not alto-
gether want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer
also the rest, if God grant life and god successe
thereto.

Northum-
berland.

In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwikke,
Holie Island, Wamborough, Bedwell, Donstanborough,
Cocket Island, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Alnott,
Blithes nuke, and Linmouth haven.

Durham.
Yorkshire.

In the bishopricke, Sonderland, Stocketon, War-
tlepole, These.

In Yorkshire, Dapnam sands, Steningreene,
Staies, Kunkwike, Robinhods baie, Whitbie, Scar-
borough, Fileie, Flamborough, Bicklington, Horne-
seie becke, Sisser kirke, Kelsie, Cliffe, Battenton,
Holmes, Kenningham, Ball, Hidon, Bulbyge, We-
nerleie, Hull, Hasell, Northferebie, Bucke creeke,
Blacke coast, Wrethel, Holwden.

Lincolne-
shire.

In Lincolnshire, Selbie, Snepe, Turnebysge,
Kodiffe, Catebie, Stockwith, Toresleie, Gainthor-
ow, Southferebie, Barton a good point, Barrow a
good haven, Skaterrill a good port, Penningham,
Stalingborough a good haven, Gainsbie a good port,
Clie, March chappell, Saltstete, Willgripe, Apple-
ford, saint Clements, Wenslæte, Friscon, Tost,
Skerbyske, Wollon, Frompton, Wollnerton, Fosse-
dike a good haven.

Northfolke.

In Northfolke, Linne a good haven, Snatch-
ham, Hitchham, Welingham god, Hunstone,
Thorneham god, Wankester god, Burnham god,
with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging,
Welles god, Strikeie, Parton, Blakeleie towne,
Withon Claie, Blakelie haven god, Salthouse
creeke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer,
Weston, Trinningham, Pountleie, Bromwall,
Haleborough, Wakesham, Eckelles, Winterton,
Cusser, Helmeleie, Okell, Wpton, Walsbydge,
Parnmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with di-
uerse villages on the riuer side.

Suffolke.

In Suffolke, Beccles, Wangeie, Southton, Cor-
ton, Goxton, Laistow a good port, Kirtill, Wakesfield,
Kasseldon, Wilborough, Coffe hith, Eton, Walder-
wic, Donewich, Swold haven, Sisewell, Thorpe, Al-
borough, Wyford a good haven, Walsie god, Felstow,
Colneie, Swoten, Ppwith, Downambrydge god,
Pinnemill, Shotleie, Cataweie, Warfold.

Essex.

In Essex we haue Dedham, Paning tre, Thorne,
Wrabbelnes, Kamsie, Warwich, Douercourt,
Hansford, Okleie, Kirtbie, Thorpe, Bitchwill, Wal-
ton mill, Walton hall, Ganslæte, Betsowen god,
S. Withes, Bentleie god, Wykeleie, Thojlington

(where good ships of a hundred tun or more be made)
Alford, Wimenhall, Colchester, Cold hith, Rough
hedge, Fingering ho, east Werleie, west Werleie,
Salcot, Colbanger, Boro, Maldon, Stansgate,
Sudmesler, S. Peters, Burnham, Crisele, Aldon,
Clements greene, Pulbydge, Pacionton, Barling,
litle Wakering, much Wakering, South Soubarie,
Wakeringham, Melton, Paper hill, S. Beant-
slæte, Wilselerange, Fobbing, Padleie god, Spuck-
ing, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.

Crancht.

In Kent, Harling, Cliffe, Lantlæte, Stokholm, Kent,
Snodlond, Melhall, Padstow, Aileford, Sesto hith,
Kochester, Gellingham, Keinharn, Wychurch, Wal-
sted, Quinborough, Wiltow, Fenerham, Whitwale,
Berne, Margate, Woodstaler, Kamsgate; and ma-
nie of these good creekes: also Sandwich, Dover,
Hyde, reasonable ports, although none of the best.

In Sussex we haue Simalade with the creekes
adjoining to the same, Kidon, Appledoure, Kie a good
hauen, and Winchelseie nothing at all inferiour to
the same, and so manie shires onelie are left vnto me
at this time, wherefore of force I must abruptlie
leau off to deale anie further with the rest, whose
knowledge I am right sure would haue bene profit-
table: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great
thankes at the hands of such sea-faring-men, as
should haue had vse hereof.

Desunt cetera.

Of the aire, soile, and commodities
of this Island.

Marie.

Cap. 18.



The aire (for the most part)
throughout the Island is such,
as by reason in manner of con-
tinuall clouds, is reputed to
be grosse, and nothing so plea-
sant as that is of the maine.
Whobett, as they which as-
firme these things, haue one-
lie respect to the impediment or hinderance of the
sunne beames, by the interposition of the clouds and
off ingrossed aire: so experience teacheth vs, that it is
no lesse pure, wholesome, and commodious, than is
that of other countries, and (as Caesar himselfe here-
to addeth) much more temperate in summer than
that of the Gallies, from whom he adventured hither.
Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our
region, that is not usuallie seene amongst other na-
tions lieng beyond the seas. Wherefore, we must
needs confesse, that the situation of our Island (for be-
nefit of the heavens) is nothing inferiour to that of
anie countrie of the maine, where so euer it lie vnder
the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full
well, who affirmeth a part of the Elisian fields to be
found in Britaine, and the Isles that are situate a-
bout it in the Ocean.

The aire of
Britaine.

Blentle
rivers.

Hilles.

The soile of Britaine is such, as by the testimonies
and reports both of the old and new writers, and ex-
perience also of such as now inhabit the same, is de-
rie fruitfull; and such in deed as bringeth forth manie
commodities, whereof other countreies haue need,
and yet it selfe (if fond nicenelle were abolished) need-
lesse of those that are dallie brought from other pla-
ces. Neuertheless it is more inclined to feeding and
grazing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of
corne; by reason whereof the countrie is wonderfu-
lie replenished with neat, and all kind of cattell: and
such store is there also of the same in euery place,
that the fourth part of the land is scarceleie manured
for the prouision and maintenance of graine. Certes
this

The soile.

(*) Her

this fruitfulness was not unknowne unto the Britons long before Cæsars time, which was the cause therefore our predecessors living in those daies in manner neglected tillage, and lived by feeding and grazing onelie. The grassers themselves also then dwelled in moveable villages by companies; whose custom was to divide the ground amongst them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot lay (a thing much like to the Irish Cracht) till by eating up of the countrie about him, he was enforced to remove further, and seeke for better pasture. And this was the British custome (as I learne) at first. It hath bene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither so fruitfull as that of England; neither the soile of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for cozne and for the most part: otherwise, there is so good ground in some parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the best of Scotland be scarcelie comparable to the meane of either of both. Whobest, as the bountie of the Scottish doth faile in some respect, so doth it surmount in other; God and nature having not appointed all countries to yeld forth like commodities.

But where our ground is not so good as we would wish, we have (if need be) sufficient helpe to cherish our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull, For beside the compost that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, dovehouses, or cities and great towne: we have with us a kind of white marle, which is of so great force, that if it be cast over a peece of land but once in thre score yeares, it shall not need of anie further composting. Hereof also doth Plinie speake, lib. 17. cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth upon the earth by the space of fourescore yeares: inasmuch that it is laid upon the same but once in a mans life, whereby the owner shall not need to traueil twice in procuring to commend and better his soile. He calleth it Margra, and making diuerse kinds thereof, he finally commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth sometime a hundred foot deepe, and farre better than the scattering of chalker upon the same, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as some of our daies also doe practise: albeit diuerse doe like better to cast on lime, but it will not so long indure, as I have heard reported.

There are also in this Island great plenty of fresh rivers and streames, as you have heard already, and these throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in rivers. The whole Ile likewise is verie full of hills, of which some (though not verie manie) are of exceeding heighth, and diuerse extending themselves verie far from the beginning; as we may see by Shotters hill, which rising east of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the south side of the Island westward, untill it come to Cornetwall. Like unto these also are the Crowdon hills, which though under diuers names (as also the other from the Hekke) doe run into the borders of Scotland. What should I speake of the Cheviot hills, which reach twentie miles in length: of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the least in length: of the Cle hills in Shropshire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are divided from some part of Worcester by the Teme: of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Chiltern, which are eightene miles at the least from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordshire to Dunstable in Bedfordshire, and are verie well replenished with wood and cozne: notwithstanding that the most part yeld a sweet short grasse, profitable for sheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland doe somewhat come behind us, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompensed, not onelie

with plenty of quarries (and those of sundrie kinds of marble, hard stone, and fine alabaster) but also rich mines of mettall, as shall be shewed hereafter.

In this Island likewise the winds are commonlie more strong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane also espied: and that is often scene upon the naked hills, not garded with trees to beare and keepe it off. What grievous inconvenience also inforceth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communalitie, to build their houses in the vallies, leaving the high grounds unto their cozne and cattell, least the cold and stormie blasts of winter should breed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one desireth to set his house aloft on the hill, not onlie to be scene a farre off, and cast forth his beames of statelie and curious workmanship into euerie quarter of the countrie; but also (in hot habitations) for coldest sake of the aire, with the heat is neuer so vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, because the reuerberation of the sunne beames either reacheth not so farre as the highest, or else becommeth not so strong as when it is reflected upon the lower soile.

But to leave our buildings unto the purposed place (which notwithstanding have verie much increased, I meane for curiositie and cost, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within these few yeares) and to returne to the soile againe. Certainelie it is euen now in these our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath bene in times past. The cause is for that our countreymen are growne to be more painefull, skilfull, and carefull through recompense of gaine, than heretofore they have bene: inasmuch that my Synchroon or time fellows can reape at this present great commoditie in a little roome; whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yelded but small profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of such, as daile manured and had the same in occupieng. I might set downe examples of these things out of all the parts of this Island, that is to say, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but most of all out of Wales: in which two last rehearsed, verie little other food and livelihood was wont to be looked for (beside flesh) more than the soile of it selfe, and the colu game; the people in the meane time living soelie, dissolute, and by picking and stealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the most part) relinquished, so that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

The pasture of this Island is according to the nature and bountie of the soile, whereby in most places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattell with speed, or yeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the pellowest butter and finest cheese are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh up the winters water in long season) there the grasse is spearie, rough, and verie apt for bushes: by which occasion it commeth nothing so profitable unto the owner as the other. The best pasture ground of all England is in Wales, of all the pasture in Wales that of Cardigan is the chiefe. I speake of the same which is to be found in the mounteines there, where the hundred part of the grasse growing is not eaten, but suffered to rot on the ground, whereby the soile becommeth matted, and diuerse bogges and quicke mores made withall in long continuance: because all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good soile, on which a man may laie a wand over night, and on the morrow find it hidden and overgrown with grasse: it is not hard to find plenty thereof in manie places of this land. Nevertheless, such is the fruitfulness of the

Cracht.

Marle.

Plentie of rivers.

Hills.

(*) Here lackes

Building.

Husbandrie amended.

Pasture.

also said countie that it farre surmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batable-
 nisse with Italie, which in my time is called the
 paradise of the world, although by reason of the
 wickednesse of such as dwell therein it may be cal-
 led the sinke and dyaine of hell: so that whereas they
 were wont to saie of vs that our land is good but our
 people euill, they did but onlie speake it, whereas we
 knowe by experience that the soile of Italie is a no-
 ble soile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie
 vertue or godnesse.

Meadowes.

Our meadowes are either bottomes (whereof we
 haue great store, and those verie large, because our
 soile is hille) or else such as we call land meads, and
 bordered from the best & fattest pasturages. The first
 of them are pearelie & often ouerflown by the rising
 of such streames as passe through the same, or vio-
 lent fallies of land-waters, that descend from the hills
 about them. The other are seldom or neuer over-
 flown, and that is the cause wherefore their grasse is
 shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre
 more fine, wholesome, and batable, sith the haie of
 our low meadowes is not onelic full of sandie crinder,
 which breedeth sundrie diseases in our cattell, but also
 more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore
 not so profitable for flouer and forrage as the higher
 meads be. The difference furthermore in their
 commodities is great, for whereas in our land mea-
 dows we haue not often above one good load of
 haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of
 ground (I vse the word Carrucata or Carruca which
 is a waile load, and, as I remember, used by Plinie
 lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue some-
 times thre, but commonlie two or upward, as expe-
 riene hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are wise mowed I speake not, sith
 their later math is not so wholesome for cattell as the
 first, although in the mouth more pleasant for the
 time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be ro-
 ten, or to increase so fast in blood, that the garget and
 other diseases do consume manie of them before the
 owners can seeke out any remedie, by Phlebotomie
 or other wise. Some superstitious soles suppose that
 they which die of the garget are ridden with the night
 mare, and therefore they hang by stones which na-
 turallie haue holes in them, and must be found by
 looked for; as if such a stone were an apt cockshot
 for the diuell to run through and solace himselfe with
 all, whilest the cattell go scotfree and are not molested
 by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the toies
 that superstition hath brought into our husband-
 mens heads in this and other behalves, it would aske
 a greater volume than is conuenient for such a pur-
 pose, therefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much
 of these things.

Corne.

The yeld of our corne-ground is also much after
 this rate following. Though out the land (if you please
 to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane
 and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or
 wheat, well silled and dressed, will yeld commonlie
 fiftene or twentie bushels, an acre of barlie fir and
 thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or fise
 quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding off-
 abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes sur-
 mounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason
 and beanes, sowed together, fares and otes (which
 they call bulmong) rie and wheat named miscelin
 here is no place to speake, yet their yeld is neuerthe-
 lesse much after this proportion, as I haue often
 marked. And yet is not this our great soilon com-
 parable to that of hotter countries of the maine. But
 of all that euer I read, the increase which Eldred Da-
 nus writeth of in his *De imperio Iudeorum in Aethio-
 pia* surmounteth, where he saith that in the field nere

to the Sabbatike river, called in old time Golan, the
 ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barlie
 growing doth yeld an hundred kernels at the least
 unto the owner.

Of late yeares also we haue found and taken vp a
 great trade in planting of hops, whereof our mozte
 hitherto and vnyprofitable grounds do yeld such
 plentie & increase, that their are few farmers or oc-
 cupiers in the countrie, which haue not gardens and
 hops growing of their owne, and those farre better
 than do come from Flanders vnto vs. Certes the
 corruptions vied by the Flemings, and forgerie dai-
 lie practised in this kind of ware, gaue vs occasion to
 plant them here at home: so that now we may spare
 and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I knowe by
 experience, that some one man by conuersion of his
 mozte grounds into hopyards, whereof before he had
 no commoditie, doth raise yearelie by so little as
 twelue acres in compasse two hundred markes; all
 charges bozne toward the maintenance of his fami-
 lie. Which industrie God continue! though some se-
 cret friends of Flemings let not to exclaim a-
 gainst this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason
 of the poles, which neuerthelesse after thre yeares do
 also come to the fire, and spare their other felwell.

The cattell which we breed are commonlie such, as
 for greatnesse of bone, swetnesse of flesh, and other
 benefits to be reaped by the same, giue place vnto
 none other: as may appeare first by our oren, whose
 largenesse, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hoznes
 are such, as none of anie other nation do common-
 lie or may easilie exceed them. Our sheepe likewise
 for good tast of flesh, quantitie of lims, finesse of
 fleece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and a
 bundance of increase (for in manie places they bring
 forth two or thre at an eaning) giue no place vnto a-
 nie, more than do our goates, who in like sort do fol-
 low the same order, and our deere come not behind.
 As for our conies, I haue sene them so fat in some
 soiles, especiallie about Sheall and Wilsnege, that the
 grease of one being weighed, hath pessed verie nere
 six or seven ounces. All which benefits we first refer
 to the grace and godnesse of God, and next of all vnto
 the bountie of our soile, which he hath indued with
 so notable and commodious fruitfulnessse.

Sheall and
 Wilsnege.

Wad.
 Sheppe
 Wape.

But as I meane to intreat of these things more
 largelie hereafter, so will I touch in this place one
 benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine;
 the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negli-
 gence of our countrymen (especiallie of the south
 partes) who do not inure the same to this commodi-
 tie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is
 now become vnapt to beare anie grapes almost for
 pleasure & shadow, much lesse then the plaine fields
 or severall vineyards for aduantage and commodi-
 tie. Yet of late time some haue assaied to deale for
 wine, as to your lordship also is right well knowen.
 But sith that liquor when it cometh to the drinking
 hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought
 from beyond the sea, and the cost of planting and kee-
 ping thereof so chargeable, that they may bue it far
 better cheape from other countries: they haue gi-
 uen ouer their enterprises without anie considerati-
 on, that as in all other things, so neither the ground
 it selfe in the beginning, nor successe of their traueil
 can answer their expectation at the first, vntill such
 time as the soile be brought as it were into acquaint-
 tance with this commoditie, and that prouision may
 be made for the more easinesse of charge, to be im-
 ploied vpon the same.

Wine.

Flax.

If it be true, that where wine doth last and indure
 well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little
 wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected
 in England. That this liquor might haue growne in
 this

Eleg. 2.

this Island heretofore, first the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one sufficient testimonie. And that it did grow here, beside the testimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of some parsons and vicars in Kent, & elsewhere, besides the records of sundrie sales, commended in diuerse ecclesiasticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: also the inclosed parcels almost in euerie abbeye yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witnesse, as also the plot which we now call east Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus sometime king of this land, with other soile there about vnto certaine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knigheten Guild. The truth is (saith Iohn Stow our countrie man, and diligent traveller in the old estate of this my native citie) that it is now named Doxtoken ward, and giuen in time past to the religious house within Algate. Howbeit first Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finally Gessrie erle of Essex constables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion frō the said house, vntill the reigne of king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The yle of Cle also was in the first times of the Romans called *Le Ile des vignes*. And good record appeereth, that the bishop there had yearelie thre or foure tunne at the least giuen him *Nomine decime*, beside whatsoeuer ouer-summe of the liquoz did accrue to him by leases and other ercheats, whereof also I haue sene mention. Wherefore our soile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were so exceeding short, that in August and September the mone which is ladie of moisture, & chiefe ripener of this liquoz, cannot in anie wise shine long inough vpon the same: a verie mere toie and fable right woorthie to be suppressed, because experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof even in the Rhenish wines.

The time hath bene also that wad, wherewith our countrie men died their faces (as Caesar saith) that they might sene terrible to their enemies in the field, and also women & their daughters in law did staine their bodies & go naked, in that pickle to the sacrifices of their gods, conetuing to resemble therein the Ethiopians, as Plinie saith li. 22. cap. 1. and also madder haue bene (next vnto our tin and wolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find also that rape oile hath bene made with in this land. But now our soile either will not or at the leastwise may not beare either wad or madder: I saie not that the ground is not able so to do, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and carelesse of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the same of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may saie of flax, which by law ought to be sown in euerie countrie-sole in England, more or lesse: but I see no successe of that good and wholesome law, for it is rather contemptuoulie reieted than otherwise dutifullie kept in anie place of England.

Some saie that our great number of lawes do breed a generall negligence and contempt of all good order, because we haue so manie, that no subiect can liue without the transgression of some of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances doth much harne in this respect, which (after Aristotle) doth seme to carie some reason withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath):

Euentus varios res noua semper habet.

But verie manie let not to asserme, that the greedie corruption of the promoters on the one side, facilitie in dispensing with god lawes, and first breach of the same in the lawmakers & superiours, & priuat respects of their establishment on the other, are the grea-

test causes whie the inferiours regard no god order, being alwaies so redie to offend without anie facultie one waie, as they are other wise to presume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in these things I haue no skill, so I wish that seldwer licences for the priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogative roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honozable increased) & that euerie one which by saced friendship (or otherwise) doth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open alies and sessions denounced enemie to his countrie and common-wealth of the land.

Glasse also hath bene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the said drusse also, beside fine sciffers, sheres, collars of gold and siluer for womens necks, cruises and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Augustus in his daies laid vpon this Island. In like sort he charged the Britons with certaine implements and vessels of tinne (as Strabo saith). Wherby it appereth that in old time our countreimen were farre more industrious and painefull in the vse and application of the benefits of their countrie, than either after the coming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themselves more to idlenesse and following of the warres.

If it were requisite that I should speake of the sundrie kinds of mold, as the cledgie or clate, whereof are diuerse sorts (red, blue, blacke and white) also the red or white sandie, the lomie, rosellie, granelle, chalkie or blacke, I could saie that there are so manie diuerse beines in Britaine, as else where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this I must needs confesse, that the sandie and cledgie do beare great swaie: but the clate most of all, as hath bene, and yet is alwaies sene & felt through plentie and dearth of corne. For if this latter (I meane the clate) do yeeld his full increase (which it doth commonly in dyie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plentie: whereas if it faile, then haue we scarcitie, according to the old rude verse set downe of England, but to be understood of the whole Island, as experience doth confirme:

When the sand doth serue the claie,
Then may we sing well awaie,
But when the claie doth serue the sand,
Then is it merie with England.

I might here intreat of the famous ballies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horse, another of Conelham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worcester shire, the third of Ailesburie that goeth by Lame, the rotes of Chilterne hils, to Donstable, Peisport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckingham, Birkane park, &c. Likewise of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackmore in Dorsetshire. The fifth of Kingdals or Kenidals, corruptlie called King's taile, that lieth (as mine author saith) vpon the edge of Essex and Cambridgeshire, and also the Marshwood vale: but for so much as I know not well their seuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their description. In like sort it should not be amisse to speake of our fennes, although our countrie be not so full of this kind of soile as the parties beyond the seas, to wit, Fardon, &c: and thereto of other pleasant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great store of corne and fine fodder for neat and hoxses in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but also of no small compasse and quantitie in ground. For some of our fens are well knownen to be either of ten, twelue, fiftene, twentie, or thirtie miles in

Principes longē magis exemplo quā culpa peccare solent.

Earths.

Wallies.

Fennes.

L. s. length,

wad.
madder.
rape.

Flax.

Eleg. 2.

length, that of the Sirvies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherin also the famous Ile standeth, which is seven miles euerie waie, and whereunto there is no access but by three caufes, whose inhabitants in like sort by an old priuilege may take wood, sedge, turfe, &c. to burne: likewise haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houses of custome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that courteousnesse hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aswell in the said Ile as most other places of this land.

Commons.

Finally, I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the soles for the benefit of such poore, as inhabit with in the compasse of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in most places defrauded, in so much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the same, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, so the tractation of them belongeth rather to the second booke. Wherefore I meane not at this present to deale withall, but reserve the same wholie vnto the due place whilste I go forward with the rest; setting downe neuertheless by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

*Ille quidem longe celebris splendore, beata,
Glebis, lacte, fauis, supereminet insula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cuius ab ore
Profluit oceanus, &c. And a little after.
Testis Landoniaratibus, Vintonia Baccho,
Herefordia grege, Worcesteria frugeredundans,
Bathalacu, Salabyria feris, Cantuaria pisce,
Eboraca fliuis, Excestria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacis hybernus, Cestria Gallis,
Cicestrum Norwagenu, Dunelmia prapinguis,
Testis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Testis Eli formosa situ, Doncastria visu, &c.*

Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.

Cap. 19.



Here are, which in deuoting to bring all things to their Saron originall, doe affirme, that this diuision of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should appertaine vnto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and herevpon they inferre, that Watling street was builded by one Watling from the east vnto the west. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of these streets it selfe shall easilie declare, whereof some parcels, after a sort, are also set downe by Antoninus; and those that haue written of the seuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peradventure not in so direct an order as they were at the first established. For my part, if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue already collected for that purpose, make a large confutation of diuerse of their opinions concerning these passages, and thereby rather ascribe the originall of these waies to the Romans than either the British or Saron princes. But sith I haue spent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, and that I see great cause (notwithstanding my late alledged scruple) wherefore I should

hold with our Galfride before anie offer; I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and saie what I maie for the better knowledge of their courses, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our sauiour Iesus Christ, seeing the subiects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by theues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (so much as in him laie) to redresse these inconueniences, caused his whole kingdome to be surveyed; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which should leade such as trauelled into all parts thereof, from sea to sea, he gaue sundrie large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the securitie of his subiects, so he made sharpe lawes grounded vpon iustice, for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that should be met withall or found within the limits of those passages. How and by what parts of this Iland these waies were conuized at the first, it is not so wholie left in memorie: but that some question is moued among the learned, concerning their ancient courses. Doubtless such is the shadow remaining hitherto of their extensions, that if not at this present perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not impossible, but that they may be found out, & left certaine vnto posteritie. It seemeth by Galfride, that the said Dunwallon did limit out those waies by doles and markes, which being in short time altered by the auarice of such irreligious persons as dwelt nere, and incroched vpon the same (a fault yet iustlie to be found almost in euerie place, even in the time of our most gracious and soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the soles doe write their small occupieng, onelie to increase a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoue, or giue licence to erect small tenements vpon the high waies sides and commons; wherevnto, in truth, they haue no right: and yet out of them also doe raise a new commoditie) and question moued for their bounds before Belinus his sonne, he to auoid all further controuersie that might from thenceforth insue, caused the same to be paved with hard stone of eightene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint stones also to be pitched, least the earth in time should swallowe by his workmanship, and the higher ground ouer-growe their rising crests. He indued them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whosoeuer should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie manner of wise, nere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by frendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie provided in those cases were due vnto the offenders. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

The Fosse goeth not directlie but slopewise ouer the greatest part of this Iland, beginning at Dotwell or Cotwell in Deuonshire, where Bute sometime landed; or (as Ranulphus saith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldest writers doe seeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middles of Deuonshire & Summerfetshire, and cometh to Bristow, from whence it runneth manifestlie to Sudberie market, Tetbury, and so forth holdeth on as you go almost to the midde waie betweene Gloucester and Cirencester, (where the wood faileth, and the champaigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteswold) straight as a line vntill you come to Cirencester it selfe. Some hold opinion

Watling
street.

opinion that the waie, which lieth from Cirneceſter to Bath, ſhould be the verie ſſoſſe; and that betwixt Cirneceſter and Gloceſter to be another of the ſoure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihoode, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, ſuggeſteth that moſt of the waies croſſed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland alſo, who learned it of an abbat of Cirneceſter that ſhewed great likelihoode by ſome records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirneceſter, it goeth by Chepingnopton to Couentrie, Leiceſter, Newmarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watlingſtreet: where, by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfred of Weſterſeie, who extenbeth it vnto Caſhneſſe in Scotland) it is ſaid to haue an end.

Watling
Street.

The Watlingſtreet begun (as I ſaid) by Dunwallow, but finiſhed by Gutheline, of whome it is ſo really to be called Gutheline ſtreet, though now corrupted into Watlingſtreet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth through the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo ſouth(peraduventure by the middeſt of the citie) vnto Verolamin or Werlamceſter, now ſaint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thouſand ſiue hundred thirtie & one, the courſe thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell therewith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eightene foot broad, and about ten foot deepe, and ſtoned in the bottome in ſuch wiſe as I haue noted afore, and peradventure alſo on the top: but theſe are gone, and the reſt remaine equall in moſt places, and leuell with the fields. The pelow grauell alſo that was brought thither in carts two thouſand yeres paſſed, remained there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrong, as if it had bene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the weſt ſide. And a little by ſouth of this place, where the pyloie ſtood, is a long thorough fare vpon the ſaid ſtreet, metly well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell ſaith) to Cantor, and ſo to Wyntingdon, & then ſouthward, ſtill winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Luggie, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamford, and ſo ſouth by weſt of Barton, which is but a mile from Eoſeſeie.

Here by the waie I muſt touch the opinion of a traueler of my time, who noteth the ſaid ſtreet to go another waie, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dotwyldege, and ſo go on to Winford bydge, Wiltoſt, the High croſſe, and thence to Atherſon vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the ſſoſſe had his courſe by the cuntry in ſuch ſort as he deſcribeth; but that the Watlingſtreet ſhould paſſe by Atherſon, I cannot as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not unlikely that thre ſeueral waies might meet at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Lame, beneath Salters bydge) for I do not doubt that the ſaid towne did take his name of all thre waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all thre parties, vnto whom it hath bene dedicated: but that the Watlingſtreet ſhould be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waie. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watlingſtreet, are that it goeth thorough or nere by the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice alſo of the cuntry confirmeth. Thence it paſſeth haſtily ouer Caſtleford bydge to Aberford, which is ſiue miles from thence, and where are moſt manifeſt tokens of this

ſtreet and his broad creſt by a great waie togiſther, alſo to Poſke, to Witherbie, and then to Bozobyldege, where on the left hand thereof ſtood certeine monuments, or pyramides of ſtone, ſometimes placed there by the ancient Romanes. Theſe ſtones (ſaith Leland) ſtand eight miles weſt from Bolwis, and almoſt weſt from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Walden caſſell, ſituate apparantlie vpon the ſide of this ſtreet. And here is one of thoſe pyramides or great round heapes, which is thre ſcore foot compaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are ſharpe ſtones of a pard in length; but the greateſt of all is eightene foot high at the leaſt, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth mozeouer, how they ſtand on an hill in the edge of Stanes more; and are as bounds betwene Richmondſhire, and Weſtmerland. But to proceed. This ſtreet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond cometh on from Bozobyldege to Catericke, eightene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & ſix to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greſſie or Critto, ſiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes more, ſoure miles from Applebie, and ſiue to Wyotbam, where the ſaid ſtreet cometh thorough Winſoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Ciemonth and Loder, and leauing Perth a quarter of a mile or moze on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carlell ſeuentene miles from Wyotbam, which hath bene ſome notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no moze of it, vntill I come to Caſhneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

The Erming ſtreet, which ſome call the Lelme, Erming ſtreet. ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaie, into the ſouth eaſt, that is, from Weneua or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is ſomewhat likelie indeed that theſe two waies, I meane the ſſoſſe and the Erming, ſhould meet about Cirneceſter, as it cometh from Gloceſter, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that cuntry. Of this waie I find no moze written, and therefore I can ſaie no moze of it, except I ſhould indeuor to diſcuss a waie the time, in alleging what other men ſay thereof, whoſe minds do ſo farre diſagree one from another, as they do all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

The Ikenild or Ikenild began ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirneceſter, then to Ikenild. Ikenild. Ikenild, Wilcombe, Winton, Lichfield, Warbie, Cheſterfield; and croſſing the Watlingſtreet ſomewhere in Poſkeſhire, ſtretched ſouth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine ſea, as moſt men do confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him do ſaie to place the Icenes in Poſſſolke and Suſſolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be done, ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they late nere vnto the Silures, and (as I geſſe) either in Stafford and Worceſter ſhires, or in both, except my coniecture do faile me. The author of the booke, intituled *Eulogium hiſtoriarum*, doth call this ſtreet the Lelme. But as herein he is deceiued, ſo haue I dealt withall ſo faithfullie as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confulſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof I muſt leaue to other men that are better learned than I.

Now to ſpeake generallie of our common high waies through the Engliſh part of the Ile (for of the reſt I can ſaie nothing) you ſhall vnderſtand that in the clai or cledgie ſoile they are often verie deepe and troubleſome in the winter halfe. Wherefore by

authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their pearleie amendment, whereby all sorts of the common people do imploye their trauell for six daies in summer vpon the same. And albeit that the intent of the statute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decayed places, yet the rich do so cancell their portions, and the poore so loiter in their labours, that of all the six, scarcelie two good days woorks are well performed and accomplished in a parish on these so necessarie affaires. Besides this, such as haue land lieng vpon the sides of the waies, do vterlie neglect to digh and scowre their daines and water-courses, for better avoidance of the winter waters (except it may be set off or cut from the meaning of the statute) whereby the streets do grow to be much more gulled than befoze, and thereby verie noysome for such as trauell by the same. Sometimes also, and that verie often, these daies woorks are not imployed vpon those waies that lead from market to market, but ech suruey for amendeth such by-plots & lanes as seeme best for his owne commoditie, and more easie passage vnto his fields and pastures. And whereas in some places there is such want of stones, as thereby the inhabitants are bounden to seeke them farre off in other soiles: the owners of the lands wherein those stones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them bozne auaie, do now reape no small commoditie by raising the same to exorbitant prices, whereby their neighbours are bounden to grievous charges, which is another cause wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. If in alie, this is another thing likewise to be considered of, that the trees and bushes growing by the streets sides; do not a little keepe off the force of the sunne in summer for cooling by of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs should continually be kept thort, and the bushes not suffered to spread so far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would also be remedied, and manie a rough proue hard ground that yet is deepe and holow. Of the baillie inroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I speake not. But this I know by experience, that whereas some streets with in these five and twentie yeares haue bene in most places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the traveller might either escape the chafe, or kisse the miter, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horse; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or six and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be the worse, and manie an honest man encombred in his iourneie. But what speake I of these things where, of I do not thinke to heare a iust redresse, because the error is so common, and the benefit thereby so sweet and profitable to manie, by such houses and cottages as are raised vpon the same.

Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons.

Chap. 20.



Such as are bred in this Island are men for the most part of a good complexion, tall of stature, strong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldnesse and courage in the warres. As for their generall conelusion of person, the testimony of Gregorie the great, at such time as he saw English captiues sold at Rome, shall easilie confirme what it is, which yet doth differ in sundrie shires and soiles, as also their proportion of men,

bers, as we may perceiue betwene Herefordshire and Cheshire men, or Cambridgeshire and the Londoners for the one, and Buckingham and Bedfordshire for the other; these latter being distinguished by their noses and heads, which commonlie are greater there than in other places of the land. As concerning the stomachs also of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies bene in souereigne admiration among foreign princes: for such hath bene the estimation of our soldiers from time to time, since our Isle hath bene knowne vnto the Romans, that wheresoener they haue serued in foreign countries, the chiefe brunts of seruice haue bene referred vnto them. Of their conquests and bloudie battels wome in France, Germany, and Scotland, our histories are full: & where they haue bene overcome, the victors themselves confessed their victories to haue bene so dearly bought, that they would not gladielie couet to overcome often, after such difficult manner. In martiall prowesse, there is little or no difference betwene Englishmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue bene often and verie grievouslie overcome by the force of our nation, it hath not bene for want of manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of God shewed on vs, and his iustice vpon them, with they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs mere insurie with great despite and crueltie.

Leland noting somewhat of the constitution of our bodies, saith these words grounding (I thinke vpon Aristotle, who writeth that such as dwell nere the north, are of more courage and strength of bodie than skillfulness or wisdom.) The Britons are white in colour, strong of bodie, and full of blood, as people inhabiting nere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the soile is not so fruitfull, and therefore the people not so feeble: whereas contrariwise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & some so blacke in deed as anie crow or raven. Thus saith he. Whobest, as those which are bred in sundrie places of the maine, do come behind vs in constitution of bodie, so I grant, that in pregnancie of wit, nimbleness of limmes, and politike inventions, they generally exceed vs: notwithstanding that otherwise these gifts of theirs do often degenerate into mere subtiltie, instabilitie, unfaithfulness, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the fertilest region doth bring forth the dullest wits, and contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in mine opinion, the most fertile soile doth bring forth the proudest nature, as we may see by the Campanians, who (as Cicero also saith) had *Penes eos ipsa dominium superbia*. But nether of these opinions do iustlie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleased the writers to saie their pleasures of vs. And so: that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the foreign historiographers, to be men of great strength and little policie, much courage and small thrift, because of the weak abode of the sunne with vs, whereby our bzaines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymerus noteth lib. 3: affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockish vnciuill, fierce and warlike, which qualitties increase, as they come nearer vnto the pole: whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blacknesse, wisdom, ciuilitie, weakenesse, and cowardise, thus saith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the same conclusion to be made of the constitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his assertion holdeth onelie in their persons that inhabit nere vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the small variance of the sunne with vs, it is also confuted by the length of

Non vi sed vir-
tute, non armis
sed ingenio vin-
citur Angli.

of our dates. Wherefore his reason seemeth better to uphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro as he added, than to proue that we want wit, because our brains are not warmed by the tartance of the sunne. And thus also doth Comineus burden vs after a sort in his historie, and after him Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countrymen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compasse to do so much in Britaine, as the strength and courage of our Englishmen (not without great wisdom and force) haue brought to passe in France. The Galles in time past contemned the Romans (saith Caesar) because of the smallness of their stature: howbeit, for all their greatness (saith he) and at the first bunt in the warres, they shew themselves to be but feeble, neither is their courage of any force to stand in great calamities. Certes in accusing our wisdom in this sort, he doth (in mine opinion) increase our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightly with singleness of mind, sincerelie and plainlie, without anie such suspicious fetches in all our dealings, as they commonlie practise in their affaires, then are our countrymen to be accounted wise and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftinesse, subtilie practises, doublenesse, and hollow behaviour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wisdom: then are Comineus and his countrymen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time bene used as an eare marke of their dissimulation,

Galli ridendo fidem frangunt. &c.

How these latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to discusse. How they are daily practised in manie places of the maine, & he accounted most wise and politike, that can most of all dissemble; here is no place fittie to determine (neither would I with my countrymen to learne anie such wisdom) but that a king of France could saie; *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, & vivere*, their owne histories are testimonies sufficient. Galen, the noble physician, transferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blacke, constancie; to blond, mirth; to phlegme, courtelie: which being mixed more or lesse among themselves, do yeld an infinit varietie. By this means therefore it cometh to passe, that he whose nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with strength of bodie, and sinceritie of behaviour (qualities vniuersallie granted to remaine so well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot see what may be an hinderance whie I should not rather conclude, that the Britons do excell such as dwell in the hotter countries, than for want of craft and subtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie also for some to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talke) as barbarous, because we so little regard the shedding of our blood, and rather tremble not when we see the liqour of life to go from vs (I vse their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eyes, because we be rather indamed than appalled at our wounds, then are those objections flat cowards in our iudgement: sith we thinke it a great peece of manhood to stand to our tackling, untill the last drop, as men that may spare much because we haue much: whereas they hauing lesse are afraid to lose that little which they haue: as Frontinus also noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their histories, I make little account of it: for I am of the opinion, that as an Italian witting of his credit; A papist in treating of religion, a Spaniard of his mekenesse, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no more is a Frenchman to be trusted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he doth either dissimble

or erre, which is a foule vice in such as profess to deale vprightly. Neither are we so hard to strangers as Horace would seeme to make vs, sith we loue them so long as they abuse vs not, & make account of them so far forth as they despise vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vse our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in so ample manner as we our selues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to do in their countries, where no stranger is suffered to haue worke, if an home-bozne be without. But to proceed with our purpose.

With vs (although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well) some do liue an hundred yers, verie manie vnto foure score: as for thre score, it is taken but for our entrance into age, so that in Britaine no man is said to wax old till he draw vnto thre score, at which time God speed you well cometh in place; as Epaminondas sometime said in mirth, affirming that untill thirtie yeares of age, you are welcome is the best salutation; and from thence to thre score, God keepe you; but after thre score, it is best to saie, God speed you well; for at that time we begin to grow toward our iournies end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leaue to go. These two are also noted in vs (as things appertaining to the firme constitutions of our bodies) that there hath not bene scene in anie region so manie carcasses of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine; and that after death by slaughter or other wise, such as remaine vnburied by foure or five daies together, are easie to be knowne and discerned by their friends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of sundrie nations, saying, that their bodies are *Tam fluide substantie*, that within certaine houres the wise shall hardlie know hir husband, the mother hir sonne, or one friend another after their liues be ended. In like sort the comelinesse of our liuing bodies do continue from middle age (for the most) euen to the last gaspe, speciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children do after sortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie so wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerse of other countries with whom their men also do much participate; and thereto be so often toward and peeuish, that nothing in maner may content them.

Salutations
according to
our ages.

I might here adde somewhat also of the mirae stature generallie of our women, whose beautie commonlie erreth the fairest of those of the maine, their comelinesse of person and good proportion of limmes, most of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the seas. This neuertheless I vtterlie mislike in the yonger sort of them, for the wealthier do sildome offend herein: that being of themselves without gouernement, they are so careless in the education of their children (wherein their husbands also are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, do oftentimes come to confusion, which (if anie correction or discipline had bene used toward them in youth) might haue proued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good seruice and industrie. I could make report likewise of the naturall vices and vertues of all those that are bozne within this Island, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to set forth the same, so will I giue place to other men that list to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the constitutions of our bodies: and so much may suffice.

How Britaine at the first grew to be
divided into three portions.

Cap. 21.

After the coming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you have read in the foresaid treatise, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Christ, although Góropius after his manner do utterly denie our historie in this behalfe) he made a generall surueis of the whole Iland from side to side, by such means to view and search out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but also what commodities this new atchived conquest might yeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the last also a conuenient place therein to erect a citie, he began there euen the verie same which at this daie is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his ancestors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welshmen do call it still Treenowth. This citie was builded (as some write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, so that he liued not aboue fiftene yeares after he had finished the same. But of the rest of his other acts attempted and done, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certaine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arrival by the space of foure and twentie yeares, he finished his daies at Trenouanton aforesaid, being in his young and flourishing age, where his carcase was honourable interred. As for the manner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among such writers as are extant; I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of greivous wounds receiued in his warres against such as withstood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can saie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languishing paines, he made a disposition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his sonnes then liuing, whereof the eldest exceeded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my coniecture giueth me.

Locrine.

Lhoegria.

Camber.
Cambria.

To the eldest therefore, whose name was Locrine, he gaue the greatest and best region of all the rest, which of him to this daie is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England: of such English Saxons as made conquest of the same. This portion also is included on the south with the British sea, on the east with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the west with the Irish sea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall description of this Iland I haue spoken more at large. To Camber his second sonne he assigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dee, toward the west (which parcell in these daies containeth Southwailes and Northwailes) with sundrie Ilands adiacent to the same, the whole being in manner cut off and separated from England or Lhoegria by the said streams, whereby it seemeth also a peninsula or by-land, if you respect the small hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betwene the maine courses, or such branches (at the least) as run and fall into them. The Welshmen or Britons call it by the ancient name still vnto this day, but we Englishmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time past did vse the word Wally in such sort as we do Strange: for as

we call all those Strangers that are not of our nation, so did they name them Wally, which were not of their countrie.

The third and last part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanat his youngest sonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue said before) whose portion seemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatnesse with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the generall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you shall find them to be not much discrepant or differing one from another: for what soeuer the first & second haue in plenty of corne, fine grasse, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding store of fish, yet more tall, quarrtes of stone, and abundance of wild foule: so that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforesaid maner. This later parcell at the first, toke the name of Albanatus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) retaineth the said denomination, the rest being called Scotland, of certaine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in those quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres also by the Solue and the Firth, yet some do note the Humber, so that Albania (as Brute left it) contained all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforesaid streame, vnto the point of Cathnesse.

Albanat.

Albania.

Locrine king
also of Scot-
land.

To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himselfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life; and being solemnely interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and toke possession of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanat, who was slaine by Humber king of the Scythians, and left none issue behind him to succede him in that kingdome.

After what maner the souereigntie
of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes
of Lhoegres or kings of England.

Chap. 22.

It is possible that some of the Scottish nation, reading the former chapter, will take offense with me for meaning that the principalltie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwaies belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whose more ample satisfaction in this behalfe, I will here set downe a discourse thereof at large, written by diuerse, and now finally brought into one treatise, sufficient (as I thinke) to satisfie the reasonable, although not halfe enough peradventure to content a twangling mind, sth there is (or at the least) hath bene nothing more odious among some, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to doe in Scotland.

How their historiographers haue attempted to shape manie coloured excuses to auoid so manifest a title, all men may see that read their bookes indifferentlie, whereunto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments together, wherein chætie I haue used the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawiur, who wrote thereof

The Scots
alwaies desirous
to shake
off English
subiection,
haue often
made cruell &
odious at-
tempts to do
but in
vaine.

thereof (of set purpose) to king Edward the first, as
Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, John
Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beside these other,
whereof the first dedicated his treatise to Henrie the
fourth, the second to Edward the third, and the third
to Edward the first, as their writings yet extant do
abundantly beare witness. The title also that Le-
land giueth his booke, which I haue had written with
his owne hand, beginneth in this maner: These re-
membrances following are found in chronicles au-
thorized, remaining in diuerse monasteries both in
England and Scotland, by which it is euidentlie
knowen and shewed, that the kings of England
haue had, and now ought to haue the soueraintie
ouer all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the
kings there reigning from time to time, &c. Herevnto
you haue heard already, what diuision Brute
made of this Iland not long before his death, whereof
each of his children, so soon as he was interred, toke
seizure and possession. Wherevnto, after two yeares it
happened that Albanius was slaine, wherevpon Lo-
crinus and Camber raising their powers, reuenged
his death: and finally the said Lo crinus made an
entrance vpon Albania, seized it into his owne
hands (as erreth whole vnto himselfe) without
yielding any part thereof vnto his brother Camber,
who made no claime nor title vnto any portion of
the same. Whereby then (saith Adams) it euidentlie
appeareth, that the entire seignorie ouer Albania
consisted in Lo crinus, according to which example
like law among brethren euer since hath continued,
in preferring the eldest brother to the onelie benefit
of the collateral ascension from the pongest, as well
in Scotland as in England vnto this date.

Chzanke the lineall heire from the bodie of this
Lo crinus, that is to saie, the sonne of Peppis, sonne
of Hadan, sonne of the same Lo crinus builded in Al-
bania the castell of Hadens, now called Edenbo-
rough (so called of Alban sometime king of Scotland,
but at the first named Cair Pind Agnes. 1. the cas-
tell on mount Agnes; and the castell of Virgins)
and the castell of Alcluth or Alclade, now called
Dunbarton, as the Scottish Histor Boetius confes-
seth: whereby it most euidentlie appeareth, that our
Chzanke was then thereof seized. This Chzanke
reigned in the said state ouer them a long time; after
whose death Albania (as annexed to the empire of
Britaine) descended to the onelie king of Britons,
vntill the time of the two sisters sonnes, Porzgan and
Conedage, lineall heires from the said Chzanke,
who brotherlie at the first diuided the realme betwix
them; so that Porzgan had Lhoegres, and Conedage
had Albania. But shortly after Porzgan the elder
brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother
with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature,
and gaue place to ambition, and therevpon denoun-
cing warre, death miserable ended his life (as the
reward of his vntu) whereby Conedage obtained
the whole empire of all Britaine: in which state he
remained during his naturall life.

From him the same lineallie descended to the
onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne
of Corbodian, who had three sonnes, Ferrer,
and Porzer. This Porzer, requiring like diuision
of the land, affirming the former partition to be
rather of law than fact, was by the hands of his
elder brother (well loued of quene mother) both of
his life and hoped kingdome bereaued at once.
Wherevpon their vniuersall mother, vnto her na-
tural malice for the death of her one sonne (without
regard of the losse of both) miserable thus the other
in his bed mistrusting no such treason.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scottish as other,
was the next inheritor to the whole empire: but

lacking power (the onelie meane in those dates to
obtaine right) he was contented to diuide the same
among foure of his kinsmen; so that Scater had
Albania. But after the death of this Cloten, his
sonne Dunwallo Molmutius made warre vpon
these foure kings, and at last ouercame them, and so
recovered the whole dominion. In token of which
victorie, he caused himselfe to be crowned with a
crown of gold, the verie first of that mettall (if any
at all were before in use) that was wrought among the
kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected tem-
ples, wherein the people should assemble for praier;
to which temples he gaue benefit of sanctuary. He
made the law for wager of battell, in cases of mur-
der and felonie, whereby a thiefe that liued and made
his art of fighting, should for his purgation fight
with the true man whom he had robbed, believing as-
surely, that the gods (for then they supposed manie)
would by miracle assigne victorie to none but the in-
nocent partie. Certes the priuileges of this law,
and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in
England, be intioed to this date, few causes by late
positive laws among vs excepted; wherein the benefit
of wager of battell is restrained. By which obedi-
ence to his lawes; it doth manifestlie appere, that
this Dunwallo was then seized of Albania, now
called Scotland. This Dunwallo reigned in this
estate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Brenne the sonnes also of Dunwallo,
did after their fathers death fauourable diuide the
land betwix them; so that Beline had Lhoegres, &
Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a
sachie) without the consent of his elder brother and
lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the
king of Denmarke; Beline seized Albania into his
owne hands, and therevpon caused the notable waies
priuileged by Dunwallons lawes to be newlie
wrought by mens hands, which for the length exten-
ded from the further part of Cornewall, vnto the sea
by north Cathness in Scotland. In like sort to and
for the better maintenance of religion in those dates,
he constituted ministers called archflamines, in sun-
drie places of this Iland (who in their seuerall func-
tions resembled the bishops of our times) the one of
which remained at Chzanke now called Porke, and
the whole region Caerbjantonica (whereof Ptolomie
also speaketh but not without wresting of the name)
whose power extended to the uttermost bounds of
Albania, whereby likewise appeareth that it was then
within his owne dominion. After his death the whole
Ile was intioed by the onelie kings of Britaine, vn-
till the time of Uigenius & Peridurus lineall heires
from the said Beline, who fauourable made partiti-
on, so that Uigenius had all the land from Humber
by south, and Peridurus from thence northwards all
Albania, &c. This Uigenius died, and Peridurus
suraiued, and thereby obtained the whole, from whom
the same quietlie descended, and was by his posteri-
tie accordingly intioed, vntill the reigne of Coell
the first of that name. In his time an obscure nation
(by most writers supposed Scythians) passed by seas
from Ireland, and arrived in that part of Britaine
called Albania: against whome this Coell assembled
his power, and being entred Albania to expell them,
one Fergus in the night disguised, entered the tent
of this Coell, and in his bed traitorously slae him.

This Fergus was therefore, in reward of his great
proweesse, made there king, wherevpon they sat downe
in that part, with their wiues and children, and called
it Scotland, and themselves Scots: from the begin-
ning of the world, foure thousand six hundred and se-
penteene yeares after the Scottish accompt, which
by iust computation and confession of all their owne
writers, is six hundred yeares lacking ten, after that
Mutus

Butus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the same land being inioied by him and his posteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie descents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large prescription. Certes this intrusion into a land so manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by so manie descents of kings quietly inioied, is the best title that all their owne wryters can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus hereupon immediatlie did diuide Albania also among his capteins and their souldiers: where by it most euidentlie appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe whereof the same partition shall follow.

Out of He-
ctor Boecius
lib. 1.

The lands of Cathnes lieng against Dykeie, betwene Dummshete and the water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capteine and his people. The lands betwene the water of Thane & Fes, now called Kosse, being in bredth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Loch, were giuen to Lurozke, another capteine and his people. The lands betwene Spaie and Fes, from the Almane seas to the Ireland seas, now called Murrat land, were giuen to one Marroch and his people. The land of Thalia, now called Boim Airye, Bogelwall, Cartot, Foy martine, and Wologuhan, were giuen to one Halis and his people. The lands of Par Baderenoch, and Lochgubaber, were giuen to Martach and his people. The lands of Loine and Laintier, with the hilles and mounteins thereof, lieng from Par to the Ireland seas, were giuen to capteine Banance and his people. The lands of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabaurt, & Bzawdawane lieng west from Dunkell, were giuen to Treones & Epiththes two capteins. The lands of Argile, were giuen to Argathelas a capteine. The lands of Linnor & Clididale were allotted to Loglona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Bile, Carrike & Cuningham, were giuen to Silurth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now called Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie called Brigandes, which (as their best men) were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons from Annandale in Albanie, whereby it is confessed to be before inhabited by Britons. The residue of the land now called Scotland, that is to saie: Heirnis, Angus, Steremond, Golarie, Strahern, Birth, Fisse, Striueling, Callender, Calderwood, Loughian, Pers, Teuedale, with other the Kement Dales, & the Sherrisdome, of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nation mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whose capteine called Beringer builded the castell and towne of Berwicke vpon Tweede, & these people were called Picts, vpon whome by the death of this Coell, these Scots had oportunitie to vse wars, whereof they ceased not, vntill such time as it pleased God to appoint another Coell king of Britons, against whose name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the first, yet he preuailed and ceased not his warre, vntill these Scots were vtterlie expelled out of all the boundes of Britaine, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troublesome reigne of Sisilt king of Britons, which was the twelfth king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill discord of this realme, betwene this Sisilt and his brother Bleda to their best advantage, arrived againe in Albania, & there made one Keuther their king.

Berouicum po-
tius à Berubio
promontorio.

Upon this their new arrivall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sisilt king of Britons, in which warre Keuther their new king died, and Thereus succeeded, against whome the warre of Britons ceased not, vntill he freely submitted him-

selfe to the said Sicill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Forke, where Thostlie after the tenth yeare of his reigne he died. Finname brother of Josine succeeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who Thostlie after (compelled by the warres of the same Sicill) declared himselfe subiect, and for the better assurance of his faith and obedience to the king of Britons, deliuered his sonne Durfus into the hands of this Sicill: who fantasieing the child, and hoping by his owne succession to alter their subtiltie (I will not saie duplictie faith Adams) married him in the end to Agasia his owne daughter.

This Durfus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed she was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the same cause, for which they ought rather to haue liked him the better, and therefore not onelic traitorouslie due him; but further to declare the end of their malice, disherited (as much as in them was) the issues of the same Durfus and Agasia. Hereupon new warre sprang betwene them and vs, which ceased not vntill they were contented to receiue Edeir to their king, the next in blood then liuing, descended from Durfus and Agasia, and thereby the blood of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was restored to the crowne of Albania: so that nature, whose law is immutable, caused this bond of loue to hold. For Thostlie after this Edeir attended vpon Calibclane king of Britons, for the repulse of Iulius Caesar, as their owne author Boetius confesseth, who commanded the same as his subiect. But Iulius Caesar, after his second arrivall, by treason of Androgeus preuailed against the Britons, and thereupon pursued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himselfe saith in his commentaries) subdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots denie it, their dead wryters confesse that he came beyond Calender wood, and cast downe Camelon, the principall citie of the Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of stone, which remained in some perfection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called the first after the conquest, by whome it was subuerbed: but the monument thereof remaineth to this daie.

Marinus the sonne of Arutragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scythian, with a great rabble of needie souldiours, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the sea, diuiding Pentland from Fisse: against whome this Marinus assembled a power, by which he slue this Roderike, and discomfited his people in Westmerland: but to those that remained aliue, he gaue the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which proueth it to be within his owne dominion.

Coell the sonne of this Marinus had issue Lucius, Corius, counted the first christian king of this nation: he conuerted the thre archbishops of this land into bishopps, and ordeined bishopps vnto ech of them. The first remained at London, and his power extended from the furthest part of Coznewall to Humber water. The second dwelled at Forke, and his power stretched from Humber to the furthest part of all Scotland. The third aboded at Caerleon vpon the riuer of Wylke in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Seuerne through all Wales. Some wryte that he made but two, and turned their names to archbishops, the one to remaine at Canturburie, the other at Forke: yet they confesse that he of Forke had iurisdiction through all Scotland: either of which is sufficient to proue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in blood a Briton (as some thinke) and the lineall heire of the bodie

Galiam

Coil.

Constan

bodie of Androgeus sonne of Lud, & nephew of Cambelane, was shortly after emperor & king of Britons; in whose time the people to whom his ancestor Sparus gave the land of Cathnesse in Scotland, conspired with the Scots, & received them from the Isles into Scotland. But hereupon this Severus came into Scotland, and meeting with their faith and false parts together, drove them all out of the maine land into Isles, the bittermost bounds of all great Britaine. But notwithstanding this glorious victorie, the Britons considering their servitude to the Romans, imposed by treason of Androgeus, ancestor to this Severus, began to hate him, whom yet they had no time to love, and who in their defense and suertie had slaine of the Scots and their confederates in one battell thirtie thousand: but such was the consideration of the common foe in those daies, whose malice no time could diminish, nor lust desert appease.

Basilius. Antoninus Basilius borne of a Briton woman, and Geta borne by a Romane woman, were the sonnes of this Severus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended for the crowne. Few Britons held with Basilius, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was slaine, and Basilius remained emperor, against whom Caracius rebelled, who gave unto the Scots, Picts, and Scythians, the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his seison thereof appeareth.

Coill. Coill, descended of the blood of the ancient kings of this land, was shortly after king of the Britons, whose onelie daughter and heire called Helen, was married unto Constantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Britaine, and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his state over them thirtene or fouretene yeares.

Constantine. Constantine the sonne of this Constance, and Helen, was next king of Britons, by the right of his mother, who passing to Rome to receive the empire thereof, deputed one Octavius king of Wales, and duke of the Welshes (which some expound to be afterward called west Saxons) to have the government of this dominion. But abusing the kings innocent goodnesse, this Octavius defrauded this trust, and took upon him the crowne. For which traitorie albeit he was once vanquished by Leonine Traheron, great uncle to Constantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he prevailed againe, and usurped over all Britaine. Constantine being now emperor sent Maximian his kinsman hither (in processe of time) to destroy the same Octavius, who in singular battell discomfited him. Whereupon this Maximian, as well by the consent of great Constantine, as by the election of all the Britons, for that he was a Briton in blood, was made king or rather vicegerent of Britaine. This Maximian made warre upon the Scots and Scythians within Britaine, and ceased not untill he had slaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and driven them out of the whole limits and bounds of Britaine. Finally he inhabited all Scotland with Britons, no man, woman, nor child of the Scottish nation suffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius saith) was for their rebellion; and rebellion properlie could it not be, except they had bene subjects. He suffered the Picts also to remaine his subjects, who made sollemne othes to him, never after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine under the old empire of the onelie king of Britaine. I had once an epistle by Leland exemplified (as he saith) out of a verie ancient recozd which bea-

reth title of Helena unto his sonne Constantine, and entrencheth after this manner; *Domino semper Augusto filio Constantino, mater Helena semper Augusta, &c.* And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conuert it into this treatise whilst I had his booke. For thereby I might haue had great light for the estate of this present discourse: but as then I had no mind to haue travelled in this matter; neuertheless, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wish it were referred. It followeth on also in this maner (as it is translated out of the Greeke) *Veritatem sapientis animus non recusat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quamcumque iacturam, &c.*

About five and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximian) with the helpe of Conan or Conan and Helga, the Scots newlie arrived in Albania, and there created one Fergus the second of that name to be there king. But because they were before banished the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduantage in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the pyere of our Lord, foure hundred and two and twentie, as they themselves doe write.

Maximian. Maximian sonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to king Coill, and uncle to Helene, was by lineall succession next king of Britons: but to appease the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who also claimed the kingdome, he married Dithila eldest daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards assembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, invading Gallowaie, Pers, Annandale, Pentland, Carrike, Kill, and Cuningham, and in battell slue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durstus the king of Picts, and expelled all their people out of the continent land: whereupon the few number of Scots then remaining a litle, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obtained quietnesse in Britaine, he departed with his cousine Conan Peridocke into Armorica, where they subdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gave to Conan his cousine, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britaine the lesse: and hereof this realme toke name of Britaine the great, which name by consent of foren writers it keepeth unto this daie.

After the death of Maximian, dissention being moved betwene the nobles of Britaine, the Scots swarmed together againe, and came to the wall of Adysan, where (this realme being divided in manie factions) they overcame one. And hereupon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that for lateng of one egg, will make a great cackeling) sollemnlie triumphing for a conquest before the victorie, alledgeth that hereby the Britons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confesseth that they won no more land, by that supposed conquest, but the same portion betwene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleued, that such a broken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from banishment within foure yeares before, and since in battell losing both their kings, and the great number of their best men, to be thus able to make a conquest of great Britaine; and verie unlikely if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot sunne of the south parts, to dwell in the cold snow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in cases of conquest behoueth. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Britaine, or any other countrie, should be won without the coming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taried finally at the same wall of Adysan, whereof I spake before.

But what need I speake of these defenses, when the

the same Boecius scantlie trusteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he saith that Calfride; and sundrie other authentike wryters, diuerslie varie from this part of his storie, wherein his owne thought accuseth his conscience of vntruth: herein also he further forgetting how it behoueth a lier to be mindfull of his assertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie betwixt him selfe, saying that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betwixt the Britons (which then followed) hoped shortly to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the fresh sea, which hope had bene vaine, and not lesse than bold, if it had bene their owne by anie conquest before.

Constantine of Britaine, descended from Conan king thereof, couline of Brytes bloud to this Parisman, and his neere heire was next king of Britaine, he immediatlie pursued the Scots with wars, and shortly in battell slue their king Dongard, in the first yeare of his reigne, whereby he recovered Scotland out of their hands, and toke all the holdes thereof into his owne possessions. Vortiger shortly after obtained the crowne of Britaine, against whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repressing whereof (mistrusting the Britons to hate him for sundrie causes, as one that to auoid the smoke doth off fall into the fire) receiued Hengest a Saxon, and a great number of his countreymen, with whom and a few Britons he entred Scotland & ouercame them, whereupon they toke the Isles, which are their common refuge. He gaue also much of Scotland, as Gallowaie, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with sundrie other lands to this Hengest and his people to inhabit, which they did accordingly inioie. But when this Hengest in procelle of time thirsted after the whole kingdome of the south, he was banished, and yet afterward being restored, he conspired with the Scots against Aurilambrose the sonne of Constantine, the iust inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompensed together, for he was taken prisoner by Eudulph de Samor, a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie striken off at the commandement of Aurilambrose. In the field the Scots were vanquished: but when the sonne of Hengest was receiued to mercie, to whom and his people this Aurilambrose gaue the countrie of Gallowaie in Scotland, for which they became his subiects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

After called also Pendragon, brother to Aurilambrose was next king of the Britons, against whom, these sworne Saxons now forsworne subiects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power assembled against them in Gallowaie in Scotland, they were discomfited, & Albania againe recovered vnto his subiection. Arthur the sonne of this Uter, begotten before the marriage, but lawfull borne in matrimonie, succeeded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whose noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather stained than commended: yet all the Scottish wryters confesse, that he subdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then scattered as far as Cathnesse in Scotland: and in all these wars against them, he had the seruice and obedience of Scots and Picts. But at the last setting their feet in the gulfie paths of their predecessors, they rebelled and besieged the citie of Powke, Holwell king of the lesse Britaine couline to king Arthur being therein. But he with an host came thither and discomfited the Scots, chased them into a marsh, and besieged them there so long, that they were almost famished: untill the bishops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were christened people)

besought him to take them to his mercede and grace, and to grant them a portion of the same countrie to dwell in vnder enerlasting subiection. Vpon this he toke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were sworne his subiects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinsman Angulfan to be their king and gouernour, Brian king of Irland, and Puerfrence king of Dykeneie. He made an archbishop of Powke also, whose authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finallie, the said Arthur holding his roiall feast at Cairleon, had there all the kings that were subiects vnto him, among which, Angulfan the said king of Scots did his due seruice and homage, so long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs sword afore him. Malgo shortly after succeeded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new resistance made, subdued Ireland, Irland, the Orkneys, Powwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the sword obtained at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true subiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan succeeded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defense of his subiects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the last they agreed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he thereupon subdued and inioied: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that next succeeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Whereupon the same Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treason resealed the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the vicerois of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his subiects, in singular battell he slue the same Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Osuald was shortly after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as subiect to Cadwallo, and by his commandement discomfited the Scots and Picts, and subdued all Scotland. Oswite the brother of this Osuald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie subdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obedience to this Cadwallo, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the seuen kings thereof, as well Saxons as others his subiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatly increased, yet were they alwaies either at the first expelled, or else made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne wryters do confesse.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his subiects, which died of sundrie diseases innumerable, he departed into little Britaine. His sonne and couline Iuor and Iue, being expelled out of England also by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their posteritie remained princes. Vpon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betwixt the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to slip the collar of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then king of France, establishing it in this wise.

- 1 The iniurie of Englishmen done to anie of these people, shall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.
- 2 When Frenchmen be inuaded by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their armie in defense of France, so that they be supported with monie and vittels

Some thinke the Scythians to come from this man by lineall descent and I suppose no lesse.

Nicholas Adams.

« bittels by the French.

« 3 When Scots be invaded by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come vpon their owne expenses, to their support and succour.

« 4 None of the people shall take peace or truce with Englishmen, without the aduise of other, &c.

Nicholas
Adams.

Manie disputable opinions may be had of warre without the praising of it, as onlie admittable by enforced necessitie, and to be vsed for peace sake onelie, where here the Scots sought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league giueth no benefit to themselves, either in free traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other priuilege to the people of both. That discommoditie riseth by losing the intercoure and exchange of our commodities (being in necessities more abundant than France) the Scots feele, and we percellie know. What ruine of their towne, destruction of countries, slaughter of both peoples, haue by reason of this bloudie league chanced, the histories be lamentable to read, and horrible among christian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increase according to their seed, for as they did hereby sowe dissention, so did they shortly after reape a bloudie slaughter and confusion. For Alpine their king, possessing a light mind that would be lost with a little wind, hoped by this league shortly to subdue all great Britaine; and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but also usurped vpon the kingdome of Wales. Wherevpon Edward king of England, made one Rudeus king of Wales, whom he sent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he toke this Alpine king of Scots prisoner, and discomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found subiect and rebell, his head was striken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Passalpine, that is to saie, the head of Alpine. And this was the first effect of their French league.

« Oswight king of England, with Ella his subiect, and a great number of Britons and Barons shortly after, for that the Scots had of themselves elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceased not his war against them, untill their king and people fled into the Isles, with whom at the last vpon their submission, peace was made in this wise.

The water of Frith shall be march betwene Scots and Englishmen in the east parts, and shall be named the Scottish sea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbizon, shall be march in the west parts betwene the Scots and Britons. This castell was before called Alcluide, but now Dunbizon, that is to say, the castle of Britons, and sometimes it was destroyed by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland seas, and from the water of Frith to Cluide to Cumber, with all the strengths and commodittes thereof: and the Englishmen had the lands betwene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betwene the Scots and the Britons on the one side, and the water of Frith named the Scottish sea, march betwene them and Englishmen on the other side, and Sterling common march to thre people, Britons, Englishmen, and Scots, howbeit king Oswight had the castle of Sterling, where first he caused to be coined Sterling monie. The Englishmen also builded a bridge of stone, for passage ouer the water of Frith, in the midst whereof they made a crosse, under which were written these verses:

I am free march, as passengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Englishmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arrived in Scotland, and slue Constantine, whom Os-

wight had before made king: wherevpon Eadulfe or Ethelwulfe, then king of England, assembled his power against Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell slue them both; but such of their people as would remaine and become christians, he suffered to tarry: the rest he banished or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulfe granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and lesse right: yet the payment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer since vnto this daie haue, and yet do paye it, by reason of that grant, which proueth them to be then vnder his obedience.

Alured or Alfred succeeded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noble ouer the whole monarchie of great Britaine: he made lawes, that persons excommunicated should be disabled to sue or claime anie propertie; which law Gregour, whom this Alured had made king of Scots, obeyed; and the same law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which also proueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured constrained Gregour king of Scots also to breake the league with France, for generally he concluded with him, and serued him in all his warres, as well against Danes as others, not referring or making anie exception of the former league with France.

« The said Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like seruce and obedience of Donald king of Scots with five thousand horsemen, against one Gurmond a Dane that then infested the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obedience with Alured.

« Edward the first of that name called Christ sonne of this Alured succeeded his father, and was the next king of England: against whom Sithric a Dane and the Scots conspired; but they were subdued, and Constantine their king brought to obedience. He held the realme of Scotland also of king Edward, and this doth Marian their owne countreiman a Scot confesse: beside Roger Houeden, and William of Malmesberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 923, the same king Edward was president and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

« King Athelstane in like sort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beside Poyke, whilst the warres lasted, the king of Scots feined himselfe to be a minstrell, and harped before him onelie to espie his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confesse) corrupted with monie, he sold his faith and false heart together to the Danes, and aided them against king Athelstane at sundrie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Bruningsfield in the west countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the first booke of this description, where he discomfited the Danes, and slue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confesse themselves to haue lost more people than were remembred in anie age before. Then Athelstane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie subdued it, and being in possession thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie whereof doth follow:

I king Athelstane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witnesse Mauld my wife.

By which course words, not onelie appeareth the plaine simplicitie of mens dowings in those daies: but also a full proofe that he was then seized of Scotland. At the last also he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but for that he could not be re-
froyed

The description of Britaine.

forced to his whole kingdome, he entered into religion, and there shortly after died.

When Athelstane, for his better assurance of that countrie there after, thought it best to have two stringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie constituted one Malcolme to be their king, but also appointed one Indulph sonne of Constantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolme did homage to Athelstane.

Edmund brother of Athelstane succeeded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but also serued him with ten thousand Scots, for the expulsion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Some referre
this to an
Edward.

Edred or Ethred brother to this Edmund succeeded next king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Irle then king of Scots, but also the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the sonne of Edmund, brother of Athelstane, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the same Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before seized into the hands of Albright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He inioined Keneth their said king also once in euery yeere at certeine principall feasts (whereat the king did vse to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in those daies was done by the noble men or paires according to the order of France at this daie. He allowed also sundrie lodgings in England, to him and his successours, whereat to lie, and refresh themselves in their iourneys, whensoever they should come vp to do their homages: and finally a peece of ground lieng beside the new palace of Westmister, vpon which this Keneth builded a house, that by him and his posteritie was inioied vntill the reigne of king Henrie the second. In whose time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was resumed into the king of Englands hand. The house is decayed, but the ground where it stood is called Scotland to this daie.

Lawfull age
and wardship
of heires.

Moreouer, Edgar made this law, that no man should succeed to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights seruice, vntill he accomplished the age of one and twentie yeeres: because by intentment vnder that age, he should not be able in person to serue his king and countrie according to the tenor of his deed, and the condition of his purchase. This law was receiued by the same Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obserued to this daie: which proueth also that Scotland was then vnder his obeisance.

In the yeere of our Lord 974, Rinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Pacion king of Man and the Isles, Duucall king of South Wales, Siferth and Hotwell kings of the rest of Wales, Jacob or James of Gallowaie, & Iuhill of Westmerland did homage to king Edgar at Chester. And on the morrow going by water to the monasterie of saint Johns to seruire, and returning home againe: the said Edgar sitting in a barge, and stirring the same vpon the water of Dee, made the said kings to row the barge, saying that his successours might well be iofull to haue the prerogative of so great honour, and the superiortie of so manie mightie princes to be subiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the sonne of this Edgar, was next

king of England, in whose time this Keneth king of Scots caused Malcolme king of Scotland to be poisoned. Wherevpon king Edward made warre against him, which ceased not vntill this Keneth submitted himselfe, and offered to receiue him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Wherevpon king Edward proclaimed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the same king Edward.

10

Ethelred, brother of this Edward succeeded next ouer England, against whome Swaine king of Denmarke conspired with this last Malcolme then king of Scots. But shortly after, this Malcolme sorrowfullie submitted himselfe into the defence of Ethelred: who considering how that which could not be amended, must onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whose seruice at last Ethelred recovered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yeeres.

Edmund surnamed Ironside, sonne of this Ethelred, was next king of England, in whose time Canutus a Dane invaded the realme with much cruelty. But at the last he married with Emme sometime wife vnto Ethelred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betwene his naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured such amitie betwene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himselfe all England on this side Humber, gaue all the rest beyond Humber, with the seigniorie of Scotland to this Canutus. Wherevpon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accustomable resistance) did homage to the same Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the said Canutus held the same ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like seruices, so long as they liued together. This Canutus in memorie of this victorie, and glorie of his seigniorie ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betwene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Norwate and Denmarke, which church was by the same Malcolme accordingly performed.

40

Edward called the Confessor, sonne of Ethelred, and brother to Edmund Ironside, was afterward king of England: he tooke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme sonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

50

This Edward perused the old lawes of the realme, and somewhat added to some of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardship of the lands vntill the heire should accomplish the age of one and twentie yeeres. He added, that the marriage of such heire should also belong to the lord of whom the same land was holden. Also, that euery woman marrieng a free man, should (notwithstanding she had no children by that husband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during his life: with manie other lawes which the same Malcolme king of Scots obeyed, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obserued to this day, and directlie proueth the whole to be then vnder his obeisance.

By reason of this law, Malcolme the sonne of Duncane next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the custodie also of king Edward. During whose minority, one Mabeith a Scot traitorously usurped the crowne of Scotland. Against whome the said Edward made warre, in which

Edward
Confessor

William
Bastard.

William
Rufus.

To whome
the marriage
of the ward
pertaineth.

Henrie 1.

Mabeith.

which the said Macbeth was overcome and slain. Whereupon the said Maccolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeere of the reigne of king Edward aforesaid. This Maccolme also by tenor of the said new law of wardship, was married unto Margaret the daughter of Edward sonne of Edmund Ironside and Agatha, by the disposition of the same king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confessor for the kingdom of Scotland.

Edward the
Confessor.

Moreover, Edward of England, having no issue of his bodie, and mistrusting that Harald the son of Godwine, descended of the daughter of Harald Harefoot the Dane, would usurpe the crowne, if he should leave it to his cousin Edgar Castling (being then within age) and partly by the petition of his subjects, who before had sworn never to receive any kings over them of the Danish nation, did by his substantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demise the crowne of great Britaine unto William Bastard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, constituting him his heire testamentarie. Also there was proximity in blood betwene them: for Emma daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife unto Ethelred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward; and this William was son of Robert sonne of Richard, brother of the whole blood to the same Emma. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conquest, albeit that partly to extingnish the mistrust of other titles, and partly for the glorie of his victorie, he challenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath bene so written ever since the time of his arrivall.

William
Bastard.

Furthermore, this William, called the Bastard and the Conquerour, supposed not his conquest perfect till he had likewise subdued the Scots. Wherefore to bring the Scots to full obedience after his coronation, as heire testamentarie to Edward the Confessor; he entered Scotland, where after a little resistance made by the inhabitants, the said Maccolme then their king did homage to him at Abernethie in Scotland for the kingdom of Scotland, as to his superiour also by meane of his late conquest.

William
Rufus.

William surnamed Rufus, sonne to this William called the Conquerour, succeeded next in the throne of England, to whom the said Maccolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdom of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus slain in plain field. Whereupon the Scottishmen did choose one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus deposed him, and created Dunkane sonne of Maccolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finally, this Dunkane was slain by the Scots, and Dunwall restored, who once againe by this William Rufus was deposed; and Edgar son of Maccolme, and brother to the last Maccolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

Henrie 1.

Henrie called Beaucherke the sonne of William called the Conquerour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, succeeded to the crowne of England, to whom the same Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland; this Henrie Beaucherke married Matilda the daughter of Maccolme king of Scots, and by hir had issue Matilda after ward emperesse.

Matilda.

Alexander the sonne of Maccolme brother to this Matilda was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdom of Scotland to this Henrie the first, as Edgar had done before him. Matilda called the emperesse, daughter and heire to Henrie Beaucherke and Matilda his wife, received homage of David, brother to hir and to this Alexander

der next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdom of Scotland. This Matilda the emperesse gave unto David in the marriage, Matilda the daughter and heire of Godofredus earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And here in their evasion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earldome of Huntingdon. For this David was the first that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was since all the homages of their kings before recited; and at the time of this marriage; & long after the said Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforesaid to Henrie Beaucherke son to the aforesaid ladie, of whom I find this epitaph written to be remembered:

Ortu magna, viro maior, sed maxima parth.

Hic iacet Henrici filia, sponsa parens.

In the yeere of our Lord 1136, and first yeere of the reigne of king Stephen, the said David king of Scots being required to do his homage, refused it: for so much as he had done homage to Matilda the emperesse before time; notwithstanding the sonne of the said David did homage to king Stephen.

Henrie called Fitz emperesse, the sonne of Matilda the emperesse daughter of Matilda, daughter of Maccolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He received homage for Scotland of Maccolme sonne of Henrie, sonne of the said David their last king. Which Maccolme after this homage attended upon the same king Henrie in his warres against Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was never renewed after the last division of their countie by Maltolme king of England. But after these warres finished with the French king, this Maccolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: whereupon king Henrie immediately seted Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiscation, and made warres upon him in Scotland: during which the same Maccolme died without issue of his bodie.

William brother of this Maccolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for any earldome) did homage to the sonne of Henrie the second; with a reservation of the dutie to king Henrie the second his father. Also the earldome of Huntingdon was (as ye have heard) before this forfeited by Maccolme his brother, and never after restored to the crowne of Scotland.

Because they
were taken
from him
before.

This William did afterward attend upon the same Henrie the second, in his warres in Normandie against the French king (notwithstanding their French league) and then being licensed to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and upon the fifteenth of february he returned, and upon the first tenth of October did homage to him for the realm of Scotland. In token also of his perpetuall subjection to the crowne of England, he offered by his clothes, his saddle, and his speare at the high altar in York: whereupon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediately he moved cruel warre in Northumberland against the same king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God took the defense of king Henries part, and delivered the same William king of Scots into the hands of a few Englishmen, who brought him prisoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentieth yeere of his reigne. But at the last, at the suite of David his brother, Richard bishop of saint Andrews, and other bishops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his trespass: to wit, to paie ten thousand pounds sterling, and to surrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie.

¶.

which

which he did in all things accordingly, sealing his charters thereof with the great seale of Scotland, and signets of his nobilitie yet to be seene: wherein it was also compised, that he and his successours should hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his successours for ever. And hereupon he once againe did homage to the same king Henrie, which now could not be for the earldome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was already by him surrendred. And for the better assurance of this faith also, the strengths of Berwikke, Edenborough, Norborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confesse. But Hector Boetius saith, that this trespasse was amended by fine of twentie thousand pounds sterling, and that the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as mortgage into the hands of king Henrie, untill other ten thousand pounds sterling should be to him paid, which is so farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet proueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwise redeemed, or euer after came to anie Scottish kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earldome of Huntingdon was neuer occasion of the homages of the Scottish kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was done 1175. Whereouer I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montensis that liued in those daies, and was (as I take it) confessor to king Henrie. The king of Scots both homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is sent home againe, his bishops also did promise to do the like to the archbishop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themselves to be of his prouince and iurisdiction. By vertue also of this composition the said Robert saith, that *Rex Angliae dabat honores, episcopatus, abbatias, et alias dignitates in Scotia, vel saltem eius consilio dabantur*, that is, The king of England gave honors, bishopricks, abbatships, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leastwise they were not giuen without his aduise and counsell.

At this time Alexander bishop of Rome (supposed to haue generall iurisdiction ecclesiasticall through christendome) established the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iurisdiction of the archbishop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of August, at Cairleill, Malcolm Talmant lord of Calwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, Gilbert sonne of Iserguse prince of Calwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie, and left Dunecan his sonne in hostage for conseruation of his peace.

Richard surnamed Cœur de Lion, because of his stoutnesse, and sonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whome the same William king of Scots did homage at Canturberie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken prisoner by the duke of Britich, for whose redemption the whole realme was taxed at great summes of monie, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a subiect) was contributory, and paid two thousand markes sterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, John king of England sent to William king of Scots, to come and do his homage, which William came to Lincoln in the moneth of December the same yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the presence of

Hubert archbishop of Canturberie, and of all the people there assembled, and thereunto toke his oath and was sworn vpon the crosse of the said Hubert: also he granted by his charter confirmed, that he should haue the mariage of Alexander his sonne, as his liegeman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promising moreover that he the said king William and his sonne Alexander, should keepe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie sonne of the said king John, as to their chiefe lord against all maner of men that might liue and die.

Also whereas William king of Scots had put John bishop of saint Andrew out of his bishopricke, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he should moue and induce the same William; and if need required by his roiall power and prerogative ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancoz against the said bishop, and suffer him to haue and occupie his said bishopricke againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and sue & twentieth of the reigne of Henrie sonne to king John, the same Henrie and the quene were at Yorke at the feast of Christmasse, for the solemnization of a mariage made in the feast of saint Stephen the martyr the same yeare, betwene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the said Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerse popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the first and Clement his successor, that they should obserue and trulie keepe all such appointments, as had bene made betwene the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland should still hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of curse and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his sonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whose minority king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to subdue a commotion in this realme, vsed the aid of fine thousand Scottishmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reason and law was respited untill his full age of one and twentieth yeares.

Edward the first after the conquest, sonne of this Henrie was next king of England; immediatly after whose coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Westminster, swearing (as all the rest did) after this maner.

I.D.N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men, faithfullie I shall knowlege and shall doo you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid, as God me so helpe and these holie euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scots died, leaving one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had married Iuanigo, sonne to Maganus king of Portugal, which daughter also shortly after died, leaving one onelie daughter his heire, of the age of two yeares, whose custodie and marlage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confessor, belonged to Edward the first: wherupon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to lena into Portugal, to conueie this yong quene into England.

England to him, whome he intended to haue married to his sonne Edward: and so to haue made a perfect vnion long wished for betwene both realmes. Whereupon their nobles at that time considering the same tranquillitie that manie of them haue since refused, stood not upon shifts and delaies of minozitie nor contempt, but most gladlie consented, and thereupon sent two noble men of Scotland into Poituaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward, but she died before their comming thither, and therefore they required nothing but to haue the lawfull libertie that they had quietlie possessed in the last king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were destitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alexander their last king, at which time this Edward descended from the bodie of Matw daughter of Malcolm sometime king of Scots, being then in the greatest boile of his warres with France, minded not to take the possession of that kingdome in his owne right, but was contented to establish Balliol to be king thereof, the weakie title betwene him, Bruce, & Hastings, being by the humble petition of all the realme of Scotland committed to the determination of king Edward, wherein by autentike writing they confessed the superiozitie of the realme to remaine in king Edward, sealed with the seales of foure bishops, seuen earles, and twelue barons of Scotland, and which shottie after was by the whole assent of the thre estates of Scotland, in their solemne parlement confessed and enacted accordinglie, as most euidentlie doth appeare.

The Balliol in this wise made king of Scotland, did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at Belocastell upon saint Stephens date (as did likewise all the lords of Scotland, each one setting his hand to the composition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but shottie after defrauding the benigne goodnesse of his superiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in England. Whereupon king Edward invaded Scotland, seized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and toke all the strengths thereof. Whereupon Balliol king of Scots came vnto him to spauntrolle in Scotland with a white ward in his hand, and there resigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and interest to the same, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and sealed the fourth yeare of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland also repaired to Berwikke, and did homage and fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his subjects. For the better assurance of whose oths also, king Edward kept all the strengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and hereupon all their lawes, processe, all iudgements, gifts of assises and others, passed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the same rehearfall, writeth thereof in this maner.

In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the same John king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance rebelled against king Edward, and came into England, and burnt and slue without all modestie and mercie. Whereupon king Edward with a great host went to Belocastell upon Tyne, passed the water of Tweed, besieged Berwikke, and got it. Also he wanne the castell of Dunbar, and there were slaine at this battail 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gat the castell of Roxeborough, and the castell of Cumberborow, Struelin and Gedworth, and his people harried all the land. In the meane season, the said king John of Scots, considering that he was not of power to withstand king Edward, sent his letters and besought him of treatie and peace, which our

prince benignlie granted, and sent to him againe that he should come to the towne of Brechin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him. The king of England sent thither Antonie Becke bishop of Durham, with his roiall power, to conclude the said treatie. And there it was agreed that the said John and all the Scots should vnterlie submit themselves to the kings will. And to the end the submission should be performed accordinglie, the king of Scots laid his sonne in hostage and pledge vnto him. There also he made his letters sealed with the common seale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his simpleness and great offense done to his lord king Edward of England, by his fail power and free will payded vp all the land of Scotland, with all the people and homage of the same. Then our king went forth to see the mounteins, and vnderstanding that all was in quiet and peace, he turned to the abbey of Scone, which was of canons regular, where he toke the stone called the Regall of Scotland, upon which the kings of that nation were wont to sit, at the time of their coronations for a throne, & sent it to the abbey of Westminster, commanding to make a chaire therof for the priests that should sing masse at the high altar: which chaire was made, and standeth yet there at this date to be seene.

The Scots dreame that this was the stone wheron Jacob slept when he ded into Mesopotamia.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his parlement at Berwikke: and there he toke homage singularlie of diuerse of the lords & nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memorie of the same, they made their letters patents sealed with their seales, and then the king of England made William Warreine earle of Surrie and Southfar lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Cressingham tresuroz, and William Wyntresbire iustice of Scotland, and forthwith sent king John to the Tower of London, and John Comin, and the earle Badenauith, the earle of Bohan, and other lords into England to diuerse places on this side of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at the feast of Christmas, the king called before him the said John king of Scots, although he had committed him to ward: and said that he would burne or destroye their castles, towne and lands, if he were not recompensed for his costs and damages sustained in the warres; but king John and the other that were in ward, answered that they had nothing, sith their liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The king vpon that answer moued with pittie, granted them their liues; so that they would do their homage, and make their oth solemnelie at the high altar (in the church of the abbey of Westminster) vpon the eucharist, that they and euerie of them should hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England for euer. And where the said king of Scots saw the kings banner of England displayed, he and all his power should draw thervnto. And that neither he nor anie of his from thenceforth should breake armes against the king of England nor anie of his blood. Finally, the king rewarding with great gifts the said king John and his lords, suffered them to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie imagining (notwithstanding this their submission) how they might oppresse king Edward, and disturbe his realme. The Scots sent also to the king of France for succour and helpe, who sent them ships to Berwikke furnished with men of armes, the king of England then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went into Scotland with a great host, and the Scots also assembled in great number, but the king fought with them at Falokirke on S. Marie Magdalens date, where were slaine threescore thousand Scots, & William

ham Wallis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, halwen, & quartered at London, for his trespasses.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chose Robert Bruce to be king, except onelie John Commin earle of Carrick, who would not consent thereto because of his oath made to the king of England. Therefore Robert Bruce flue him at Dumfrie, and then was crowned at Schone abbete. Hereupon the king of England assembled a great host, and rode through all Scotland, discomfited Robert Bruce, flue eight thousand Scots, & took the most part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to death because they were forsworne.

Edward borne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceable; doing in all things as is above said of king Edward his father, untill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruce conspired against him, and with the helpe of a few forsworne Scots, forswore himselfe king of Scots. Hereupon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and manie other lords made warre vpon him, about the feast of Marie Magdalene, the said Bruce and his partakers being already accursed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt them. But being infortunate in his first warres against him, he suffered Edward the sonne of Balioll to proclaim himselfe king of Scots; and neuertheless held forth his warres against Bruce, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windsoze sonne of Edward the second was next king of England, at the age of fiftene peares, in whose minority the Scots practised with Isabel mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages released: whose good will therein they obtained, so that for the same release they should paie to this king Edward thirtie thousand pounds Rattling, in three peares next following, that is to saie; ten thousand pounds flarling yerelie. But because the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement consent vnto it, this king being with in age, the same release proceeded not, albeit the Scots ceased not their practises with this queene and earle. But before those three peares, in which their mortgage (if the bargaine had taken place) should haue bene paid, were expired, our king Edward invaded Scotland, and recalled not the warre, untill David the sonne of Robert le Bruce (then by their election king of Scotland) absolutelie submitted himselfe vnto him. But for that the said David Bruce had before by practise of the queene and the earle of March, married Jane the sister of this king Edward: he moved by naturall zeale to his sister, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this David Bruce, and to the heires that should be begotten of the bodie of the said Jane (sauing the reuerfion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the same David Bruce was right well contented, and thereupon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Howbeit, shortly after causelesse concluding cause of displeasure, this David procured to dissolve this same estate taile, and thereupon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but also invaded England, whilst king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this David was not onelie expelled England in the end, but also thinking no place a sufficient defence to his vnturn, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: wherby the countie of Annandale, Gallowaie, Mers, Teindale, Tweedale, and Eithrie were seized into the king of Englands hands, and

new marches set betwixt England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Solwtrie hedge. Which when this David went about to recouer againe, his power was discomfited, and himselfe by a few Englishmen taken & brought into England, where he remained prisoner eleven peares after his said apprehension.

During this time, king Edward enioied Scotland peaceable, and then at the contemplation and wearie suit of his goddaughter, wife of this David, he was contented once againe to restore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Whereupon it was concluded, that for this rebellion David should paie to king Edward, the summe of one hundred thousand markes flarling; and there to be strowe all his holdes and fortresses standing against the English borders, and further assure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordingly. And for the better assurance of his obedience also, he afterward delivered into the hands of king Edward sundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the historie of David, touching his delings. Now let vs see what was done by Edward Balioll, wherof our chronicles do report, that in the yere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Westminster, and in the first yere of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen also, which had title to diuerse lands there either by themselves, or by their wives, did the like. Whereupon the said Balioll and they went into Scotland by sea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000 Englishmen, discomfited 10000 Scots; and flue 400, and then went forth to Dunfermline, where the Scots assembled against them with 40000 men, and in the feast of saint Lawrence, at a place called Cadzow (or otherwisse Gladzow) were slaine thre earls, thirtene barons, a hundred and thre knights, two thousand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thousand; and there were slaine on the English part but thirtene persons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yere of the reigne of king Edward, he assembled a great host, and came to Berwike vpon Tweed, and laid siege thereto. To him also came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to strengthen & aid him against the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & armed.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparetted their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Halidon hill, beside Berwike, met these two hosts, and there were discomfited of the Scots five and twentie thousand and seauen hundred, whereof were slaine eight earles, a thousand and thre hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie done, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the castell were yielded vp vnto him. In the eight yere of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcastle vpon Tyne, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yere of our Lord 1346, David Bruce by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great host vnto Peails crosse: but the archbishop of Yorke, with diuerse temporall men, fought with him; and the said king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Douglas with Mortise earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords slaine, which with David did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtieth yere of the kings reigne, and the yere of our Lord 1355, the Scots toone the towne of Berwike, but not the castell. Hereupon the

This was done vpon the ninth & twentieth of January, 1306.

the king came thither with a great host, and anon the towne was yielded by without any resistance.

Edward Balill, considering that God did so marvellous and gracious things for king Edward, at his owne will gave by the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Horesbrough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in presence of all his lords spirituall and temporall, let crowne himselfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and so came over into England.

Richard the sonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, sonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the said Jane, the wife of the said king David of Scotland was deceased without issue, and being informed how the Scots desired to their uttermost power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made forthwith war against them, where in he burnt Ewenbrough, spoiled all their countie, toke all their holds, & held continuallie war against them untill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued these warres begun against them by king Richard, and ceased not untill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) resigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and delivred his sonne James, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his custodie, wardship and disposition, as of his superiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confessor. All this was done Anno Dom. 1404, which was within five yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this estate over them fourtē yeares.

Henrie the fifth of that name, sonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres against the French king, in all which this James then king of Scots attended upon him, as upon his superiour lord, with a convenient number of Scots, notwithstanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (having not fullie accomplished the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reason and law respited. Finally the said James with divers other lords attended upon the corps of the said Henrie unto Westminster, as to his dutie appertained.

Henrie the first, the sonne of this Henrie the fifth, was next king of England, to whom the seignorie of Scotland & custodie of this James by right, law, and reason descended, married the same James king of Scots to Jane daughter of John earle of Summerfet, at Saint Marie over Isle in Southwarke, and toke for the value of this marriage, the summe of one hundred thousand markes sterling.

This James king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the same king Henrie the first, for the kingdom of Scotland at Windsoze, in the moneth of Januarie.

Since which time, untill the daies of king Henrie the seventh, grandfather to our soueraine ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath bene molested with diversitie of titles, in which vintietime neither law nor reason admit prescription to the prejudice of ante right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war against the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, sufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the same superiouritie over them.

After whose death, unto the beginning of the reigne of our soueraine lord king Henrie the eighth, excused not the number of seaven and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of

the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of James their last king, which so continued the space of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minority was by all law and reason an impediment to himselfe to make homage, so was the same by like reason an impediment to the king of this realme to demand any, so that the whole time of intermission of our claime in the time of the said king Henrie the eighth, is deduced unto the number of thirtē yeares. And thus much for this matter.

Of the wall sometime builded for a
partition betweene England and the
Picts and Scots.

Chap. 23.

Having hitherto discoursed by on the title of the kings of England, unto the Scottish kingdom: I have now thought good to adde hereunto the description of two walles that were (in times past) limits unto both the said regions, and therefore to be touched in this first booke, as generallie appertinent unto the estate of the whole Island; and no lesse famous than that which Anastasius Dicomus made afterward from the Curine unto the Adriatic sea, containing 420 furlongs in length, and twelve foot in breadth, & distant from Constantinople 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turke and timber. The author therefore of the first wall was Hadrian the emperour, who (as Alius Spartianus saith) erected the same of foure score miles in length, twelve foot in height, and eight in breadth, to divide the barbarous Britons from the more civill sort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans over all.

After his time Severus the emperour comming againe into this Ile (where he had served before in repression of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongst other things he made another wall (but of stone) betwene eighty and a hundred miles from the first, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both sides also to the sea, of whome the Britons called it S. Marceveri, or Wall Severi, that is, The wall of Severus, or Severus dale, which later endureth untill these daies in fresh memorie, by reason of the ruines & square stones there oft found, whose inscriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthy the noting also, how that in this voyage he lost 50000 men in the Scottish side, by one occasion and other, which hinderance so incensed him, that he determined utterly to extinguish their memorie from under heaven, and had so done in deed, if his life had endured but untill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Severus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince contained two and thirtie miles, whereby the breadth of this Island there, and length of the wall containeth onelie so manie miles, as may be gathered by his wordes. But chiefe for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things saith of Severus as followeth: *Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, vtrinq; ad finem oceani munivit*, that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chiefe adorns of his time) with a wall made overthwart the Ile, that reached on both sides even to the verie Ocean.

That this wall was of stone also, the ruines thereof (which have ministered much matter to such as dwell nere thereunto in their buildings) is full sufficient, whereby in like sort it cometh to passe, that where

The first beginning of the Picts wall.

The finisher of the wall.

The wall goeth not straight by a line, but in and out in manie places.

The state of the wall.

Two other
walls.

Rampire.

The course of
the wall from
West to east.

the soile about it is least inhabited, there is most mention of the said wall, which was wrought of squared stone, as untill this daie maie euidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, these two walles were not the onelie partitions betwene these two kingdoms, sith Julius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Urbicus made beyond the same, of turfe, in the time of the said prince, who for his victories in Britaine was also called Britannicus, which neuertheless was often throtone downe by the Scots, and effones repared againe, untill it was giuen ouer and relinquished altogether. It runneth (as I take it) also within the wall about an arrow shot from that of stone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certaine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampires made in such wise, that the Scottish aduersarie had much ado to enter and scale the same in his assaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the same, to make their access more easie into the south parts: but as it was effones repared againe, so the last time of all it was amended by the Romane soldiers, which came ouer verie little before the time of Mortiger, at which season the land was in maner left void of soldiers and munition. Betwixt Shirewall and the north Tine, are also in the waste grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet standing, whereof the common people do babble manie things.

Beginning therefore with the course thereof, from the west sea, I find that it runneth from Wolnesle to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewise from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and lesse on the north side, and beneath the confluence of the Ueder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Carleill, then through the baronie of Linschoke, and Gilleland, on the north side of the riuer Arding or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbey of Leuercoft. Thence thre miles aboue Leuercoft, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Pulrose becke (which diuideth Gilleland in Cumberland, from south Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Shirewall castle, then to the wall towne, next of all ouer the riuer to Swensheld, Carraw (peradventure Cairuozon towne) to Walwyke, and so ouer south Tine, to Cocklie towne, Portgate, Hulton Heyles, Winchester, Kitchester, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Bewcastle, where it is thought that saint Nicholas church standeth on the same. Howbeit Leland saith, that it goeth within a mile of Bewcastle, and then croketh vp toward Tinmouth unto Walleland, thre miles from the mouth of the said riuer, so called because the aforesaid wall did end at the same place. And thus much I read of the British wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the course thereof, the curious byicks about the same nere vnto Carleill, beside the excellent cornelins and other costlie stones already intailed for scales oftentimes taken vp in those quarters, I passe them ouer as not incident to my purpose.

In like maner I would gladielie also haue set downe the course of Offas ditch, which was march betwene the Mercian dominions, and the Welshmen in his time: but so much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, because it is not a thing generall to the whole Island, I omit to speake of that also. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who saith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Wex to Aitenaburgh hill through Treuelach forest, by est of Crekith Cauch hill, Pontgomerie castle, the Hew castle and Discoide, and hauing brought it hitherto,

either lost it, or sought after it no further: as by the testimonie of another, who writing thereof, saith, that it stretched from the south side by Wexiflow, along vnder the mountains of Wales northwards, ouer the riuer of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth also of the Dea, where it falleth into the sea. And so much of such things as concerne the generall estate of the whole Island, which labour herein I could verie well haue spared, and would, if Quintus had performed the request of Cicero his brother, who promised to send him ouer a sound aduertisement of the condition of Britaine in those daies: as appeareth in the second booke of his familiar epistles, where he saith; *Ado mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus suis penicillo meo, &c.* But since that was not performed, and the treatise of Demetrius and other of the same argument are perished, which were of some value, let this trifle (I beseech you) not be reieated, till some other man of better skill shall haue shewne a more absolute peece of workmanship, whereunto my unskillfulness (I hope) shall proue no hinderance.

Of the maruels of England.

Chap. 24.

As haue written the wonders of our countrie in old time, haue spoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deserue no credit at all: and therefore in seeking thanks of their posteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iust reproch, and in stead of fame purchased vnto themselves nought else but mere discredit in their better and more learned treatises. The like commonlie happeneth also to such, as in respect of lucre do publish vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, wherby they do consume their times in vaine, and in manifold wise become prejudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch any man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch speaketh in his oracles (if those bookes were written by him, for some thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8. doth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left sundrie treatises behind him, concerning wonderfull things collected of our Island. But sith that in my time they are found to be false, it should be far better to remember them any more: for who is he which will beleue, that infernall spirits can die and giue vp their ghosts like mortall men: though Saxo seeme to consent vnto him in this behalfe. In speaking also of the out Isles, he saith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie desolate Islands, where of some are dedicated to the Gods, some to the noble Heroes. I sailed (saith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie nere hand, onelie to see and viewe the same, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet such as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holinesse. During the time also that I remained in the same, it was vexed with great storme and tempest, which caused me not a little to doubt of my safe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cause should be of this so great and sudden mutation of the aire: they answered, that either some of the Gods, or at the least of the Heroes were lately deceased: for as a candle (saith they) hurteth none whilest it burneth, but being tenderlie put out annotheth manie with the filthy sauer: so these Gods, whilest they liued, were either

not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceased, they so moue the heauens and aires, that much mischief doth insue eñsions vpon the same.

Being also inquisitiue of the state of other Isles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherin Saturne being overtaken with a dead slepe, was watched by Hylareus as he laie, which Saturne also had manie spirits attending vpon him in sundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is easie to conceiue, with what vaine stiffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of such writers as we haue too too manie, so among the said rable Geruaile of Cilberie is not the least famous, a man as it were euen sold to vttter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Wandelburie hilles, that lie within sight & by south of Cambridg (where the Wandals incamped sometime, when they entered into this Island) and of a spirit that would of custome in a moone shine night (if he were chalenged and called therevnto) run at tilt and turne in complete armour with anie knight or gentleman whomsoeuer, in that place: and how one Osbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himselfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one equier, and called for him, who forthwith appeared in rich armour, and answered his challenge, so that running together verie fiercelie, they met with such rigour, that the answerer was ouerthrowne and bozne doونه to the ground. After this they bickered on foot so long, till Osbert ouercame and dyaue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horse behind him, which was of huge stature, blacke (as he saith) of colour, with his furniture of the same hue, and wherevpon he seized, giuing him vnto his page, who caried him home, and there kept him till it was nere daie, during which space he was seene of manie. But when the daie light began to shew it selfe somewhat clere, the beast stamped and snorted, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran auaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane season Osbert being verie faint, and wearing wearie (for he was soze wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leastwise dissembled to know it) caused his leg-harnesse or steele-bootes to be pulled off, which his friends saw to be full of blood spilled in the botage. But let who so list beleue it, list it is either a fable deuised, or some diuells illusion, if anie such thing were done. And on mine otone behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eyes, I purpose here to set doونه no more than either I know my selfe to be true, or am creditably informed to be so, by such godly men, as to whom nothing is more beare than to speake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to discredit themselves by lieng. In writing therefore of the wonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rarenesse amongst the common sort, are taken for the foure miracles and wonders of the land.

Foure wonders of England.

The first of these is a vehement and strong wind, which issueth out of the hilles called the Weke, so violent and strong, that at certaine times if a man do cast his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it issueth, it driueth the same backe againe, hoisting it aloft into the open aie with great force and vehemencie. Of this also Giraldus speaketh.

The second is the miraculous standing or rather hanging of certaine stones vpon the plaine of Salisburie, whereof the place is called Stonebenge. And to saie the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onelie for the manner of position, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but also for the

greatnesse & strange manner of lieng of some of them one vpon another, which seemeth to be with so tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their present ruine. How and when these stones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is most likelie, that they were raised there by the Britons, after the slaughter of their nobilitie at the deable banquet, which Hengist and his Saxons provided for them, where they were also buried, and Hordigerne their king apprehended and led auaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be seene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth also, that these were brought from thence, but by what ship on the sea, and carriage by land, I thinke few men can safely imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which some call *Carcer Acoli*, but in English Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the passage is large and nothing noisome: so diuerse that haue adventured to go into the same, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither see anie other thing than pretie riuerets and streames, which they often crossed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summersetshire, and thence the said waters run till they meet with the second Ar that riseth in Dorkie hole.

The fourth is no lesse notable than anie of the other. For wellward vpon certaine hilles a man shall see the clouds gather together in faire weather vnto a certaine thicknesse, and by and by to spread themselves abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the sudden. The causes of which dispersion, as they are vtterlie vnknoونه: so manie men coniecture great store of water to be in those hilles, & verie nere at hand, if it were needfull to be sought for.

Besides these foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne sea) called Barrie, which hath a rift or cleft next the first shore; wherevnto if a man do laie his eare, he shall heare such noises as are commonlie made in smiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowses, and such like: whereof the superstitious sort do gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pot. The riuer that runneth by Chester changeth his chanel euerie moneth: the cause whereof as yet I can not learne; neither doth it swell by force of anie land-flood, but by some vehement wind it off ouer-runneith his banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a mouable Island, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fishes in it, as eels, trotots, and perches: but herein resteth the wonder, that all those haue but one eie a peece onelie, and the same situate in the right side of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed also by authors: There is a well in the forest of Snarelboreto, whereof the said forest doth take the name; which water, beside that it is cold as Stir, in a certaine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, flesh, leaues of trees, and mossie into hard stone, without alteration or changing of shape. The like also is seene there in frogs, toymes, and such like lining creatures as fall into the same, and find no readie issue. Of this spring also Leland writeth thus; A little aboue March (but at the further banke of Hide riuer as I came) I saw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, because the water thereof disilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continually, which is so cold, and thereto of such nature, that what thing soeuer falleth out of those rockes into this pit, or groweth nere thereto, or be cast into it by mans hand,

hand, it turneth into stone. It may be (saith he) that some sand or other fine ground issueth out with this water from these hard rocks, which cleauing into those things, giueth them in time the forme of stones &c. Pære vnto the place where *Wimburne* monastrie sometimes stood, also not farre from *Bath* there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie pæce, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard stone. In part of the hilles east southeast of *Alberleis*, a mile from *Kingwood*, are stones dailie found, perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oysters, which some dreame haue lien there euer since the flood. In the cliffs betwene the *Blacke head* and *Trewardeth* baie in *Cornwall*, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vsed. Howbeit, because it is much marvelled at as a rare thing, I do not thinke it to be brimmed to be placed amongst our wonders. *Passer* *Guisse* had of late, and still hath (for aught that I know) a manor in *Glocestershire*, where certeine oaks do grow, whose rotes are verie hard stone. And beside this, the ground is so fertile there (as they saie) that if a man hew a stake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. *Siluecetter* towne also is said to containe fourescore acres of land within the walles, whereof some is corne-ground (as *Leland* saith) and the graine which is growing therein doth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it banisheth away & becommeth altogether vnprofitable. Is it any wonder (thinke you) to tell of sundrie causes nere to *Wolsham*, on the west side of the riuer *Almote*, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of household cut out of the hard rocke: If it be, then may we increpate the number of maruels verie much by a rehearfall of other also. For we haue manie of the like, as one nere saint *Alfatts* vpon the banke of *Elwie*, and about the head of *Mendath* *Uehan* in *Wales*, where into men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large romies, and sandie ground vnder their feet, and other else-where. But such these things are not strange, I let them alone, and go forward with the rest.

In the parish of *Landsarnam* in *Wales*, and in the side of a stonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie seats heuen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge stone that lieth at *Dember* in *Gutherie* parish, and of the notable carcasse that is affirmed to lie vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here: yet were it well done to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to see what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reuerence. There is also a pole in *Lough Taw*, among the blacke mounteins in *Brecknockshire*, where (as is said) is the head of *Taw* that commeth to *Swansea*, which hath such a propertie, that it will bried no fish at all, & if anie be cast into it, they die without recovery: but this peraduenture may grow thogh the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it selfe. There is also a lin in *Wales*, which in the one side beareth trowts so red as samons, and in the other, which is the west-erlie side, verie white and delicate. I heare also of two welles not far from *Landien*, which stand verie nere together, and yet are of such dinerstie of nature, that the one beareth soper, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogether of contrarie qualities. Which is not a litle to be mused at, considering

(I saie) that they partitipate of one soule, and rise so nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a stone not farre from *Swansea*, which is verie great, as a bed, or such like thing: and being raised vp, a man may stirre it with his thumbe; but not with his shoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from stonie *Stratford*, which conuerteth manie things into stone; and another in *Wales*, which is said to double or triple the force of anie edge toole that is quenched in the same. In *Legenia*, a parcell of *Wales*, there is a noble well (I meane in the parish of *Wilkem*) which is of marvellous nature, and much like to another well at *Seuill* in *Spaine*; for although it be six miles from the sea, it ebboeth and floweth likewise in one daie, alwaies ebbing when the sea doth rise to flow, and in flowing likewise when the sea doth rise to ebbe; whereof some doo saie, that this well is ladie and mistresse of the ocean. Not farre from thence also is a medicinal spring called *Schynant* of old time, but now *Wenefrides* well, in the edges whereof doth grow a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, whereunto the head of the smeller is maruellouslie refreshed. Other welles and water-courses we haue likewise, which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but verie soillie, whereby the people gather some alteration of estate to be at hand. And such a one there is at *Penleie*, & another at *Crodon*; & such a one also in the golden dale beside *Anderne* in *Picardie*, whereof the common sort imagine manie things. Some of the greater sort also giue oer to run at all in such times, whereof they conceiue the like opinion. And of the same nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at *Langleie* parks in *Kent*, whereof (by god hap) it was my lucke to read a notable historie in an ancient chronicle that I saw of late. What the foolish people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthy the rehearfall; yet to the end the letud opinion conceived of them may grow into contempt, I will saie thus much also of those pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little poles, a mile from *Darlington*, and a quarter of a mile distant from the these banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the diuels Kettles, as if he should seech soules of sinfull men and women in them. They adde also, that the spirits haue oft bene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke sauozing altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion also was *Cutbert Tunsfall* late bishop of *Durham*, a man (notwithstanding the basenesse of his birth, being begotten by one *Tunsfall* vpon a daughter of the house of the *Commers*, as *Leland* saith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in those places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other vnquous matter be set on fire, which being here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so doth leaue a pit. Anded the water is now and then warme (as they saie) and beside that it is not clere: the people suppose them to be an hundred fadams deepe. The biggest of thym also hath an issue into the these, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor *Belloves* alias *Welzis* made report, how a ducke marked after the fashion of the duckes of the bishopricke of *Durham*, was put into the same betwixt *Darlington* and these banke, and afterwarpe scene at a bidge not farre from master *Clerenar* house. If it were worthy the noting, I would also make relation of manie wooden cresses found verie often about *Walidon*, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and bozne by king *Oswald* and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed sometimes against the *Brittish* infidels, vpon

upon a superstitious imagination, that those crosses should be their defense and shield against their adversaries. Beda calleth the place where the said field was fought, Heaven field; thilth not far from the West wall; and the famous monasterie of Hagulfad. But more of this elsewhere. Perther will I speake of the little bullets scene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the unskilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing else but *Tumuli* or graues of former times, as appeareth by such tomes & carcases as be daily found in the same, when they be digged downe. The like fond imagination haue they of a kind of lunatic, which is to be found in manie places, although not so well known by the forme vnto them, as by the effect thereof, because it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horses feet as hit vpon it where it groweth in their feeding. Roger Bacon our countryman noteth it to grow plentifullie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compasse of the parish where I dwell, and doe take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathiolus and the herbarists doe write, albeit that it hath not bene my lucke at anie time to behold it. Plinie calleth it

Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie superstitious things thereof, but especiallie our Chymists, who make it of farre more vertue than our Smiths doe their serue. And, whereof they babble manie wonders, and prate of such effects as may well be performed indeed when the serue beareth fire, which is commonly *Ad calendae Graeco*, for before it will not be found. But to proceed. There is a well in Darbielshire called Tideswell (so named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whose water often seemeth to rise and fall, as the sea which is fortie miles from it doth usually accustom to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is giuen that it keepeth an ordinarie course as the sea doth. Whombeit, sith diuerse are knowne to haue watched the same, it may be that at sometimes it riseth, but not continuallie; and that it so doth I am fullie persuaded to beleue. But enen inough of the wonders of our countrie, least I doe seeme by talking longer of them, wonderfullie to ouershot my selfe, and forget how much doth rest behind of the description of my countrie. As for those that are to be touched of Scotland, the description of that part shall in some part remember them.



The Contents of the second Booke.

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Of the ancient and present estate of the church of England.

Chap. 1.

There are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the first and greatest is subiect to the see of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of the heegres, whole Cambria, & also Ireland, which in time past were seuerall, & brought into one by the archbishop of the said see & assistance of the pope; who in respect of meed, did yeld vnto the ambitious desires of fundrie archbishops of Canturburie, as I haue elsewhere declared. The second prouince is vnder the see of Yorke, and of these; either

hath hir archbishop resident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters appertaining to the hierarchie and iurisdiction of the church; but also great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth; so far forth as their commissions and seuerall circuits doe extend.

In old time there were three archbishops, and so manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerltheon vpon Wylke. But as that of London was translated to Canturburie by Augustine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithstanding that the greatest part of his iurisdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotch archbishop) so that of Caerltheon is vtterlie extinguished, and the gouernement of the countrie vniued to that of Canturburie in spirituall cases: after it was once before removed to S. David

The description of England.

ufos in Wales by David fuccellor to Dubittus, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Sarons, where it remained till the time of the Bassard, and for a season after, before it was annexed vnto the se of Canturburie.

The archbishop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it shall please the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to set it vpon their heads. They beare also the name of their high chapleins continuallie, although not a few of them haue presumed (in time past) to be their equals, and void of subiection vnto them. That this is true, it may easilie appere by their owne acts yet kept in record; beside their epistles & answers written or in print; wherein they haue sought not onelie to match but also to mate them with great rigour and more than open tyzannie. Our aduersaries will peradventure denie this absolute, as they do manie other things apparant, though not without shamelesse impudencie, or at the leastwise defend it as iust and not swaruing from common equitie; because they imagine euertie archbishop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their doing herein agreeth with the saying of Peter, & examples of the primitive church, it may easilie appere. Some examples also of their demeanour (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, least they should saie I speake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

Of their practises with meane persons I speake not, neither will I begin at Dunstons the anthor of all their pride and presumption here in England. But for so much as the dealing of Robert the Normann against earle Godwine is a rare historie, and deserueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; protesting to deale withall in more faithfull manner than it hath heretofore bene deliuered vnto vs by the Normann writers, or French English, who (of set purpose) haue so defaced earle Godwine, that were it not for the testimonie of one or two more Englishmen living in those daies, it should be impossible for me (or anie other) at this present to declare the truth of that matter according to his circumstances. Marke therefore what I saie. For the truth is, that such Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confessor, did fall by sundrie means into such fauour with those princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be possessors of the best benefices in the land. Whereupon therefore one Robert, a solie ambitious preest, gat first to be bishop of London, and after the death of Cadmus, to be archbishop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leaving his former se to William his countrieman. Also also a Normann was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

These Normann clerkes, and their friends, being thus exalted, it was not long per they began to mocke, abuse, and despise the English: and so much the more, as they daile saw themselves to increase in fauour with king Edward, who also called diuerse of them to be of his secret counsell, which did not a little incense the hearts of the English against them. A fraie also was made at Douer, betwene the seruants of earle Godwine and the French, whose matters came ouer to see and salute the king: whereof I haue spoken in my Chronologie, which so inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers against the English nobilitie, that each part sought for opportunitie of reuenge, which per long toke hold betwene them. For the said Robert, being called to be

archbishop of Canturburie, was no longer in possession of his se, than he began to quarrell with earle Godwine (the kings father in law by the marriage of his daughter) who also was ready to acquit his demeanour with like malice; and so the mischief began. Whereupon therefore the archbishop charged the earle with the murder of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the sonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruellie made a waie. For Alfred and his brother comming into the land with fise and twentie saile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arrived with them giuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit; the crowne of England; & therevnto the buskfull young gentlemen, shewing themselves to like of the rumour that was spred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanour was quicklie brought to Harald, who caused a companie forthwith of Danes priuillie to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Willford, where Alfred was slaine, and thence Edward with much difficultie escaped to his ships, and so returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. His affirmation of the archbishop being greatlie soothed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French friends, (for they had all conspired against the erle) and therevnto the king being desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred such a grudge in his mind against Godwine, that he banished him and his sons cleane out of the land. He sent also his wife the erles daughter prisoner to Willton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where she laie almost a yeare before she was released. In the meane season, the rest of the peeres, as Edward earle of Northumberland surnamed Wigara or Foris, Leofric earle of Chester, and other went to the king, before the departure of Godwine, intending to perswade him vnto the renocation of his sentence; and desiring that his cause might be heard and discussed by order of law. But the king incensed by the archbishop and his Normans would not heare on that side; saleng plainelie, and swearing by saint John the euangelist (for that was his common oth) that earle Godwine should not haue his peace till he restored his brother Alfred alieue againe vnto his presence. Wherewith answer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Godwine toward the coast.

Commung also vnto the shore and ready to take shipping, he knieled downe in presence of his conduct (to wit at Bosenharn in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to saile into Flanders vnto Baldwin the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that ifeuer he attempted a thing against the kings person of England, or his roiall estate, that he might neuer come safe vnto his countie, nor see his countie any more, but perish in this volage. And herewith he went aboard the ship that was prouided for him, and so from the coast into the open sea. But see what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he saw the shore full of armed souldiers, sent after by the archbishop and his friends to kill him per he should depart and go out of the countie: which yet more incensed the hearts of the English against them.

Being come also to Flanders, he caused the earle, the French king, and other of his friends, among whom also the emperor was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obtained from him, of which the Normans had no liking, whereupon the earle and his sonnes changed their minds, obtained aid, and invaded the land in sundry places. Finallie joining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke nere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to encounter

The description of England.

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incounter with them in the field. The king seeing what was done, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor bittell them. But the citizens made answer, how the quarrell of Godwine was the cause of the whole realme, which he had in manner giuen ouer vnto the spoile of the French; and thereupon they not onelie bittelled them aboutbanlie, but also receiued the earle and his chiefe friends into the citie, where they lodged them at their ease, till the kings potwer was ready to ioine with them in battell.

Great reioysing also was made vnto them from all places of the realme, so that the earles armie was wonderfullie increased, and the daie and place chosen therein the battell should be fought. But when the armies met, the kings side began some to flee to the earle, other to lay downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the rest telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight against their owne countreimen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans also seeing the sequelle, fled awaie so fast as they might gallop, leaving the king in the field to shift for himselfe (as he best might) whilst they did saue themselves elsewhere.

In the meane season the earles potwer would haue set vpon the king, either to his slaughter, or apprehension; but he staied them, saying after this manner: The king is my sonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale so hardlie with his child, neither a subject with his soueraigne; it is not he that hath hurt or done me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherefore to gaine a kingdom, I will do him no violence. And therewithall casting aside his battellar he ran to the king, that stood altogether amazed, and falling at his feet he craved his peace, accused the archbishop, required that his cause might be heard in open assemblee of his peeres; and finally determined as truth and equitie should deserue.

The king (after he had paused a pretty while) seeing his old father in law to lie groweling at his feet, and conceiuing with himselfe that his sute was not unreasonable; seeing also his children, and the rest of the greatest barons of the land to kneele before him, and make the like request: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, had him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was past, and frendlie hauing kissed him and his sonnes vpon the cheekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the queene, and summoned all his lords vnto a counsell.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were presented against the bishop & his Normans; some concerning matter of rape, other of robberte, extortion, murder, manslaughter, high treason, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherewith the king (as a man now awaked out of sleepe) was so offended, that vpon consultation had of these things, he banished all the Normans out of the land, onelie thre or foure excepted, whome he retained for sundrie necessarie causes, albeit they came neuer more so nere him afterward as to be of his priuie counsell.

After this also the earle liued almost two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he sat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our first booke raised by the cleargie, and practise of the archbishop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practised by the prelates of this see, against their lords and soueraignes: but then I should rather write an historie than a description of this Island.

Wherefore I refer you to those reports of Anselme and Becket, sufficientlie penned by other; the which Anselme also making a theps; as if he had bin verie unwilling to be placed in the see of Cantuar-

burie, gaue this answer to the letters of such his friends, as did make request vnto him to take the charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia nescio, quia scire nolo, eorum namque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animam. Voluntati sacramintum est ne aratrum sancte ecclesie, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id est rex & archiepiscopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, distorqueatur a recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui si quietus essem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lana, aliquibus possem fortassis non ingratus esse, sed sine cum hoc tauro coniungitur, videbitis pro disparitate trahentium, aratrum non recte procedere, &c.* Which is in English thus: Of secular affaires I haue no skill, because I will not knowe them, for I euen abhor the troubles that rise about them, as one that desireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indue to the rule of the scriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared least the plough of holie church, which two strong oxen of equall force, and both like earnest to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbishop) ought to draw, should thereby now swaue from the right forrow, by matching of an old shepe with a wild untamed bull. I am that old shepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture shew my selfe not altogether ingratfull to some, by feeding them with the milke of the word of God, and covering them with wool: but if you match me with this bull, you shall see that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c. as foloweth in the pro-

cess of his letters. The said Thomas Becket was so proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the second, as to his lord, to his king, and to his sonne, offering him his counsell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like sort haue protested, that they ought nothing to the kings of this land, but their counsell onelie, reseruing all obedience vnto the see of Rome.

And as the old cocke of Cantuarburie did crie in this behalfe, so the young cockerels of other sees did imitate his demeanour, as may be seene by this one example also in king Stephens time, worthy to be remembred; vnto whome the bishop of London would not so much as sweare to be true subject: wherein also he was maintained by the pope, as appeareth by these letters.

Eugenius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo filio Stephano illustri regi Anglorum salutem, & apostolicam benedictionem. Ad hac superna prouidentia in ecclesia pontifices ordinauit, ut Christianus populus ab eis pascha vite reciperet, & tam principes seculares, quam inferioris conditionis homines, ipsis pontificibus tanquam Christi vicariis reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis siquidem frater noster Robertus London episcopus, tanquam vir sapiens & honestus, & religionis amator, a nobilitate tua benigne tractandus est, & pro collata a Deo prudentia propensius honorandus.

Quia ergo, sicut in veritate comperimus cum anima sua salute, ac sua ordinis periculo, fidelitate qua ab eo requiritur astringi non potest: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu consulimus, quatenus predictum fratrem nostrum super hoc nullatenus inquietes, immo probeati Petri & nostre reuerentia, cum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cum autem illud iuramentum prestare non possit, sufficiat discretioni tue, ut simplici & veraci verbo promittat, quod lesionem tibi vel terrae tuae non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij.

Thus we see, that kings were to rule no further than it pleased the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their subjects than stood al-

Thomas Becket.

so with their good will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto quene Mary about the same matter, making hir Samsons calfe (the better to bring his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here ensuing.

Solomone attestante, didicimus quod mulier sapiens aedificat domum; insipiens autem constructam destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam sicut religioforum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei prae oculis habens, operibus pietatis interdis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoras. Ut ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitate tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis inijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London episcopum, pro illius reuerentia, qui cum olim diues esset, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentius diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium nostrum Stephanum, insignem regem Anglorum efficere studeas, ut monitis, hortatu, & consilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensius habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate teste) attendimus eum sine salute, & sui ordinis periculo, prefato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, ut vobis sufficiat, veraci & simplici verbo promissionem ab eo suscipere, quod laesionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terrae suae non inferat. Dat. vt supra.

As it not strange, that a pœuist order of religion (deuised by man) should breake the expresse law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; conuertlie incorageing them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to glue over his new bishoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it still maugre his displeasure: & yet not to sweare obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or perforce vnto the contrarie.

Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londinensis ecclesie canonici spiritum consilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorsus est abijcienda petitio, ita in hijs, quae iuste desiderantur, effectum negare omnino non conuenit. Sane nuper accepimus, quod Londinensis ecclesia, diu proprio destituta pastore, communi voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium nostrum Robertum, eiusdem ecclesie archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum animarum suarum suscepit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia desuper ei attributa, & honestas conuersationis, & morum reuerentia plurimum commendabilem reddidit. Indoc est quod fraternitati vestre mandando consulimus, ut proposito vestro homini (quod vt credimus ex Deo est) & vt ex literis domini papae cognoscetis, non tepide, non lente debitis finem imponatis; ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huiusmodi spiritualium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipsius namque industria credimus, quod antiqua religio, & forma discipline, & grauitas habitus, in ecclesia vestra reparari: & si quae fuerint ipsius contentiones, ex pastoris absentia, Dei gratia cooperante,

& eodem presente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.

Hereby you see how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbishop of Canturburie is not openlie to be toucht herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogative of holie church. And euen so lesse inquietnesse had another of our princes with John of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his soveraigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) & beginning thus; *Thomas proditoris non expers nostrae regie maiestati insidias fabricauit*, the pope vnderstand the botome of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should be depriued, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pite state at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and paddels of all bingolineesse. For beside the iniurie receiued of their superiours, how was B. John dealt withall by the vile Cisterrians at Lincolne in the second of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iust occasion) conceiued some grudge against them for their ambitious demaunders; and vpon default to paie such summes of monie as were allotted vnto them, he had caused seizure to be made of such houses, swine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were mainteined in his forefests. They denounced him as fast amongst themselves with bell, booke and candle, to be accursed and excommunicated. Wherevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yeeld to their good graces: inso much that a meeting for pacification was appointed betwene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the present archbishop of Canturburie, who went off betwene him and the Cisterrian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end, the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapter house, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, craving pardon for his trespasses against them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thenceforth) commend him and his realme in their prayers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promising moreover full satisfaction of their damages: sufficient; and to build an house of their order in whatsoeuer place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the seauen and twentieth of November; after the Scottish king was returned into Scotland; & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like; as betwene John Stratford and Edward the third, &c.) a man may easily conceiue how proud the clergie-men haue bene in former times, as whole presunting vpon the primassie of their pope. Some matter could I alledge of these mid the like docters; not to be found among our common historiographers; but better referring the same vnto places more conuenient; I will cease to speake of them at this time, and go forthwith with such other things as my purpose is to speake of. At the first therefore there was like and equall authority in both our archbishops: but as he of Canturburie hath long since obtained the prerogative about the pope (although I saie not without great trouble, late, some bloodshed & contention); so the archbishop of Poike is neuertheless written primas of England, as one contenting himselfe with a pace of a title at the least, when all could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneeth the king, so this of Poike doth the like to the quene, whose perpetuall chapeline he is; hath bene from time to time, since the determination of this controuerisie, as to the same report: & he first also hath vnder his jurisdiction to the

Twentie one
bishops
under y^e see of
Canturburie.
Onlie foure
see under the
archbishop of
york.

Deanes.

Canonries.

the number of one and twentie inferiour bishops, the other hath onlie foure, by reason that the churches of Scotland are now remoued from his obedience vnto an archbishop of their owne, whereby the greatness and circuit of the iurisdiction of Yorke is not a little diminished. In like sort each of these seauen and twentie sees haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conquest) doe beare the chiefe rule, being men especiallie chosen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlinesse so nere as can be possible. These cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries still remaining vnto them, as heretofore vnder the popish regiment. Howbeit those that are chosen to the same are no idle and unprofitable persons (as in times past they haue bene when most of these liuings were either furnished with strangers, especiallie out of Italie, boies, or such idoles as had least skill of all in discharging of those functions, whereunto they were called by vertue of these stipends) but such as by preaching and teaching can and doe learnelie set forth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichrist to the uttermost of their powers.

These churches are called cathedrall, because the bishops dwell or lie nere vnto the same, as bound to keepe continuall residence within their iurisdications, for the better ouersight and gouernance of the same: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to saie a chaire or seat where he resteth, and for the most part abideth. At the first there was but one church in euerie iurisdiction, wherinto no man entred to praise, but with some oblation or other toward the maintenance of the pastor. For as it was reputed an infamie to passe by anie of them without visitation: so it was a no lesse reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occasion also they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwise they were not capable of such multitudes as came daile vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the sacraments.

But as the number of christians increased, so first monasteries, then small parish churches were builded in euerie iurisdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpriests; the rest being added since the conquest, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue some ease by building them nere hand. Vnto these deanerie churches also the cleargie in old time of the same deanrie were appointed to repaire at sundrie seasons, there to receiue wholesome ordinances, and to consult vpon the necessarie affaires of the whole iurisdiction; if necessitie so required: and some image hereof is yet to be seene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increased, so the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminish: whereby they now become especiallie in their nether parts rather markets and shops for merchandize, than solemn places of praise, whereunto they were first erected. Moreover in the said cathedrall churches vpon sundates and festiual daies, the canons doe make certaine ordinarie sermons by course, whereunto great numbers of all estates doe orderlie resort: and vpon the working daies thise in the weeke, one of the said canons, or some other in his stead, doth read and expound some peece of holie scripture, whereunto the people doe verie reuerentlie repaire. The bishops themselves in like sort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and council; which is one (and a no small) peece of their felicitie (although Richard archbishop of Canturburie thought otherwise, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander, *Epistola* 44. Petri Blesensis, where he saith; Because the clea-

gie of his time were somewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *Supra dorsum ecclesie fabricant peccatores*, &c.) they so applie their minds to the setting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which doe not euerie sunndate or oftener resort to some place or other, within their iurisdications, where they expound the scriptures with much grauitie and skill; and yet not without the great milking and contempt of such as hate the word. Of their manifold translations from one see to another I will saie nothing, which is not now done for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time past much doubted of, to wit, whether a bishop or pastor might be translated from one see to another; & left vnderdecided, till prescription by roiall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once done, is well done, and to be done oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefor.

They haue vnder them also their archdeacons, some one, diuerse two, and manie foure or moe, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the bishops eyes: and these (beside their ordinarie courts, which are holden within so manie or moze of their seuerall deanries by themselves or their officials once in a moneth at the least) doe keepe yearelie two visitations or synods (as the bishop doth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth some children, though most care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquisition and search, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the ministers, as the orderlie dealing of the parishioners in resorting to their parish churches and conformitie vnto religion. They punish also with great seueritie all such trespassers, either in person or by the purse (where permutacion of penance is thought more grauous to the offender) as are presented vnto them: or if the cause be of the more weight, as in cases of heresie, pertinacie, contempt, and such like, they referre them either to the bishop of the diocesse, or his chancellor, or else to sundrie graue persons set in authoritie, by vertue of an high commission directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner doe see the offenders gently reformed, or else seuerlie punished, if necessitie so inforce.

Beside this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exercise latelie begun, which for the most part is called a prophesie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their studie of holie scriptures. Howbeit, such is the thurstie desire of the people in these daies to heare the word of God, that they also haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themselves among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their presence at the same. Herein also (for the most part) two of the younger sort of ministers doe expound ech after other some peece of the scriptures ordinarie appointed vnto them in their courses (wherein they orderlie go through with some one of the euangelists, or of the epistles, as it pleaseth the whole assemblie to choose at the first in euerie of these conferences) and when they haue spent an houre or a litle more betwene them, then commeth one of the better learned sort, who being a graduat for the most part, or knowne to be a preacher sufficientlie authorized, & of a sound iudgement, supplieth the roome of a moderator, making first a brieue rehearsall of their discourses, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, whereby two houres are thus commonlie spent at this most profitable meeting. When all is done, if the first speakers haue shewed anie peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in-

The bishops
preach dili-
gentlie, whose
predecessors
heretofore
haue bene oc-
cupied in tem-
porall affairs.

Archdeacons.

High com-
missioners.

A prophesie or
conference.

Ordinarie
sermons.

Ordinarie ex-
positions of
the scriptures

couraged to go forward. If they haue bene found to be slacke, or not found in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reproued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie, after the exercise ended, to iudge of these matters, and consult of the next speakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer speake of course (except some vaine and busie head will now and then intrude themselves with offense) but are onelie hearers; and as it is used in some places weelike, in other once in foureteene daies, in diuerse monethlie, and elsewhere twice in a yeare, so is it a notable spur to all the ministers, thereby to applie their books, which otherwise (as in times past) would giue themselves to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, throwing of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in such as should be godlie and zealous stewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull distributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent pastors according to their calling.

But alas! as hath the author of all mischance hath in sundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: so in this he hath stirred by aduersaries of late vnto this most profitable exercise, who not regarding the commoditie that riseth thereby so well to the hearers as speakers; but either stumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the least wise not liking to here of the reprehension of vice, or peradventure taking a misliking at the slender demeanours of such negligent ministers, as now and then in their courses do occupie the comes, haue either by their owne practise, their sinister information, or suggestions made vpon surmises vnto other procured the suppression of these conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and dallie braders of no small hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cause belongeth.

Ministers & deacons.

Our elders or ministers and deacons (for subdeacons and the other inferiour orders, sometime used in popish church we haue not) are made according to a certaine forme of consecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the first, by the cleargie of England, and some after confirmed by the three estates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the first sort, that is to saie, of such as are called to the ministrie (without respect whether they be married or not) are bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & such as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and these also as all the rest, at the first comming vnto anie spirituall promotion, do yeld vnto the prince the entire tye of that their liuing for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vppwards, and this vnder the name and title of first fruits.

With vs also it is permitted, that a sufficient man may (by dispensation from the prince) hold two livings, not distant either from other aboue thirtie miles; whereby it cometh to passe, that as his maiestie doth reape some commoditie by the facultie, so the vniton of two in one man doth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peradventure in manie yeares.

Spanie exclaime against such faculties, as if there were no good preachers that want maintenance, than livings to mainteine them. In deed when a liuing is void, there are so manie suitors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true and most certaine: but when it cometh to the trial, who are sufficient, and who not, who are staied men in conversation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you shall hardlie find one or two, such as they

ought to be: and yet none more earnest, to make sute, to promise largelie, beare a better shew, or find fault with the state of things than they. Neuertheless, I do not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiselie handled, are altogether grounded vpon rumors or ambitious minds, if you respect the state of the thing it selfe, and not the necessitie growing through want of able men, to furnish out all the cures in England, which both our vniuersities are neuer able to performe. For if you obserue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford doe yearelie send forth; and how manie new compositions are made in the court of first fruits, by the deaths of the last incumbents: you shall some see a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & citie, yea euen in London it selfe, foure or fife of the little churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redressed.

And to saie truth, one most commonlie of these small livings is of so little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane scholar; much lesse a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, fiftene, seuentene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the most, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) do go out of the same. I saie more than before, because euerie small trifle, noble mans request, or courtelie craued by the bishop, doth impose and command a twentieth part, a thre score part, or two pence in the pound, &c. out of our livings, which hitherto hath not bene vsuallie granted, but by consent of a synod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the poorer sort considered of, which now are equalie burdened.

We paie also the tenths of our livings to the prince yearelie, according to such valuation of each of them, as hath bene latelie made: which neuer thelesse in time past were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at request of king or pope. Here vpon also hangeth a pleasant storie though done of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie seeing the continuall losses that the king of England sustained in France, vpon some motion of releefe made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace berie thankfullie receiued. It fortuned also at the same time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the cleargie had done, came into the conuocation house also in great hast and lesse speed, where, in a solemne oration he earnestlie required them to be no lesse fauorable to their spirituall father the pope, and mother the see of Rome, than they had shewed themselves vnto his vassall and inferiour, meaning their soueraigne lord in temporall iurisdiction, &c. In deliuering also the cause of his sute, he shewed how grievouslie the pope was disturbed by cutthrotes, barlots, and harlots, which do now so abound in Rome, that his holinesse is in dallie danger to be made a waie amongst them. So he thort when this tale was told, one of the companie stood vp and said vnto him: My lord we haue heard your request, and as we thinke it deserueth little consideration and lesse care, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in suppression of such, as he and such as you are do continuall vphold, it is not vnknownen in this house what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth iust reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue bene made sooner, but now it is too late: neuertheless I beseech you to write vnto his holinesse, with request that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a sinke of mischief, and keepe his court elsewhere in place of better fame. And this he shall be the better able also to performe, if by your liberalitie

liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are most bound, he be encouraged thereto. Parte of ther wordes passed to and fro amongst them, but heit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was dismissed without anie penie obtained. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement first as deuised by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the prescription of the king, whereunto we may ioine also our first fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the same, the tenths abated vnto the princes coffers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt also of these two payments, an especiall office or court is erected, which beareth name of first fruits and tenths, whereunto if the partie to be preferred, do not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after possession taken, there to compound for the payment of his said fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certaine statute prouided in that behalfe, against such as do intrude into the ecclesiasticall function, and refuse to paie the accustomed duties belonging to the same.

They paie likewise subsidies with the tempozaltie, but in such sort, that if these paie after foure shillings for land, the cleargie contribute commonlie after six shillings of the pound, so that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himselfe well acquitted, if all ordinarie payments being discharged he may reserve thirtene pounds six shillings eight pence towards his owne sustentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome also are they without the compasse of a subsidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often seene of late yeeres, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: so that I saie againe they are seldome without the limit of a subsidie. Herein also they somewhat find themselves grieued, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themselves, and so they do through consideration had of their decaye and hinderance, and yet their impouerishment can not but touch also the parson or vicar, vnto whom such libertie is denied, as is vailie to be seene in their accounts and tithings.

Some of them also, after the marriages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by friendship get themselves quite out of the booke. But what stand I vpon these things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by some of our neighbors of the laitie, which daile induceth to bring vs also within the compasse of their siffens or taxes for their owne ease, whereas the tare of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the campeigne than woodland soile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfe penie, is a burden easie enough to be borne vpon so manie shoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whose tenths and subsidies make by commonlie a double, if not troublesome vnto their aforesaid payments. Sometimes also we are theatned with a *Melius inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not rached high enough already. But if a man should seeke out where all those churchlands, which in time past did contribute vnto the old summe required or to be made by, no doubt no small number of the laitie of all states should be contributors also with vs, the prince not defrauded of his expectation and right. We are also charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing moze needfull than diuerse other charges imposed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our ease groweth to be moze heauie by a great deale (notwithstanding our immunitie from temporal services) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I see not likelie to be diminished, as if the church were now become the asse whereon euerie market

man is to ride and cast his wallet.

The other payments due vnto the archbishop and bishop at their seuerall visitations (of which the first is double to the latter) and such also as the archdeacon receiueth at his synods, &c. remaine still as they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memoies of man, that at the coming of euerie prince, his appointed officers do commonlie visit the whole realme vnder the forme of an ecclesiasticall inquisition, in which the clergie do vsualie paie double taxes, as vnto the archbishop. Whereby then, and by those already remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no lesse commodious to the princes coffers than the state of the laitie, if it do not farre exceed the same, since their payments are certaine, continuall, and seldome abated, howsoeuer they gather by their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, lute, and slanderous speeches of the payers, or haue their liuings otherwise hardlie valued vnto the bittermost farding, or the whole cancelled by the couetousnesse of the patrones, of whom some do bestow aduoucons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cokes, god archers, falconers, and householders, in stead of other recompense, for their long and faithfull seruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their most aduantage.

Certes here they resemble the pope verie much, for as he sendeth out his idols, so do they their parasites, pages, chamberleins, stewards, groomes, & lackies; and yet these be the men that first exclaim of the insufficiencie of the ministers, as hoping thereby in due time to get also their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times past bishops likewise went almost after the same maner vnder the late princes, and then vnder the pope, so that he which helped a clerke vnto a see, was sure to haue a present or purse fine, if not an annuall pension, besides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Whereof one example may be touched, as of a thing done in my yonger daies, whilist quene Marie bare the swaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the see of Winchester was void for a season, during which time cardinal Pole made seizure vpon the revenues and commodities of the same, pretending authoritie thereunto *sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the bishop of Lincoln called White took such displeasure, that he stepped in like a mate, with full purpose (as he said) to keepe that see from ruine. He wrote also to Paus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred thereunto, promising so as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearly during his naturall life, and for one yeare after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet desirous to reape a further benefit, first shewed himselfe to stomach his simoniacall practise verie grieuoullie, considering the dangerousnesse of the time and present estate of the church of England, which hong as yet in balance readie to yeld anie waie, sauing forth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he so terrified the poore bishop, that he was dyuen vnto another issue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further summe than stood with his ease to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this sorce, a new deuise was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be bishop of Winchester, which at the last he obtained, but in such wise as that the pope and his nearest friends did lose but a little by it. I could if need were set downe a report of diuerse other the like practises, but this shall suffice in stead of all the rest, least in reprehending of vice I might shew my selfe to be a teacher of vngodlinesse, or to scatter moze vngodly seed in lewd ground.

alreadie choked with wickednesse.

So proceed therefore with the rest, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names usuallie giuen vnto such as feed the flocke remaine in like sort as in times past, so that these words, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet abolished more than the canon law it selfe, which is daily pleaded, as I haue said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme haue greatly infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it cometh to passe that the psalter is said ouer once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And hereunto if the curat be adindged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficientlie instructed in the holie scriptures, and therewithall able to teach, he permitteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so much as our churches and diuinities haue bene so spoiled in time of error, as there cannot yet be had such number of able pastours as may suffice for euery parish to haue one: there are (beside foure sermons appointed by publike order in the yeare) certeine sermons or homilies (dressed by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderstanding (which homilies do comprehend the principall parts of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of iustificacion by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbath daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two lessons, wherof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new, and of these latter that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after none out of some one of the epistles. After morning praier also we haue the letanie and suffrages, an innocation in mine opinion not deuised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although many curious mindliche persons vtterlie condemne it as superstitious and sauozing of conturcation and sorcerie.

This being done, we proceed vnto the communion, if any communicants be to receiue the eucharist, if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospel with the Nicene creed (of some in deuotion called the drie communion) and then proceed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finally vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euery sabbath daie (if occasion so require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenone bestowed. In the after none likewise we meet againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended we haue commonlie a sermon, or at the leastwise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus do we spend the sabbath daie in god and godlie exercises, all done in our vulgar tong, that each one present may heare and vnderstand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiat churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onelie are song by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches by the minister with a loud voice, saving that in the administration of the communion the quier singeth the answers, the creed, and sundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, simple, and distinct maner, that each one present may vnderstand what they sing, euery word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie consist of many parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skillfull in that science.

Certes this translation of the seruice of the church into the vulgar tong, hath not a litle offended the

pope almost in euery age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obtained, for feare least the consenting therunto might breed the ouerthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie: neuertheless in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was performed managre his resistance, Crastidius duke of Bohemia, would long since haue done the like also in his kingdome, but not daring to venter so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his answer in libitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same.

Gregorius septimus Vratislao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quod secundum Sclauonicam linguam apud vos diuinum celebrari annuerimus officium; scias nos huic petitioni tuae nequaquam posse suuere, ex hoc nempe se volentibus liquet, non immerito sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret, & subiaceret despectui, aut prae intellecta a mediocribus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem iuuat, quod quidam viri hoc, quod simplex populus querit patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt: cum primitiua ecclesia multa dissimulauerit, quae a sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correctae sunt: unde id ne fiat, quod a vestris imprudenter exposcitur, auctoritate beati Petri inhibemus; tique ad honorem optimi Dei huic vana temeritati viribus totis resistere precipimus, &c. Datum Romae, &c.

I would set downe two or thre more of the like instruments passed from that tye vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themselves, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine as in times past, sauing that all images, steeles, tabernacles, rodlofs, and monuments of idolatrie are removed, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the stozies in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient stozie of new stozie, and by reason of extreme charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white pances throughout the realme, are not altogether abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that white glasse may be prouided and set vp in their romes. Finally, whereas there was wont to be a great partition betwene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogether needlesse, with the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot prouided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant do not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall praiers by heart, but also such as can read, do praie together with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant pouze out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and feruent manner. Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fiftene, called festiuall, and thirtie *Profesti*, beside the sun daies, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle waikes, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathenish rioting at hyde-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitson tide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest vtterlie removed from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

The

Apparell.

Hospitalitie.

Parlage.

Thyed-bare
gownes from
whence they
come.

The apparell in like sort of our clergie men is com-
lie, & in truth, more decent than ever it was in the po-
pish church: before the vniuersities bound their gra-
duats vnto a stable attire, afterward vsurped also e-
uen by the blind sir Johns. For if you peruse well
my chronologie insuing, you shall find, that they
went either in diuerse colozs like plaiers, or in gar-
ments of light hew, as yellow, red, graine, &c: with
their shoues piked, their haire crisped, their girdles
armed with siluer; their shoues, spurres, bydes, &c:
buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the most
part) of silke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced
and burned with gold: so that to meet a priest in
those daies, was to behold a peacocke that spreadeth
his taile when he danseth, before the henne: which
now (I saie) is well reformed. Touching hospitali-
tie, there was neuer anie greater vsed in England,
sith by reason that marriage is permitted, & him that
will chose that kind of life, their meat and drinke
is more orderlie and frugallie dyessed; their furniture
of household more conuenient, and better looked vnto;
and the poze offender fed generallie than heretofore
they haue bene, when onlie a few bishops, and dou-
ble or treble beneficed men did make god there at
Christmasse onelie, or otherwise kept great houses
for the intertainment of the rich, which did often see
and visit them. It is thought much peraduenture,
that some bishops, &c: in our time do come short of
the ancient gluttonie and prodigallitie of their prede-
cessors: but to such as do consider of the curtailing
of their linings, or excediue prices wherunto things
are growen, and how their course is limited by law,
and estate looked into on euery side, the cause of their
so doing is well enough perceiued. This also offen-
deth manie, that they should after their deaths leaue
their substances to their wiues and children: whereas
they consider not, that in old time such as had no le-
mans nor bastards (berie few were there God wot
of this sort) did leaue their goods and possessions to
their brethren and kinsfolks, whereby (as I can shew
by good record) manie houses of gentilitie haue gro-
wen and bene erected. If in anie age some one of
them did found a college, almshouse, or schoule, if
you looke vnto these our times, you shall see no fewer
deeds of charitie done, nor better grounded vpon
the right stub of pietie than before. If you saie that
their wiues be fond, after the deceasse of their hus-
bands, and bestow themselves not so aduisable as
their calling requireth, which God knoweth these
curious successors make small accompt of in truth,
further than thereby to gather matter of reprehen-
sion: I beseech you then to looke into all states of the
laitie, & tell me whether some duchesses, countesses,
barons, or knights wiues, do not fallie so often of-
fend in the like as they? Cue will be Cue though
Adam would saie naie. Not a few also find fault
with our thyed-bare gownes, as if not our patrones
but our wiues were causes of our wo. But if it were
knowne to all, that I know to haue bene performed
of late in Essex, where a minister taking a benefice
(of lesse than twentie pounds in the Duenes booke
so farre as I remember) was enforced to paie to his
patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of
wheat, and sixtene yerrelie of barleie, which he called
hallowes meat; and another lest the like in farme
to his patronne for ten pounds by the yere, which is
well worth fortye at the least, the cause of our thyed-
bare gownes would easilie appeere, for such patrones
do scrape the wool from our clokes. Wherfore I may
well saie, that such a thyed-bare minister is either an
ill man, or hath an ill patronne, or both: and when such
cookes & cobling shifters shall be removed and we-
ded out of the ministerie, I doubt not but our pa-
trons will proue better men, and be reformed whe-

ther they will or not, or else the single minded bishops
shall see the lining bestowed vpon such as do deserue
it. When the Pragmatike sanction toke place first in
France, it was supposed that these eniunities
should utterly haue ceased: but when the elections
of bishops came once into the hands of the ca-
nons and spirituall men, it grew to be farre worse.
For they also within a while waring courtous, by
their owne experience learned aforehand, raised the
markets, and sought after new gaines by the gifts of
the greatest linings in that countrie, wherein (as
Machiauell writeth) are eightene archbishopricks,
one hundred fortye and sixe bishopricks, 740 ab-
bies, eleven vniuersities, 1000700 ffeoples (if his re-
port be sound.) Some are of the opinion, that if suf-
ficient men in euerie towne might be sent for from
the vniuersities, this mischief would sone be reme-
died; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I
consider wherunto the gifts of felowships in some
places are growen: the profit that ariseth at sum-
mer elections of scholars out of grammar scholes, to
the posers, scholemasters, and preferres of them
to our vniuersities, the gifts of a great number of
almshouses builded for the maimed and impotent
souldiours, by princes and god men heretofore mo-
ued with a pittifull consideration of the poze dis-
tressed: how rewards, pensions, and annuities also
do reigne in other cases, wherby the giuer is brought
sometimes into extream miserie, & that not so much
as the reioys of a common souldior is not obtained
offentimes, without a What will you giue me? I am
brought into such a mistrust of the sequele of this de-
uise, that I dare pronounce (almost for certeine) that
if Homer were now aliue, it should be said to him:

*Tuque licet venias musis comitatus Homere,
si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras.*

Wherfore I could saie, and more I would saie of these
and other things, were it not that in mine owne
iudgement I haue said inough alreadye for the ad-
uertisement of such as be wise. Wherfore I be-
seue this chapter, I will adde a word or
two (so brieke as I can) of the old estate of ca-
thedral churches, which I haue collected together
here and there among the writers, and whereby it
shall easilie be seene what they were, and how nere
the government of ours do in these daies appoach
vnto them, for that there is an irreconcilable ods
betweene them and those of the papists. I hope there
is no learned man indeed, but will acknowledge and
yeld vnto it.

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue
church, that there was in euerie see or iurisdiction
one schoule at the least, wherinto such as were cate-
chisses in christian religion did resort. And hereof as
we may find great testimonie for Alexandria, Anti-
och, Rome, and Hierusalem; so no small notice is left
of the like in the inferior sort, if the names of such as
taught in them be called to mind, & the histories well
read which make report of the same. These scholes
were vnder the iurisdiction of the bishops, and from
thence did they & the rest of the elders chose out such
as were the ripest scholars, and willing to serue in
the ministerie, whome they placed also in their ca-
thedral churches, there not onelie to be further in-
struted in the knowledge of the word, but also to in-
uie them to the deliuerie of the same vnto the peo-
ple in sound maner, to minister the sacraments, to
visit the sicke and brethren imprisoned, and to per-
forme such other duties as then belonged to their
charges. The bishop himselfe and elders of the church
were also hearers and examiners of their doctrine,
and being in proesse of time found meet workment
for the lords harvest, they were forthwith sent abroad
(after imposition of hands, and prayer generallie
made

Number of
churches in
France.

Pietie paci-
fing.

Did estate of
cathedral
churches.

made for their good proceeding to some place or other then destitute of his pastore, and other taken from the school also placed in their romes. What number of such clerks belonged now and then to some one see, the chronologie following shall easilie declare: and in like sort that officers, widowes, and other persons were daily maintained in those seasons by the offerings and oblations of the faithful, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the same with the decayes and ablations scene and practised at this present. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the estate of the cathedrall churches in those times, so I wish that the like order of government might once againe be restored vnto the same, which may be done with ease, sith the schools are already builded in euery diocesse, the vniuersities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great enough to receiue so manie as shall come from thence to be instructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is already and more & more to be looked for (beside the plucking and snatching commonlie scene from such houses and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the ministerie, and small consideration of their former paines taken, whereby lesse and lesse hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to insue. Wherefore the greatest part of the more excellent wits chose rather to imploy their studies vnto physike and the lawes, bitterlie giuing ouer the studie of the scriptures, for feare lest they should in time not get their bread by the same. By this meanes also the stalles in their queres would be better filled, which now (for the most part) are emptie, and prebends should be prebends indeed, there to liue till they were preferred to some ecclesiasticall function, and then other men chosen to succed them in their romes, whereas now prebends are but superfluous appointments vnto former excesses, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue said before.) But as I haue good leisure to wish for these things: so it shall be a longer time before it will be brought to passe. Neuerthelesse, as I will praise for a reformation in this behalfe, so will I here conclude this my discourse of the estate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our feuerall sees, in such order as they shall come vnto my present remembrance.

Of the number of bishoprikes and their feuerall circuits.

Chap. 2.

Having already spoken generally of the state of our church, now will I touch the sees feuerallie, saing so much of each of them as shall be convenient for the time, and not onely out of the ancient, but also the later writers, and somewhat of mine owne experience, beginning first with the see of Canturburie, as the most notable, whose archbishop is the primate of all this land for ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and most accompted of commonlie, because he is nexer to the prince, and readie at enerie call.

The iurisdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected first by Augustine the monke, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you haue respect to his prouinciall regiment, extendeth it selfe ouer all the

south and west parts of this land, and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent, and few shires there are wherein the archbishop hath not some peculiarars. But if you regard the same onelie that was and is proper vnto his see, from the beginning, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantwarland, the iurisdiction of Rochester including the rest: so that in this one countie the greatest archbishoprike and the least bishoprike of all are linked in together. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, who hath iurisdiction ouer eleauen deantries: or a hundred fiftie one parish churches; & in the popish time in sted of the 3093 pounds, eighteene shillings, halfe pence, farthing, which it now payeth vnto his maiestie, vnder the name of first frutes, there went out of this see to Rome, at euery alienation 10000 ducates or florens, beside 5000 that the next elect did vsuallie paye for his pall, each ducat being then worth an English crowne: or thereabout, as I haue bene informed.

The see of Rochester is also included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Augustine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolric over the west Saxons. The bishop of this see hath one archdeacon, vnder whose government in causes ecclesiasticall are three deantries, or 132 parish churches: so that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 parish churches in Kent, ouer which the said two archdeacons haue especiall cure & charge. He was wont to paye also vnto the court of Rome at his admission to that see 1300 ducats or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, considering the smallnesse of circuit belonging to his see. Whobey, in my time it is so farre from ease by diminution, that it is raised to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we resolute them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three shillings, six pence, halfe pence, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more precise made than anie bishop of that see doth take any great delight in. He was crosse-bearer in times past vnto the archbishop of Canturburie. And there are and haue bene few sees in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their bishops for the most part from this see: for as it is of it selfe but a small thing in deed, so it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that ever possessed it, Thomas Kempe had the best lucke, who being but a poore mans sonne of Wiche (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew first to be doctour of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this see, he was translated from thence to Rochester, thirde to London, next of all to Poike, and finally after seauen and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became also cardinall, deacon, and then preest in the court of Rome, according to this verse, *Bis primas, ter praefes, bis cardine functus*. Certes I note this man, because he bare some fauour to the furtherance of the gospell, and to that end he either builded or repared the pulpit in Baules churchyard, and toke order for the continuall maintenance of a sermon there vpon the sabbath, which doth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the soundest doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for such strangers to resort vnto as haue no habitation in anie parish within the citie where it standeth.

The see of London was erected at the first by Lucius, who made it of an archeflamine and temple of Jupiter an archbishops see, and temple vnto the liuing God, and so it continued, vntill Augustine translated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbishops of London are these; Theon, Euan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Ilutus restitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Fastidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodianus laine by the Saxons, and Theonus Iunior. But for

for their full order of succession as yet I am not resolved, neuertheless the first bishop there was ordained by Augustine the monk, in the yeare of Christ 604; in the time of Ceolric, after he had remoued his see further off into Kent: I wrote not upon what secret occasion; if not the speedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readinesse to flee out of the land, if any trouble should betide him. For iurisdiction it includeth Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herefordshire, which is neither more nor lesse in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the east Angles, before it was united to the west Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this see, was first begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Ind. 1. 598 of Ihu as I find, whilst he held that part of the said kingdome vnder his gouernement. Afterward when the Danes had sundrie times defaced it, it was repaired and made vp with hard stone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholly reedified by Awaice bishop of that see, and sometimes chapleine to the ballard Henrie the first, allowing him stone and stufke from Baimards castle nere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his worke. Howbeit the mold of the quire was not statelie enough in the eyes of some of his successors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time also the bodies of diuerse kings and bishops were taken vp and bestowed in the walles, to the end their memoeries should be of longer continuance. The iurisdiction of this see also vnder the bishop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, who haue amongst them to the number of 363 parish churches, or thereabouts, beside the peculiar belonging to the archbishop and chapter of that house, and at euerie alienation the bishop paieeth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight shillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerse suppose to be more, than (as it now standeth) the bishop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie, of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eighth (whereby the bishop hath five eies) I speake not, for although it be vnder the bishop of London for visitations and synods, yet is it otherwise reputed as member of the see of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath also five and twentie parishes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the rest in Herefordshire.

Chichester.

The first beginning of the see of Chichester was in the Ile of Seales or Seolese, and from thence translated to Chichester, in the time of William the first, and generall remouing of sees from small villages vnto the greater toiwnes. It containeth Suffex onelie vnder his iurisdiction, wherein are fiftene deaneries, and 551 parish churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the see of Rome 333 ducats: and after Ebbert the first bishop, one Cella succeeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yere as now it is) was sold by many yeares. It was erected in Seolese also 711, by the decree of a synod holden in Suffex, which bozowed it from the iurisdiction of Winchester, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the bishops that haue bene in this see, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of ante one that hath bene of more estimation than William Read, sometime fellow of Mertone college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which sometime I did possesse; his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie instruments of astronomie reserved in that house (a college created sometime by Walter Hertton bishop of Rochester, and lord chancellor of England) he builded also the castell of Amberleie from the

verie foundation, as Edward Scoile or Storie his successor did the new crosse in the market place of Chichester.

The bishop of Winchester was sometime called Winchester. bishop of the west Saxons, and of Dorchester, which toiwne was giuen to Birinus and his successors, by Kinggils and Oswald of the Northumbers, in whose time it was erected by Birinus and his fellows. In my time it hath iurisdiction onelie ouer Hamshire, Surrie, Dorsetse, Dorsetse, and the Wiltshire, containing eight deaneries, two hundred seuentie and six parish churches, and beside all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, deuised by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or florens, but now his first fruits are 2491 pounds nine shillings eight pence halfe penie. Canturburie was said to be the higher rache, but Winchester hath bene the name to be the better mangler. There are also which make Luctus to be the first founder of an house of praiser in Winchester, as Kinggils did build the second, and Winwalas his sonne the third; but you shall see the truth hereof in the chronologie ensuing. And herevnto if the old catalog of the bishops of this see be well considered of, and the acts of the greatest part of them indifferently weighed, as they are to be read in our histories, you shall find the most egregious hypocrites, the stoutest warriors, the cruellest tyrants, the richest monimongers, and politike counselors in temporall affaires to haue, I wrote not by what secret working of the diuine prouidence, bene placed herein Winchester, since the foundation of that see, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius sent hither out of Italie) and first planted at Dorchester, in the time of Kinggils, then translated to Winchester, where it doth yet continue.

Salisbury was made the chiefe see of Shireburne by bishop Harman (predecessor to Osmond) which brought it from Shireburne to that citie; it hath now Wiltshire, Wilshire, and Dorsetshire vnder his iurisdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Winchester was divided in two, so that onelie Hamshire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wiltshire, Dorset, Wiltshire, Summerset, Deuon & Cornewall assigned vnto Shireburne till other order was taken. Bishop Adelme did first sit in that bishopricke (704 as I said) and placed his chaire at Shireburne vpon the said diuision. And as manie lerned bishops did succeed him in that come, before and after it was remoued to Sarum; so there was neuer a more noble ornament to that see than bishop Ruell, of whose great learning and iudgement the world it selfe beareth witnesse, notwithstanding that the papists prefer S. Osmond (as they call him) because he builded the minster there, and made the portesse called *Ordinale ecclesiasticum officij*, which old priests were wont to vse. The bishops also of this see were sometimes called bishops of Sunning, of their old mansion house nere vnto Reading (as it should seme) and among those that liued before the said Ruell, one Roger builded the castell of the Wiles in the time of Henrie the first, taken in those daies for the strongest hold in England, as vnto whose gate there were regals and gripes for six or seven port collises. Finally this see paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto his maiestie in my time 1367 pounds twelue shillings eight pence, as I did find of late.

Excester hath, Deuonshire and Cornewall, sometime two seuerall bishopricks, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Excester in the time of the Ballard or some after. It began vpon this occasion, Anno Gratia 905, in a prouinciall counsell holden by the elder Edward & Egmund archbishop of Canturburie, among the Celwises, wherein

wherein it was found, that the see of Winchester had not onlie bene without hir pastor by the space of seven yeres, but also that hir iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shireburne, thre other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into five parts; the latter thre being Welles, Birton, and Coynwall: this of Coynwall hauing hir see then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales upon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Birton, or Crisloc: and the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barchshires for his part, to gouerne and loke vnto according to his charge. Finally, these two of Deuon and Coynwall being vnted, the valuation thereof was taxed by the see of Rome at six thousand ducats or dozens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I gesse) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermost, I find that it is little worth above five hundred pounds by the yere, because hir tenths are but fiftie.

Bath.

Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, before John the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summersetshire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie dozens: but in hir maiesties booke I find it five hundred thirtie and thre pounds, and about one od shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that see. Of the erection of this bishopricke, mentioned in the discourse of Grestet, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large manner, which I will also remember, onlie because it pleaseth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This bishopricke (saith he) was erected 905, in a counsell holden among the Westsaxons, whereat king Edward of the west-Saxons, and Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countie had bene seven yeres without anie pastor all cure. And therefore in this counsell it was agreed, that for the two bishopricks (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shireburne) there should be five ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this meanes Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then void. Shireburne also sustained the subdiuision; so that Werfane was made bishop of Crisloc or Deuonshire (whose see was at Birton) Herfian of Coynwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barchshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you see what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iurdictions.

The bishopricke of Shireburne diuided into thre.

Worcester.

Worcester sometime called *Episcopatus Wicciorum* (that is, the bishopricke of the Wiccies or Wuiccies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwicks shires. And before the bishopricke of Gloucester was taken out of the same, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance doe deceive me.) This see was begonne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Wolcelus was the first bishop there; after whome succeeded Offot; then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there gat a monastrie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this see was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontifica-

little there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the same (as I haue bene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and should haue bene archbishop of Canturburie in the reigne of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing lest he would haue followed himselfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; therefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore, lest he should seeme altogether to reject the said Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end the bishopricke of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, *Martij 31*, being Thursday (as appeareth by the register of that house) after long plaie holden for the aforesaid see of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monis did offend preuaile. This is also notable of that see, that five Italians succeeded each other in the same, by the popes prouision; as Egidius, Syluester, Egidius his nephue (so) nephues might say in those daies; Father shall I call you vnclie? And vnclies also; Son I must call the nephue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugutis, men verie likely, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but pore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a rainie daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finally into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.

Gloucester hath Gloucestershire onlie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, because it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the usurped authoritie of the pope, except in queene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it worth perelle 315 pounds, seauen shillings thre pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.

Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it payeth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this see there was a bishop sometime called John Buton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A wonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Heuerthelesse his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnlie remembred, than anie god sermon that euer he made, which function peraduenture he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Lichfield, whereunto Couentrerie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see, hath Staffordshire, Darbshire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwicks shire, that is void of subiection to the see of Worcester shire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which laie on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the peare of Grace 656, after whom Hellac first, then Lamber an Englishman succeeded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the bassard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this see translated his chaire

to Chester, and there held it for a season, whereby it came to passe that the bishops of Litchfield were for a while called bishops of Chester. But Robert his successor not liking of this president, removed his chaire from Chester to Couentre, and there held it whillett he liued, whereby the originall diuision of the bishopricke of Litchfield into Litchfield, Chester, and Couentre, both easilie appeare, although in my time Litchfield and Couentre be vnited, and Chester remaineth a bishopricke by it selfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as some old booke haue) 3000, a good round summe, but not without a iust punishment, as one saith, that anno 765, Edmund bishop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue betrayed the archbishop of Canturburie of his pall, & so did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the same untill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time also of bishop Langton, the prebends of this see laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars also had an house, of which this honest bishop misliked not a little for sundrie causes; wherefore he began their close, and bestowed so much in building the same, and paving the streets, that his hungrie kinsmen did not a little grudge at his expenses, thinking that his empty coffers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the friends of most bishops gaped earnestlie in those daies. King John was the greatest benefactor vnto this see, next vnto Offa; and it is called Litchfield, *Quasi mortuorum campus*, because of the great slaughter of christians made there (as some write) vnder Dioclesian. Holobest in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, five shillings two pence, halfe penie, farthing, a summe verie narrow, lie call by that audit which toke it first in hand.

Oxford hath Oxfordshire onelie, a verie yong iurisdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of quene Marie, one Goldwell was bishop, who (as I remember) was a Jesuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuerfant (as the constant same went) in the blacke art, than skillfull in the scriptures; and yet he was of great countenance amongst the Romane monks. It is said that observing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that see: but I haue heard since that he will well enough what became of those commodities, for by one meane and other he found the twelvethe of 354 pounds sixteen shillings three pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euery enough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the draving out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was passing skillfull, as the same then went in Rome; and not vnderheard of in Oxford.

Elie.

Elie hath Cambridgshire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the first, being before a rich and wealthie abbey. One Henrie also was made bishop there, as I haue found in a register, belonging sometime to that house being translated from Bangor. If smallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the registers there do testify at large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2734 pounds sixteen shillings three pence halfe penie farthing, whose diuine ioined to those of all the bishoprics in England, do yeeld yearelie to his maiesties coffers 23370 pounds sixteen shillings three pence halfe penie farthing: whereby also the huge sums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome doth in some measure appeare. The twelveth afterward bishop of Winchester builded the first manastrie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunnie then in the kings hands, howbeit the same house, whereof he himselfe was abbat, was ver long destroyed by enemies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded

by king Edgar, with the aforesaid bishopricke, from whence with more than lionlike boldnesse he expelled the secular priests, and stroed with monkes provided from Abundune nere Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunstane then metropolitane of England. There was sometime a greuous contention betwene Thomas Lild bishop of this see, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, because the matter is so partakillie penned by some of the brethren of that house, in fauour of the bishop; & for that I was also abused with the same in the entrance thereof at the first into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauouring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthe the name of a cleerke, the matter went on so farre, that what for loue, and somewhat else, of a canon of Litchfield he was chosen bishop of that see. Herevpon the pope vnderstanding that he was by his Nuncio here in England, stated his consecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane season committed his examination to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester, who felt and dealt so fauourable with him in golden reasoning, that his worthinesse was commended to the popes holinesse, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himselfe apposed him, and after secret conference utterlie disabled his election, till he had proued by substantiall argument and of great weight before him also, that he was not so lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reasoning so well pleased his holinesse, that *Ex mera plenitudine potestatis*, he was made capable of the benediction and so returneth into England; when he came home, this bishop being in the kings presence told him how he had done he will not what in preferring so vnmet a man vnto so high a calling. With which speech the king was so offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his presence. In like sort the ladie Wake then duchesse of Lancaster, standing by, and hearing the king his cousin to gather vp the bishop so roundlie, and thereto an old grudge against him for some other matter, doth presentlie picke a quarrell against him about certeine lands then in his possession, which he defended & in the end obtayned against him by place and course of law ver long also afore hapned in a part of his house, for which the accused the bishop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was priue vnto the fact of his men in the said fact, wherefore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

Neuertheless, being sore grieved, that she had (as he said) loyessed out such a verdict against him, and therein packed vp a quest at his owne choise: he taketh his horse, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at his hands. But in the delinerie of his tale, his speech was so blockish, & termes so euill fauoredlie (though maliciouslie) placed, that the king toke yet more offense with him than before; insomuch that he led him with him into the parlement house, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accused him of no small misdemeanour toward his person by his rude and threatening speeches. But the bishop egerlie denieth the kings objections, which he still a-noucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witness: wherevpon he is banished from the kings presence during his naturall life by verdict of that house. In the meane time the duchesse hearing what was done, she beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in brabbling fraie betwene their seruants one of his men was slaine: for which he was called before the magistrat, as chiefe accessarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the sequelle of

of his third cause by his successe had in the two first, hideth himselfe after he had sold all his movables, and committed the monie unto his trustie friends. And being found gilty by the inquest, the king seth upon his possessions, and calleth by the bishop to answer unto the trespass. To be short, upon safe-conduct the bishop cometh to the kings presence, where he denieth that he was accessarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and there, upon craveth to be tried by his pères. But this petition was in vaine: for sentence passeth against him also by the kings owne mouth. Whereupon he craveth helpe of the archbishop of Canturburie and privileges of the church, hoping by such meanes to be solemnly rescued. But they fearing the kings displeasure, who bare small favour to the clergie of his time, gave over to be ante such meanes; but rather willed him to submit himselfe unto the kings mercie, which he refused, standing upon his innocencie from the first unto the last. Finally, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman should so prevail against him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his case might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iustice (saith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Upon the perusal of these his letters also, his accusers were called thither. But for so much as they appeared not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them also as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and dong-hilles, *unde timor & turba* (saith my note) in *Anglia*. For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all processes, billes, and whatsoever instruments should come from Rome: such also as aduertured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either dismembred of some joint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage so incensed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement manner to the king of England, threatening far greater curses, except he did the sooner staie the furie of the lady, reconcile himself unto the bishop, and finally, making him amends for all his losses sustained in these broiles. Long it was per the king would be brought to peace. Nevertheless, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betwene them: but per all things were concluded, God himselfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the bishop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue somewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington doth deliuer it, who also hath the same in manner as I deliuer it.

Dorwich.

The see of Dorwich called in old time *Episcopatus Dornicensis*, *Dononia*, or *East Anglorum*, was erected at Felstow or Felstrow, where Felix of Burgundie (sometime scholemaster to Sigebert of the east-Angles, by whose persuation also the said Sigebert erected the vniuersitie at Cambridge) being made bishop of the east-Angles first placed his see, afterward it was remoued from thence to Donowich, & thence to Helmhams, Anno 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thir die, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finally, after the time of the Bassard, to Dorwich. For iurisdiction it containeth in our daies Dorsetshire and Suffolke onelic, whereas at the first it included Cambridgeshire also, and so much as laie within the kingdome of the east-Angles. It began about the yere 632, vnder Cerpentwald king of the east-Saxons, who bestowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius also confirmed, and after which he held it by the space of seauentene yeres. It paid sometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time hir maiestie hath 899 pounds, 8 shillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the same iurisdiction also there were

once 1563 parish churches, and 88 religious houses: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of these I know one conuerthed into a barne, whilst the people heare seruice further off vpon a greene: their bell also when I heard a sermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a steeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone. There is neuertheless a litle chappell hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Asylie towne that should come to the same in such wise, if they did repaire thither as they ought.

Peterborough, sometimes a notable monasterie, hath Dorhampton and Rutland shires vnder his iurisdiction, a diocesse erected also by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid first fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) whereof I doubt, because it was not recorded in his ancient register of tenths and fruits, although peradventure the collectors lest it not vngathered. I wot not for what purpose; it yeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue sene and had an ancient sarroz of the lands of this monasterie, which agreeth verie well with the historie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that house. In the charter also of donation annexed to the same, I saw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, signed with his owne, & the marks of Sigier king of Sussex, Sebbie of Essex, with the additions of their names: the rest of the witnesses also insued in this order:

Ethelred brother to Wulfhere,
Kindburg and Kindwih sisters to Wulfhere,
Deusdedit archbishop,
Ihamar bishop of Rochester,
Wina bishop of London,
Iarnman bishop of Exeter,
Wilfride and Eoppa priests,
Saxulfe the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldersmen of England in order; and after all these, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the instrument at the sute of Wilfride archbishop of Dorke, in a counsell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & five and twentie bishops, wherein also these churches were appropriated to the said monasterie, to wit, Bedding, Keping, Cedemac, Swineshead, Lufgerd, Delminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident testimonie how long the practise of appropriation of benefices hath bene vsed to the hinderance of the gospel, and maintenance of idle monks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocrisie.

Wiltow hath Dorsetshire sometime belonging to Salisburie, a see also latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who toke no small care for the church of Christ, and therefore ealed a number of ancient sees of some part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and bestowed those portions deduced, vpon such other erections as he had appointed for the better regimment and feeding of the flocke: the value thereof is three hundred foure score and three pounds, eight shillings, and foure pence (as I haue bene informed.)

Lincolne of all other of late times was the greatest; and albeit that out of it were taken the sees of Oxford and Peterborough, yet it still retaineth Lincoln, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham shires, and the rest of Hertford; so that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope five thousand ducats (as appeareth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reason of hir diminution it yeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight shillings, seauen pence farthing. It began since the conquest, about

about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who removed his see from Dorchester to Lincoln (not without licence well paid for unto the king.) And thus much of the bishoprics which lie within the borders of England, as it was left unto Loctinus. Now it followeth that I proceed with Wales.

Lanbasse.

Lanbasse, or the church of Llawbath ecclesiasticall jurisdiction in Glamorgan, Spennorth, Brechnoch, and Radnor shires. And although it paid seven hundred ducats at euery exchange of prelat; yet is it scarce worth one hundred fifty and five pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported). Certes it is a worse bishopricke, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long since by the lord president in open court made answer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the said time and the free planting of the gospel, the meate of the labourer shall not be diminished and withdrawn.

S. Dauid's.

S. Dauid's hath Penbroke and Caermarthen shires, whose luerie or first fruits to the see of Rome was one thousand and five hundred ducats, at the hardest (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie sufficient credit, it is little above the value of four hundred fifty and seven pounds, one shilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and so it paied unto hir maiesties coffers; but in time past I thinke it was farre better. The present bishop misliketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedral church; and therefore he would gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place; but it would first be learned whatuertie he would put in to see it well performed: of the rest I speake not.

Wangor.

Wangor is in north Wales, and hath Caernarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth shires under hir jurisdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the bishoprics in England it is now the least for reuenues, and not worth about one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and sixtene pence to hir maiesties coffers at euery alienation (as appereth by the tenth, which amount to much lesse than those of some good benefice) for it yeldeth not perelis about thirtene pounds, three shillings, and seven pence halfe pence, as by that court is manifest.

S. Alaphes.

S. Alaphes hath Wexholme and part of Denbigh and Flint shires under hir jurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, which being laid together do amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in respect of circuit the least that is to be found in Wales, neuertheless it paid to Rome 470 ducats at euery alienation. In my time the first fruits of this bishopricke came unto 187 pounds eleven shillings six pence, whereby it seemeth to be somewhat better than Lanbasse or Wangor last remembered. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintshire in the compass of this jurisdiction, who is bound to give an harpe of silver pearelle to the best harper in Wales, but do anie bishop thinke you deserue that in the popish times Howell or Ap Howell in English is all one (as I haue heard) and signifie so much as Hugo or Hugh. Wherto of the province of Canturburie, for so much thereof as now lieth within the compass of this land. Now it resteth that I proceed with the curtailed archbishopricke of Poike, I saie curtailed because all Scotland is cut from his jurisdiction and obedience.

Yorke.

The see of Poike was restored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the coming of the Saxons laie desolate and neglected, howbeit at the said time Justus archbishop of Canturburie ordained Paulinus to be first bishop there, in the time of Cadwallan king of Northumberland. This Paulinus late six

yeares yet he was driven from thence, & after whose expulsion that seat was void long time, whereby Lindisfarne grew into credit, and so remained untill the daies of Oswie of Northumberland, who sent Wilfred the priest ouer into France, there to be consecrated archbishop of Poike: but whilest he taried ouer long in those parts, Oswie impatient of delay preferred Ceadda or Chad to that see, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recovered his see, and held it as he might, untill it was seuered in two, to wit, Poike, Hagulfade, or Lindisfarne, where Cata was placed, at which time also Egfride was made bishop of Lincoln or Lindis in that part of Mercia which he had gotten from Wulfhere. Of it selfe it hath now jurisdiction ouer Poike shire, Pottigham shire (whose shire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the first surnamed the elder before the conquest) and the rest of Lancashire onelie not subiect to the see of Chester; and when the pope bare authority in this realme, it paid unto his see 1000 ducats, beside 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well spare of late, considering the curtailing & diminution of his see, though the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yeldeth 1609 pounds nineteen shillings two pence to hir maiestie, whom God long preserve unto us to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.

Chester vpon De, otherwise called Westchester, Chester hath vnder hir jurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, Cheshire, Darbithire, the most part of Lancashire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint and Denbigh shires in Wales, was made a bishopricke by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Julij 16, and so hath continued since that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beside od twentie pence (a freit reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales onelie vnder hir jurisdiction, and hereof the bishops haue sometimes bene earles palantines & ruled the rois vnder the name of the bishopricke and succession of S. Cuthbert. It was a see (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maiesties coffers by 221 pounds eightene shillings ten pence farthing, and yet of lesse countenance than hir prouinciall, neuertheless the surname thereof (as I heare) is now somewhat eclipsed and not likelie to recover the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may loke to increase in hir estate. I heare also that some other fittes haue for gone the like collops, but let such matters be scanned by men of more discretion. Capgrauc saith how that the first bishop of this see was called bishop of Lindisfarne (or Lincoln) & that Ceadda laie in Litchfield of the Mercians in a mansion house nere the church. But this is more worthy to be remembered, that Cuthred of the Northumbrians; and Alfred of the Westsaxons bestowed all the land betwene the Thise & the Tyne now called the bishopricke vpon S. Cuthbert, beside whatsoener belonged to the see of Hagulfade. Edgar of Scotland also in the time of the Bassard gaue Colbingham and Berwike withall their appurtenances to that house; but whether these donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a sight of them, from whom I had this ground. But whatsoener this bishopricke be now, in externall & outward apparence, sure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducats at euery alienation to Rome, as the record expresth. Alban a Scot or Irishman was the first bishop of this see, who held himselfe (as did mante of his successors) at Colchester and in Lindisfarne Ile, till one came that removed it to Durham. And now Iudge you

yon whether the allegation of Captraue be of anie accompt or not.

Caerleill.

Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and hereof one Ethelwolfe confessor to Osmond bishop of Sarum was made the first bishop, hauing Cumberland & Westmerland assigned to his share; of the deaneries and number of parish churches contained in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Whobeit hercof I am sure, that notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds foureteene shillings eleuen pence halfe pence, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime euen before the pope himselte, supposing no lesse than to haue gained by his sale, and so peradventure should haue done, if his platforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the praides of flatteries, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speech was uttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and estones repaired by Willliam Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cair-dail. For in an ancient booke which I haue seene, and yet haue, intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curie Romanae, octo capitulorum, episcopatus Cardocensis*. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue shillings one pence halfe pence farthing, of currant monie in those daies, doe euidentlie declare, what stoe of coine was transported out of the land vnto the papall vses, in that behalfe onelie.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in those daies, for such commoditties were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifully gat he by his perquisites, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, scales, prebends, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he sake much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old booke of record, which I also haue seene, yet I find neuertheless that the whole sum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion paye faint Peter did neuer heare, of so much as one graie grote. Marke therefore I praise you whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his tenths ouer all Enrope, and thereupon tell me whether our Island was one of the best paire of bellolues or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot seeth, besides all other commoditties.

Man.

Beside all these, we haue another bishoprike yet in England almost stipped out of my remembrance, because it is verie obscure, for that the bishop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance sufficientlie, and that is the see of Monan or Man, sometime named *Episcopatus Sodorensis*, whereof one Willmundus was ordeined the first bishop, and John the second, in the troublesome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie resteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate such a one from time to time thereto as to them doth seme conuenient. Whobeit if that see did know and might reape his owne commoditties, and discerne them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath deuoured

the daughter) I doubt not but the state of his bishop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later see after this maner vnto mind, I suppose that I haue sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state of our bishoprike, and maner how the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and countiees of this realme. Whose bishops as they haue bene heretofore of lesse learning, and yet of greater possessions in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in anie countie of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countiees) but onelie learning and vertue, commended somewhat by friendship, doe bying them to this honour.

I might here haue spoken more at large of diuerse other bishoprikes, sometime in this part of the Island, as of that of Carlheon tofore ouerthowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the monke (as Malmesburie saith) where Dubritius gouerned, which was after ward translated to S. Dauides, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leicester called Legeensis, whose fourth bishop (Winwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Hamstrie or Wiltun, and of Glocester (of which you shall read in Math. Westm. 489) where the bishop was called Eldad: also of Hagulstade, one of the members whereinto the see of Forke was diuided after the expulsion of Willfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had diuened him awaie, he diuided his see into two parts, making Wosa ouer the Weirances that held his see at Hagulstade or Lindfarne: and Catta ouer the Bernicia ans, who sat at Forke: and thereto placing Edderus ouer Lindseie (as is afore noted) whose successors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Rainbert, notwithstanding that one Serulfus was ouer Lindseie before Edderus, who was bishop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was banished from Lindseie, and came into those quarters to seek his refuge and succour.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Calam, an house with the countie wherein it stood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcel of Scotland; also of the creation of the late see at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one so the other is ceased, and the lands of this later either diuided or exchanged for worse tenures, that except a man should see it with his eyes, & point out with his finger where euerie parcel of them is bestowed, but a few men would beleue what is become of the same. I might likewise and with like ease also haue added the successors of the bishops of curtie see to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatise to an vnprofitable length. Neuertheless I will remember the same of London my native citie, after I haue added one word more of the house called Ad Candidam Calam, in English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white stone wherewith it was builded, and was seme far off as standing upon an hill to such as did beheld it.

Glocester a
verie ancient
bishoprike,

The names and successions of
so manie archbishops and bishops
of London, as are extant, and so
be had, from the faith
first received.

Archbishops.

Theon.	Tadwinus <i>alias</i> Theodwinus, some do wytte him
Eluanus.	Tacwinus & Tarwinus.
Cadocus.	Tidredus <i>alias</i> Theodred.
Ouinus.	Hilarius.
Conanus.	Fastidius lived Anno
Palladius.	Dom. 430.
Stephanus.	Vodinus, slain by the Sa-
Ilutus.	rons.
Restitutus, who li-	Theonius.
ued 350 of grace.	

The see void manie yeares.

Augustine the monke, sent ouer by Gregorie the
great, till he removed his see to Canturburie, to
the intent he might the tamer see, if persecution
should be raised by the infidels, or heare from, or
send moze spéeillie vnto Rome, without any
great feare of the interception of his letters.

Bishops.

Melicus.

The see void for a season.

Wina.	Cernulphus.
Erkenwaldus.	Suiduiphus.
Waldherus.	Eadstanus.
Ingaldus.	Wulfinus.
Egulphus.	Ethelwaldus.
Wigotus.	Elstanus.
Eadbricus.	Brithelmus.
Edgarus.	Dunstanus.
Kiniwalchus.	Tidricus.
Eadbaldus.	Alwijnus.
Eadbertus.	Elfwoldus.
Ofwinus.	Robertus a <i>pozman</i> .
Ethelnothus.	Wilhelmus a <i>pozman</i> .
Cedbertus.	Hugo a <i>pozman</i> .

I read also of a bishop of London called Elfward,
or Ailward, who was abbat of Evesham, and bishop
of London at one time, and buried at length in
Kensete, howbeit in what order of succession he li-
ued I can not tell, moze than of diuerse other aboue
remembred, but in this order do I find them.

The see void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.	10 Rogerus Niger.
2 Richardus Beaumis.	11 Fulco Bascet.
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a notable man for thre things, auarice, riches, and learning.	12 Henricus Wingham.
4 Robertus de Sigillo.	Richardus Talbot electus.
5 Richardus Beaumis.	15 Richard. Grauesend.
6 Gilbertus Folioth.	16 Radulfus Ganda-
7 Richardus.	centis.
8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.	17 Gilbertus Segraue.
9 Eustathius Falcon- berg.	18 Richardus de New-
	port.
	19 Stephanus Graue-
	send.
	20 Richard. Birtworth.
	21 Radulfus Baldoc

made the tables hang- ing in the vestrie of Paulus.	31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
22 Michael.	32 Iohannes Stokeleie.
23 Simon.	33 Richardus fitz James.
24 Robertus.	34 Edmundus Boner, re-
25 Thomas.	moved, imprisoned.
26 Richardus.	35 Nicholas Ridleie re-
27 Thomas Sauagius.	moved and buried.
28 Wilhelmus.	Edm. Boner, restored, re-
29 Wilhelm. Warham.	moved, & imprisoned.
30 Wilhelmus Barnes.	36 Edmundus Grindall.
	37 Edwinus Sandes.
	38 Iohannes Elmer.

Having gotten and set downe thus much of the bi-
shops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the
deacons, vntill I come to the time of mine old mas-
ter now living in this present yeare 1586, who is
none of the least ornaments that haue bene in
that seat.

Deacons.

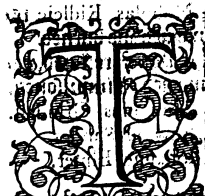
1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes contained in the whole psalter, and appointed the same ver- lie to be read amongst the prebendaries.	Richardus de Newporte electus.
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble hystorie is yet extant in their li- brarie.	23 Magister Vitalis.
3 Alardus Budham.	24 Iohannes Euerisdon.
4 Robertus Warford.	25 Wilhelmus Brewet.
5 Martinus Pateshull.	26 Richardus Killmings-
6 Hugo de Marinis.	don.
7 Radulfus Langfort.	27 Thomas Trillocke.
8 Galfredus de Berie.	28 Iohannes Appulbie.
9 Wilhelmus Staman.	29 Thomas Euer.
10 Henricus Cornell.	30 Thomas Stow.
11 Walterus de Salerne.	31 Thomas More.
12 Robertus Barton.	32 Reginaldus Kenton.
13 Petrus de Newport.	33 Thomas Liseux <i>alias</i>
14 Richardus Talbot.	Leseux.
15 Galfredus de Fering.	34 Leonardus de Bath.
16 Iohannes Chishull.	35 Wilhelmus Saie.
17 Herueus de Boreham.	36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.	37 Thom. Winterburne.
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.	38 Wilhelmus Wolscie.
20 Wilhelmus de Mont- fort.	39 Robert Sherebroke.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc postea episcopus.	40 Iohanes Collet, four- der of Paulus schole.
22 Alanus de Cantilup postea cardinalis.	Richardus Paceus.
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.	Richardus Sampson.
	Iohannes Incent.
	Wilhelmus Maius resig-
	nauit.
	Iohannes Fakenham <i>alias</i>
	Howman resignauit.
	Henricus Colus, remo- ued, imprisoned.
	Wilhelmus Maius, res- ted.
	Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and
deacons of that honorable see. I call it honorable, be-
cause it hath had a succession for the most part of
learned and wise men, albeit that otherwise it be
the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie
for that it is nere vnto checke, but also the prelates
thereof are much troubled with suits, and no lesse
subiect to the reproches of the common sort, whose
mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension,
and eies readie to espye any thing that they may re-
proue and carpe at. I would haue done so much for
euerie see in England, if I had not had consideration
of the greatnesse of the volume, and small benefit ris-
ing by the same, vnto the commoditie of the rea-
ders: neuerthelesse I haue reserved them vnto the
publication of my great Chronologie, if (while I liue)
it happen to come abroad.

Of Vniuersities.

Chap. 3.

Manie vni-
uersities com-
time in Eng-
land.



Here haue bene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Island, and those euen in my dates not altogether forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Llicius, and afterward converted into a monasterie, not by Langelus (as some write) but by Delagius the monke. The second at Carlegh upon the Ske, nere to the place where the riuer both fall into the Seuerie, founded by king Arthur. The third at Oxford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rood sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Epsdon or Crilade, Lachade, Reading and Dorhampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorized, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Oxford in time of ciuill dissention vnto the said towne, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betwene the chancellor for the scholars there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall see more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are thre noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vse of the tongues, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, physicke, and theologie, are daily taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onlie read and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are not onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard freestone or bycke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through the exceeding liberalitie of kings, quenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large libraries and great reuenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be seene in anie other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such conuentent numbers of pöre mens sonnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

When the vni-
uersities were
builded vn-
certeine.

When these two scholes should be first builded, who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuerthelesse, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beuerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either boyne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not so called of Cantaber, but Castr Gzant of the smith of the worke, or at the leastwise of the riuer that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saronis Gzantceller. An other sort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Gzanta, &c.: but whie then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium, or

Cantodunum, according to the same? All this is said onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memoire of Cantaber, who cometh from the Brigantes, or out of Britcaie, called the said towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it bene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofoze to come first into Ireland, and from thence ouer into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that it hath bene often seene; and that out of Brittain, they haue gotten ouer also into Scithia, and contrariwise: coasting still through Powleshire, which of them alio was called Brigantium, as by good testimonie appeareth.

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, being inuironed in manner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and valleys beneath, whose courses would breed no small commoditie to that citie and countrie about, if such impediments were reuoked as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the cariage (which might be made thither also from London). That of Cambridge is distant from London about fortie and six miles north and by east, and standeth vnto the fens, whereby the whole somenesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of provision, but especiallie of fresh water fish and wildfoule, by reason of the riuer that passeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Elle, which is so nere at hand. Onlie wood is the chiefe want to such as studie there, wherefore this kind of provision is brought thither from Essex, and other places thereabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with galle (a bassard kind of Mirrus as I take it) and seacole, whereof they haue great plenty led thither by the Gzant. Whereouer it hath not such store of medow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expences of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore the inhabitants are enforced in like sort to provide their haie from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in vnto the great abundance.

Cambridge
six and forty
miles from
London.

Oxford is supposed to containe in longitude eighteene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrees and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and thereto fiftie and two degrees and fiftie minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation is easie to be found.

Longitude
latitude of
both.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workmanship and priuat commodities, are much more stateilie, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereto the streets of the towne for the most part more large and comelie. But for uniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike regiment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship, exceedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is and hath bene the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diuerse that are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine, that whatsoeuer the difference be in building of the towne streets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroaching vpon their liberties, and keepe them bare by extreme sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, because that gods euill gotten doo selde long indure.

Cambridge
burned not
long since.

Cassels also they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech were accordingly repaired: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for manner of building and situation of ground, sith Oxford cassell standeth

standeth low and is not so apparant to our sight. That of Cambridge was builded (as the pisate) by *Guinthus*, sometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Wille, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman given to no lesse superstition than credulitie, began also the abbey of *Wenseie* nere unto the same, upon a sond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will here remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how readie the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, nere unto the aforesaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering upon the elmes, which had bene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off, or else hir selfe at home againe, and this happened diuerse times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherefore these pies did so molest & bere hir. *My ma-dam* (saith he) the wildest pie of all, these are no pies but soules in purgatorie that craue release. And is it so in deed quoth she. Now *De pardioux*, if old Robert will giue me leave, I will do what I can to bring these soules to rest. Whereupon she consulted, craued, wept, and became so importunate with hir husband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that *Synagoga* 1120, which afterward proued to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched upon the same, in the habit of a *uoluelle*, and yet to be seene, except the weather haue woone out the memoriall. But to proceed with my purpose.

In each of these vniuersities also is likewise a church dedicated to the virgin *Marie*, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in *Iulie*, the scholars are holden, and in which such as haue bene called to anie degre in the yeare precedent, do there receiue the accomplishment of the same, in soleinne and sumptuous manner. In *Orford* this solemnitie is called an *Act*, but in Cambridge they vse the French word *Commencement*; and such reioys is made peacelie unto the same from all parts of the land, by the friends of those which doe proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge those guests. When and by whome the churches aforesaid were builded, I haue elsewhere made relation. That of *Orford* also was repaired in the time of *Edward the fourth*, and *Henrie the seuen*, when doctor *Fitz James* a great helper in that worke was warden of *Berton college*, but yer long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the church and steeple, which since that time haue neuer bene repaired. There were sometime foure and twentie parish churches in the towne and suburbs, but now there are scarce sixe remaine. There haue bene also 1200 burgeses, of which 400 dwelled in the suburbs, and so manie students were there in the time of *Henrie the third*, that he allowed them twentie miles compasse about the towne, for their provision of vittels.

The common scholes of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of *Orford*, onelie the diuinitie schole at *Orford* excepted, which for fine and excellent workmanship, cometh next the mold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king *Henrie the seuen* did build at *Westminster*, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone thre more notable piles within the compasse of Europe.

In all other things there is so great equalitie betwene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagine how to set downe any greater; so that they seeme

to be the bodie of one well ordered common weath, onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in strantie content and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other, and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so deere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto the better of them I owe the most good will. As vnto God my knowledge were such, as that neither of them might haue caule to be ashamed of their pupil; or my power so great, that I might worthilie requite them both for those manifold kindneses that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue these things, and proceed with other more conuenient for my purpose. The manner to lue in these vniuersities, is not as in some other of forein countries we see vassal to happen, where the students are enforced for want of such houses, to dwell in common houses, and taverns, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we lue in such exact order, and vnder so pfect rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man *Erasmus* of *Roterodame* being here among vs 50 yerres passed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of students in these two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient monks: affirming moreover in flat words, our orders to be such as not onlie came nere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monastical institutions that euer were deuised.

In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which manie are found by the reuerences of the houses, and other by the purueiuaunces and helpe of their rich friends; whereby in some one college you shall haue two hundred scholars, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerse a hundred and fortie, and in the rest lesse numbers; as the capacite of the said houses is able to receiue: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about thre thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late surueie it manifestlie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the first, onelie for poore mens sons, whose parents were not able to bring them vnto learning: but now they haue the least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so inuade vpon them. And so farre hath this inconuenience spread it selfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowship (though he be neuer so good a scholar & worthy of that rone.) Such packing also is vsed at elections, that not he which best deserueth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the worst scholar, is alwaies surest to speed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends haue bene in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, do intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or estatutes deuised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too euident: and their attempt would some take place, if their superiours did not provide to bide their inuaders. In some grammar scholes likewise, which send scholars to these vniuersities, it is lamentable to see what *byberie* is vsed; for yer the scholar can be preferred, such *bybage* is made, that poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort receiued (who in time past thought it dishonour to lue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than *hystories*, *ta-bles*, *dice*, and *trifles*, as men that make not the liuing by their studie the end of their purposes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beside this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sonnes, they oft bring the vniuersities into much slander. For standing vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban-

ting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes unto an other trade.) And for exercise when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which graciously manie not a little. But so proceed with the rest.

Readers in
private houses.

Euery one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the tongues and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which daillie trade by the pouth there abiding privatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelue termes) to shew themselves abroad, by going from thence into the common scholes and publike disputations (as it were *In aream*) there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their comming thither.

Publike readers
maintained by the
prince.

Studie of the
quadrinals
and perspec-
tives neglected.

Moreouer, in the publike scholes of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fise professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physike, the Hebrie, and the Greeke tongues. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadrinals, although the latter (I meane arithmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectives are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselves doe allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incouraged to be diligent in their functions.

These professors in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schole exercises, which are daillie vsed in common scholes seuerallie assigned to each of them, and such of their hearers as by their skill theued in the said disputations, are thought to haue attained to anie conuenient ripenesse of knowleledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted solemnlie to take their deserued degrees of schole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

Sophisters.

Bachelers
of art.

Maisters of
art.

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they haue learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obtained thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematical, they ascend higher vnto the estate of bachelers of art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giuing their minds to more perfect knowleledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the tongues, they rise at the last (to wit, after other three or foure yeares) to be called maisters of art, each of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he professeth but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to chuse what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or physike; so that being once maisters of art, the next degree if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowleledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, after they haue necessarilie proceeded maisters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open scholes, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward replie twise against some

other man vpon a like number, and on two seuerall daies in the same place: which being done with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, bachelers of diuinitie, but not before he hath bene master of art by the space of seauen yeares, according to their statutes.

Bachelers
of diuinitie.

Doctor.

The next and last degree of all is the doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. I haue read that John of Beuerleie was the first doctor that ever was in Oxfozd, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so stricte to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, for euery teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitive church as kept scholes of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptism, or anie office in the church.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degree receiued, is commonlie eightene or peraduenture twentie yeares, in which time if a student hath not obtained sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer loke by standing longer to come by anie more. For after this time & 40 yeares of age, the most part of students doe commonlie giue ouer their wonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet doing little good in their owne vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, as well in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice instead of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of god and bright life, as bishop Jfor sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrye anie longer at Oxfozd than he had a desire to profit.

Non

This for
builded by
pious Christi
college in
Oxfozd.

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the law, or physike (of which this giueth wealth, the other honoz) so soone as he commeth to the vniuersitie, if his knowleledge in the tongues and ripenesse of iudgement serue thereto: which if he doe, then his first degree is bachelers of law, or physike, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, doe for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finally, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea doe in their owne or else where. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whence verie few without speciall grace doe returne good men, what soeuer they pretend of conference or practise, chieselie the physicians who vnder pretense of seeking of foreine simples doe oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknown than practised, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said, Italie is not to be sene without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people.

So much also
may be inter-
red of lawiers.

There is moreouer in euery house a maister or prouost, who hath vnder him a president, & certeine censoz or deanes, appointed to looke to the behauiour and maners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the vsuall names of gouernours in Cambridge. Whomebeit in Oxfozd the heads of houses are now

now and then called presidents in respect of such bishops as are their visitors & founders. In each of these also they haue one or moe thesaurers whom they call Bursarios or Bursers beside other officers, whose charge is to see vnto the welfare and maintenance of these houses. Ouer each vniuersitie also there is a generall chancelor, whose offices are perpetuall, howbeit their substitutes, whom we call vicechancellors, are changed euerie yeare, as are also the proctors, taskers, maisters of the streates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and estate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuersities in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they haue bought rather of their fauour than my desert to yield and bestow vpon me, and vnto whose students I wish one thing, the execution whereof cannot be prejudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am resolute perswaded, and the case now standeth in these our daies. When anie benefice therfore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did signifie the vacation thereof to the bishop, and the bishop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuersities, with request that the vicechancellor with his assistants might prouide some such able man to succeed in the place, as should by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then should the church be prouided of good pastors, by whome God should be glorified, the vniuersities better stoyed, the simoniacall practises of a number of patrons utterly abolished and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happy estate.

To these two also we may in like sort ad the third, which is at London (seruing onelie for such as studie the lawes of the realme) where there are sundrie famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Inns of the court, the rest of the chanceries, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of such as applie their minds to our common lawes. Out of these also come manie scholars of great fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore bene

brought vp in one of the aforesaid vniuersities, and proue such commonlie as in procelle of time, rise vp (onelic through their profound skill) to great honoz in the common-wealth of England. They haue also degrees of learning among themselves, and rules of discipline, vnder which they liue most ciuillie in their houses, albeit that the ponger sort of them abroad in the streats are scarce able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was wont also greatie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betwene the students and the burgeses: but as it is well left in these two places, so in foireine counteies it cannot yet be suppressed. Besides these vniuersities, also there are great number of Grammar scholes through out the realme, and those verie liberalie indued, for the better reliefe of poore scholars, so that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quenes domniou, that haue not one Grammar schole at the least, with a sufficient lining for a maister and other appointed to the same.

There are in like maner diuerse collegiat churches as Windsoz, Winchest, Eaton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father maister Powell now deane of Paules) and in those a great number of poore scholars, daily maintened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue bene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Graeke tongues, and rules of verifieng (the trial whereof is made by certaine apposers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are sent to certaine especiall houses in each vniuersitie, where they are receiued the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat halls, till they be adiudged meet to shew their faces in the scholes, as I haue said already. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuersities, and likewise of colleges in the same, whose names I will also set downe here, with those of their founders, to the end the zeale which they beare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer perishe from among the wise and learned.

Grammar scholes.

Windsor, Winchester, Eaton, Westminster.

London.



Of the colleges in Cambridge with their founders.

Yeares of the foundations.	Colleges.	Founders.
1546	1 Trinitie college.	King Henrie 8.
1441	2 The kings college.	K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3 S. Iohns.	L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4 Christes college.	K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforesaid.
1446	5 The queenes college.	Ladie Margaret wife to king Henrie 6.
1496	6 Iesus college.	Iohn Alcocke bishop of Elie. (Christi.)
1342	7 Bennet college.	The brethren of a popish guild called Corporis
1343	8 Pembroke hall.	Maria de Valentia, countesse of Pembroke.
1256	9 Peter college.	Hugh Balsingham bishop of Elie.
1348	10 Gundeuill and Caius college.	Edmund Gundeuill parson of Terrington, and Iohn Caius doctor of physicke.
1557	11 Trinitie hall.	William Bateman bishop of Norwich.
1354	12 Clare hall.	Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.
1326	13 Catharine hall.	Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie.
1459	14 Magdalen college.	Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie
1519	15 Emanuell college.	Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.
1585		

The description of England. Of colleges in Oxford.

Yeares.	Colleges.	Founders.
1539	1 Christes church.	King Henrie 8.
1459	2 Magdalen college.	William Wainfler first fellow of Merton college then scholer at Winchester, and afterward bishop there.
1375	3 New college.	William Wickham bishop of Winchester.
1276	4 Merton college.	Walter Merton bishop of Rochester.
1437	5 All soules college.	Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie.
1516	6 Corpus Christi college.	Richard Fox bishop of Winchester.
1430	7 Lincolne college.	Richard Fleming bishop of Lincolne.
1323	8 Auriell college.	Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.
1340	9 The queenes college.	R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3.
1263	10 Balioll college.	Iohn Balioll king of Scotland.
1557	11 S. Iohns.	Sir Thomas White knight.
1556	12 Trinitie college.	Sir Thomas Pope knight.
1316	13 Excester college.	Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.
1513	14 Brasen nose.	William Smith bishop of Lincolne.
873	15 Vniuersitie college.	William archdeacon of Duresme.
	16 Glocester college.	Iohn Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene monks.
	17 S. Marie college.	Hugh ap Rice doctour of the ciuill law.
	18 Iesus college now in hand.	

There are also in Oxford certeine hostels or hals, which may rightwell be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is moze libertie in them, than is to be seen in the other. I mins opinion the liuers in these are verie like to those that are of Inns in the chancerie, their names also are these so farre as I now remember.

Brodegates.	S. Marie hall.
Hart hall.	White hall.
Magdalen hall.	New In.
Alburne hall.	Edmond hall.
Postminster hall.	

The students also that remaine in them, are called hostellers or halliers. Whereof it came of late to passe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie being brought vp in such an house at Cambridge, was of the ignorant sort of Londoners called an hosteler, supposing that he had serued with some inholder in the stable, and therfore in despite diuerse hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the gospell, whereas in deed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient house: in the end a faithfull witnesse of Iesus Christ, in whose quarrell he refused not to shed his blood and pæd vp his life vnto the furie of his aduersaries.

Besides these there is mention and record of diuerse other hals or hostels, that haue bene there in times past, as Beese hall, Putton hall, &c: whose ruines yet appere: so that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the shew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentiful in Oxford to be seene, it should be an easie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuersitie. wherein are also manie dwelling houses of stone yet standing, that haue bene hals for students of verie antique workmanship, beside the old wals of sundrie other, whose plots haue bene converted into gardens, since colleges were erected.

In London also the houses of students at the Commonlaw are these.

Sergeants In.	Furniuals In.
Graies In.	Cliffords In.
The Temple.	Clements In.
Lincolnes In.	Lious In.
Dauids In.	Barnards In.
Staple In.	New In.

And thus much in generall of our noble vniuersities, whose lands some greedy gripers doe gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to haue preuailed in their purposes. But who are those that haue attempted this sute, other than such as either hate learning, pietie, and wisdome; or else haue spent all their owne, and know not otherwise than by incroaching vpon other men how to mainteine themselves? When such a motion was made by some vnto king Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this manner; Ah sirra, I perceiue the abbete lands haue fleethed you and set your teeth on edge, to aske also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onely to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries, you haue a desire also to ouerthrow all godnesse by subuersion of colleges. I tell you sir that I iudge no land in England better beloued than that which is giuen to our vniuersities, for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your iwellfares therfore, follow no moze this veine, but content your selues with that you haue already, or else seeke honest means whereby to increase your liuelods, for I loue not learning so ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one house by a penie, whereby it may be vpholdden. In king Edwards daies likewise the same sute was once againe attempted (as I haue heard) but in vaine, for saith the duke of Sumner, set among other speeches tending to that end, who also made answer therunto, in the kings presence by his assignation; If learning decaye, which of wild men maketh ciuill, of blockish and rash persons wise and goodlie counsellors, of obstinat rebels obedient subiects, and of euill men good and goodlie christians; what shall we looke for else but barbarisme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it shall be hard to saie, whose staffe shall stand next the doze, for then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie shall be assailed, by such as liue to spend all, and thinke that what so euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandment, than for the proper owner that hath sweated and laboured for it. In quene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie such course to be taken in hand, but in the time of our grations

Erection of colleges in Oxford the ouerthrow of hals.

He founded also a good part of Eaton college, and a free schole at Windset where he was borne.

Now abbets be gone, our dingthists pye after church and college possessions.

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gracious quene Elizabeth, I heate that it was after a sort in talse the thiro time, but without successe as moued also out of season, and so I hope it shall continue for euer. For what comfort should it be for anie good man to see his countrie brought into the estate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes against learning, and would not suffer anie skilfull man to come into their counsell house, by meanes whereof those people became sauage, tyrants, and mercilesse helbonds, till they restozed learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuillitie.

Of the partition of England into shires and counties.

Chap. 4.

I Reding of ancient writers, as Caesar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of sundrie regions to haue bene sometime in this Iland, as the No-uantæ, Selgoux, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Ceronones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicones, Texali, Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes Parisi, Ordouici, alius Ordoluci, Cornauj, Contauj, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Deme-
ta, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbarij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Icenj, Tegenes, Casij, Canimagni, Segontiaci, Anekaes, Bibroci, and Bentishmen, and such like. But the feuerall places where most of them late, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne unto the learned of these daies, I do not meane to pronounce my iudgement vpon such doubtful cases, least that in so doing I should but increase coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader from the moze probable, intangle his mind in the end with such as are of lesse value, and things nothing so likely to be true, as those which other men haue remembred and set downe before me. Neither will I speake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whose number and place of abode, except of the Uicopian and Augustane, is to me vtterlie unknowne.

Alfred brought England into shires, which the Saxons diuided by cantreds, and the first Saxons by families.

Shire and Ware all one.

It shall suffice therfore to begin with such a ground as from whence some better certaintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the estate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who first diuided England into shires, which before his daies, and since the coming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Saxons did the same in their time, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records doe witness.

Into how manie shires the said Alfred did first make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out, howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I suppose that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, with we find by no good author, that aboute fiftene haue bene added by anie of his successors, since the time of his decease. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into shires, or shares, he diuided againe the same into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or titharies, as diuers haue written; and maister Lambert following these authorities, hath also giuen out, writing almost after this maner in his description of Kent: The Danes (saith he) both before, & in the time of king Alfred, had stocked by the sea coasts of this Iland in great numbers, sometimes waisting and spoiling with sword and fire, whereuer they might

arrive, and somtime taking great booties with them to their ships, without doing anie further hurt or damage to the countrie. This inconuenience continuing for manie yeres together, caused our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occasion and hardinesse to euill disposed persons, to fall to the like pillage, as practising to follow the Danes in these their thefts and robberies. And the better to cloake their mischeefe withall, they feigned themselves to be Danish pirats, and would sometime come a land in one port, and sometime in another, dailing great spoiles (as the Danes had done) vnto their ships before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had maruellouslie trauelled in repelling the barbarous Danes) espient this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politike prince, to root out the noisome subiect, than to hold out the forren aduersarie: by the aduise of his nobilitie, and the example of Moses (who followed the counsell of Jethro his father in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme into certeine parts or sections, which (of the Saxon word Sdyran, signifieng to cut) he termed shires, or as we yet speake, shares, or portions, of which some one hath fortie miles in length (as Essex) and almost so manie broad, Hereford foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Warwicke six and thirtie in length, &c: and some of them also contene ten, twelue, thirtene, firtene, twentie, or thirtie hundredes, moze or lesse, as some hundredes do firtene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie, or sixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred able men to serue him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the same. These shires also he brake into lesser parts, whereof some were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which is to assemble together; other hundredes, for that they enioied iurisdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, because there were in each of them to the number of ten persons, whereof euerie one from time to time was suertie for others good abearing. He prouided also that euerie man should procure himselfe to be receiued into some tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of so small and base a credit, that no man would become pledge or suertie for him, he should forthwith be committed to prison, least otherwise he might happen to do moze harme abroad. Hitherto maister Lambert. By whose words we may

Earle and alderman.

gather verie much of the state of this Iland in the time of Alfred, whose institution continued after a sort vntill the coming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in such wise (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countreies) that verie little of the old regiment remained moze than the bare names of some officers (except peraduenture in Kent) so that in these daies it is hard to set downe anie great certaintie of things as they stood in Alfreds time, moze than is remembered and touched at this present.

Some as it were roming or roning at the name what a lath is Lath, doe saie that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old English a lath, as they coniecture. From which speech in like sort some deriue the word Lathow, as if it should be trulie written Lath stow, a place wherein to late by or late on things, of what soeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot absolutely be satisfied, although peraduenture some likelihood in their iudgements may seme to be therein. Other vpon some further consideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or shire containing an appointed number of townes, whose inhabitants alwaies assembled to knowe and order stand of matters touching their portions, in to some

Lates.

one appointed place or other within their limits, especially whilest the causes were such as required not the aid or assistance of the whole countie. Of these lathes also (as they saie) some shires had more, some lesse, as they were of greatnesse. And so, Lambert seemeth to be of the opinion, that the lates of our time (wherein these pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word free burgh) doe yett some shadow of that politike institution of Alfred. But sith my skill is so small in these cases that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not set downe anie thing more than I read, least I should rouse at random in our obscure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke shall be of hundreds.

Hundred or
Wapentake.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in some, and by this division not a name appertinent to a set number of townes (for then all hundreds should be of equall quantitie) but a limited iurisdiction, within the compasse whereof were an hundred persons called pledges (as I said) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which each one was bound for others good abiding, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewise of euerie denarie or tithing was in those daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in most places a borougher or burgholier, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreover named a burgh or burrow, although that in the West countrie he be still called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore

Denarie or
tithing.Tithing man
in Latine
Decurio.
Borougher,
Burrow.

(and it is partly afore noted) that the said Alfred caused each man of free condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwaies haue such as should sweare or saie by on their certaine knowledge for his honest behauiour, and ciuill conuersation if it should happen at anie time, that his credit should come in question. In like sort I gather out of Leland and other, that if anie small matter did fall out worthy to be discussed, the tithing man or borougher (now officers, at the commandement of the high constable of which euerie hundred hath one at the least) should decide the same in their lates, whereas the great causes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greatest of all to the shire daies, where the earles or aldermen did set themselves, & make final ends of the same, according vnto iustice. For this purpose likewise in euerie hundred were twelue men chosen of good age and wisdom, and those sworne to giue their sentences without respect of person, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handled in those daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in use, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the signification of the same declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the soldiers which were to serue in that hundred did meet, fetch their weapons, & go together from thence to the field, or place of seruice by an ordinarie custome, then generallie known amongst them. It is supposed also that the word Wape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and snatching, because the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or sundrie daies & made quickie dispatch of their lords haruest at once and in great hast. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncertaine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it shall suffice to haue touched them in this manner.

Twelue men.

Fortie shires
in England
thirtene in
Wales.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie shires, and likewise thirtene in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welshmen equall in all respects vnto the English, and brought to passe that both nations should indifferentlie be go-

uerned by one law, which in times past were ordered by diuerse, and those far discrepant and disagreeing one from another: as by the severall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the shires in England are these, whereof the first ten lie betwene the British sea and the Thames, as Polydor also doth set them downe.

10	Kent.	Wiltshire.
	Sussex.	Dorsetshire.
	Surreie.	Summerset.
	Hampshire.	Devon.
	Berkeshire.	Cornetwall.

There are moreover on the northside of the Thames, and betwene the same and the riuer Trent, which passeth through the middelt of England (as Polydor saith) sixtine other shires, whereof six lie toward the east, the rest toward the west, more into the middelt of the countrie.

20	Essex, sometime all forrest saue one hundred. Middlesex. Hertfordshire. Suffolke. Norfolke. Cambridgeshire in which are 12 hundreds.	Huntington wher in are four hun- dreds. Buckingham. Oxford. Berks. Hampshire. Gloucester. Leicestershire. Nottinghamshire. Warwicke. Lincolne.
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30 We haue fir also that haue their place westward towards Wales, whose names insue.

30	Gloucester.	Shropshire.
	Hereford.	Stafford.
	Worcester.	Cheshire.

And these are the thirtie two shires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyond the same riuer we haue in like sort other eight, as

40	Darbie. York.	It is accom- ted as parcell of Yorkshire (out of which it is ta- ken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding.
	Lancaster.	Durham.
	Cumberland.	Northumberland.
	Westmerland.	
	Richemond, wherein are five wapen- tares, & then	

So that in the portion sometime called Hoegres, there are now fortie shires. In Wales furthermore are thirtene, whereof seuen are in Southwales:

50	Cardigan, or Ceredigion. Denbigh, or Denbigh. Caermardine, wherein are	hundreds or commots. Glamoigan. Ponmouth. Breckenoche. Radnor.
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In Northwales likewise are six, that is to saie

60	Anglesea. Carnarvon. Merioneth.	Denbigh. Flint. Ponmerie.
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Which being added to those of England yeld fiftie and thre shires or countie, so that vnder the quenes Maestie are so manie countie, whereby it is easilie discerned, that hir power farre exceedeth that of Mefsa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had so much of Britaine vnder his subiection as afterward contained thirtie nine shires, when the diuision was made, whereof I spake before.

This is moreover to be noted in our diuision of shires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid together in one parcell, whereof I haue great maruell. But sith the occasio hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or some like occasion, it is better brieflie to set downe how some of these parts lie than to spend the time in seeking a full cause of this diuision.

Of parcels
of shires.

division. First therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamshire betwene Amondesham, & Beconsfield, there is a peece of Hartfordshire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie most. In Barkeshire also betwene Kufcombe and Buckingham is a peece of Wilshire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one side lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Dorsetshire shire dreathie ouer against Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamshire, I find a parcell of Dorsetshire not passing two miles in compass.

With Dorsetshire diuerse doe participate, in so much that a peece of Gloucestershire, lieth halfe in Warwickshire & halfe in Dorsetshire, not verie far from Heneton. Such another patch is there, of Gloucestershire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Dorset countie: & a peece of Gloucestershire, directlie betwene it & Gloucestershire. Gloucester hath the third peece vpon the north side of the Wintrush neere Faldrocke, as Barkeshire hath one parcell also vpon the selfe side of the same water, in the verie edge of Gloucestershire: likewise an other in Dorsetshire, not verie farre from Wiford: and the third ouer against Lach lade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeshire, by a little strake of Dorsetshire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wilshire were to be seene in Barkeshire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that fallett into it: whereof and the like litle there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this brieue admonition. For although I haue not presentlie gone thorough with them all, yet these may suffice to giue notice of this thing, whereof most readers (as I persuaide my selfe) are ignorant.

Lieutenants. But to proceed with our purpose.ouer ech of these shires in time of necessitie is a seuerall lieutenant chosen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almost regall authoritie ouer the same for the time being in manie cases which doe concerne his office: otherwise it is gouerned by a shiriffe (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Keue) whose office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the exchequer, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Quæstor comitatus* or *Procurator*. This officer is resident and dwelling somewhere within the same countie, and called also a vicount, *Quasi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*, in respect of the earle (or as they called him in time past the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be seldome seene in England, that the earle hath anie great stoe of possessions, or oughts to doe in the shire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his personall resistance, if he happen to dwell and be resident in the same.

Under-shiriffes. In the election also of these magistrates, diuerse able persons aswell for wealth as wisdome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choise, whose names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith picketh some such one of them, as he pleaseth to assigne vnto that office, to whom he committeth the charge of the countie, and who herevpon is shiriffe of that shire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be chosen. The shiriffe also hath his under shiriffe that ruleth & holdeth the shire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon sufficient caution vnto the high shiriffe for his true execution of iustice, preservation from impeachment, and yielding of account when he shall be therevnto called. There are likewise vnder him certeine bailiffes, whose office is to serue and retorne such writts and processes as are directed vnto them from the high shiriffe: to make seizure of the goods and cattels, and arrest the bodies

of such as doe offend, presenting either their persons vnto him, or at the leastwise taking sufficient bond, or other assurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the shiriffe by order of law ought to present them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred also are one or more high constables according to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writts and intumctions from the high shiriffe vnder his seale, or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the prouision of vittells or for other causes, or priuat purchaunce of rates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, do forthwith charge the petty constables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the same.

In each countie likewise are sundrie law daies holden at their appointed seasons, of which some retain the old Saxon name, and are called *Hotelagh*, of the word *mot* and *law*. They haue also an other called the shiriffes turne, which they hold twice in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folk mote ordained by king Arthur to be held yearelie on the first of Maie, vntill the first of euerie moneth) and in these two latter such small matters as oft arise amongst the inferior sort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallye their quarter sessions, wherein they are assisted by the iustices and gentlemen of the countie, & twice in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie seuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iustices there resident associat them) & minister the lawes of the realme, with great solemnitie & iustice. Howbeit in doing of these things, they retaine still the old order of the land in use before the conquest. For they commit the full examination of all causes there to be heard, to the consideration of twelue sober, graue, and wise men, chosen out of the same countie; and foure of them of necessitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth (which

Inquests. number they call an inquest) of these inquests there are more or lesse impaneled at euerie assise, as the number of cases there to be handled doth craue and require, albeit that some one inquest hath often diuerse matters to consider of. And when they haue (to their vttermost power) consulted and debated of such things as they are charged withall, they retorne againe to the place of iustice, with their verdict in writing, according wherevnto the iudge doth pronounce his sentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what soeuer is brought before him. It is also verie often seene, that such as are nominated to be of these inquests, doe after their charge receiued seldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agreed vpon their verdict, and yelded it vp vnto the iudge of whom they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof sometimes it commeth to passe that diuerse of the inquest haue bene welneere famished, or at least taken such a sicknesse thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practise, when the one side feareth the sequelle, and therefore conueieth some one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yeld vnto the rest, but of set purpose put them to this trouble.

Certes it is a common practise (if the under shiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or stronger side to procure and packe such a quest, as he himselfe shall like of, whereby he is sure of the issue before the charge be giuen: and beside this if the matter do iustlie proceed against him, it is a world to see now and then how the honest yeomen that haue bene discharged their consciences shall be sued of an attainr, & bound to appeere at the Starre chamber, with what rigour they shall be carried from place to place,

High constables.

Petty constables.

Hotelagh, shiriffes turne.

Gaile deliuerie or great assises.

place, countie to countie, yea and sometime in carts, which hath and doth cause a great number of them to abstaine from the assises, & yeld to paie their issues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus disturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes also they bibe the bailiffes to be kept at home, wherupon more men, not hauing in their purses wherewith to beare their costes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reason nor iudgement to per-
 forme the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of seruice at anie time halfe so painefull as at this present: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and attorneies hath so exceedinglie increased, that some shitts must needs be found and matters sought out, whereby they may be set on worke) a man should not haue heard at one assise of more than two or three *Nisi prius*, but verie seldome of an atteind, whereas now an hundred & more of the first and one or two of the later are verie often per-
 ceiued, and some of them for a cause arising of six pence or shewelpence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue bene in time past, and readier to reuenge their quarrels of small importance, whereof the lawiers com-
 plaine not. But to my purpose, from whence I haue now digressed.

Beside these officers afore mentioned, there are sundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whose dutie is to inquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attach & present the ples of the crowne, to make inquirie of treasure found, &c. There are diuerse also of the best learned of the law, beside sun-
 drie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not suffice (and whose reuenues do amount to aboue
 30
 twenty pounds by the yeare) appointed by especiall commission from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of his subjects, in the counties where they dwell. And of these the least skilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quo-
 rum, otherwise called of Mier and Determiner, so
 40
 that the first haue authoritie onelie to heare, the o-
 ther to heare and determine such matters as are brought vnto their ptesence. These also do direct their warrants to the keepers of the gailes within their limitations, for the safe keeping of such offenders as they shall iudge worthe to commit vnto their custo-
 die there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great assises, to the end their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countie, & these officers were first deuised about the eightene yeares of Edward
 50
 the third, as I haue bene informed.

They meeting also & togither with the shiriffes, do hold their aforesaid sessions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter sessions, and herein they inquire of sundrie trespasses, and the common annoyances of the kings liege people, and diuerse other things, determining vpon them as iustice doth require. There are also a third kind of sessions holden by the high constables and bai-
 liffes afore mentioned, called petie sessions, where-
 in the weights and measures are perused by the
 60
 clarke of the market for the countie, who sitteth with them. At these meetings also vittellers, and in like sort seruants, labourers, rogues, and cumagates are often reformed for their excesses, although the bur-
 ning of vagabounds through their eare be referred to the quarter sessions or higher courts of assise, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not since their second apprehen-
 sion applied themselves to labour, or else to be set per-
 petuallie to worke in an house erected in euerie shire for that purpose, of which punishment they stand in
 greatest feare.

I might here deliuer a discourse of sundrie rare

customs and courts, surnamed barons, yet mainte-
 ned and holden in England: but forsomuch as some
 of the first are heauilie, and therefore by the lordes of
 the soiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being
 for the most part deuised in the beginning either by
 malicious or licentious women, in mere contempt
 and flauntie abuse of their tenants, vnder pretense of
 some punishment due for their excesses, I passe ouer
 to bring them vnto light, as also the remembrance of
 10
 sundrie courts baron likewise holden in strange
 maner; yet none more absurd and far from law than
 are kept pearlie at Kings hill in Wochford, and there-
 fore may well be called a lawlesse court, as most are
 that were deuised vpon such occasions. This court is
 kept vpon wednesdaie ensuing after Michaelmasse
 daie after midnight, so that it is begun and ended
 before the rising of the sunne. When the tenants also
 are altogither in an alehouse, the steward secretlie
 stealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke,
 and goeth to the Kings hill, where sitting on a mole-
 20
 hill he calleth them with a verie soft voice, writing
 their apperance vpon a peece of paper with a cole,
 hauing none other light than that which is inclosed in
 the lanterne: so sone as the tenants also do misse the
 steward, they runne to the hill with all their might,
 and there answer all at once, where here, whereby they
 escape their amercements: which they should not do
 if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before
 they had misse him in the alehouse. And this is the
 verie forme of the court deuised at the first (as the
 voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of
 the honour of Warbie against their lord, in perpetuall
 memorie of their disobedience shewed. I could be-
 side this speake also of some other, but with one hath
 taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a
 particular treatise, I thinke it sufficient for me to
 haue said so much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to set downe
 generallie of the said counties and their maner of
 gouernance, although not in so perfect order as the
 cause requireth, because that of all the rest there is
 nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted than with
 our temporall regiment, which (to saie truth) smal-
 lie concerneth my calling. What else is to be added
 after the severall shires of England with their an-
 cient limits (as they agreed with the diuision of the
 land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and
 commodities yet extant, I referue vnto that excel-
 lent treatise of my friend W. Cambden, who hath
 trauelled therein verie farre, & whose worke written
 in Latine shall in short time (I hope) be published, to
 the no small benefit of such as will read and peruse
 the same.

Of degrees of people in the common- wealth of England.

Chap. 5.

In England diuise our
 people commonlie into foure
 sorts, as gentlemen, citizens
 or burgeses, yeomen, which
 are artificers, or laborers. Of
 gentlemen the first and chiefe
 (next the king) be the prince,
 dukes, marquesses, earls, vis-
 counts, and barons: and these are called gentlemen
 of the greater sort, or (as our common vsage of speech
 is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be
 knights, esquires, and last of all they that are simple
 called gentlemen; so that in effect our gentlemen are
 diuised into their conditions, whereof in this chap-
 ter I will make particular rehearsall.

The

Justices of
 peace & quo-
 rum.

Quarter
 sessions.

Petie ses-
 sions.

Prince.

The title of prince doth peculiarly belong unto the kings eldest sonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the best appurtenant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldest sonne hath the title of Dolphin, and is named peculiarly Monsieur. So that the prince is so termed of the Latine word *Princeps*, sith he is (as I may call him) the chiefe or principall next the king. The kings younger sonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher estate, as to be either viscounts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word *Grace*, properly assigned to the king and prince, and now also by custome conueied to dukes, archbishops, and (as some saie) to marquesses and their wiues.

Duke.

The title of duke cometh also of the Latine word *Dux*, à ducendo, because of his balow and power ouer the armie: in times past a name of office due to the emperour, consull, or chiefe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honoz, although perished in England, whose ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time past, or as there be now earles, I do not thinke but that they would flourish and prosper well enough.

Marquess.

In old time he onelie was called marquess, *Qui habuit terram limitaneam*, a marching prouince vpon the enemies countries, and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers. But that also is changed in common vse, and reputed for a name of great honoz next vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and sometimes small cities, as the prince is pleased to bestow it.

Earle.

The name of earle likewise was among the Romans a name of office, who had *Comites sacri palatii, comites ararij, comites stabuli, comites patrimonij, largitionum, scholarum, commerciorum*, and such like. But at the first they were called *Comites*, which were ioined in commission with the proconsull, legate, or iudges for counsell and also sake in each of those severall charges. As Cicero epistola ad Quintum fratrem remembresth, where he saith, *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & aduatores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa respublica duntaxat finibus his præstabis, quos ante præscripsi, &c.* After this I read also that euerie president in his charge was called *Comes*, but our English Saxons vsed the word *Hertoch* and earle for *Comes*, and indifferentlie as I gesse, sith the name of duke was not in vse before the conquest. Goropius saith, that *Comes* and *Graue* is all one, to wit the viscount, called either *Procomes*, or *Picecomes*: and in time past gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie such seruice or office, it is also become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degre before the baron. His reuerse also by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight five at the most for euerie sex.

Viscount.

Baron.

The baron, whose degre answered to the dignitie of a senator in Rome, is such a free lord as hath a lordship or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerse knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did serue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in *Baronia*, that is, for performance of such seruice. These Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) termeth *Barones, quasi robur belli*. The word *Baro* indeed is older than that it may easilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldest histories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written since the conquest, we read of barons, and those are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui*, or *Freiherren* in the Germane tongue as some men do sonneture, or (as one saith) the citizens and burgeses

of good townes and cities were called *Barones*. Nevertheless by diligent inquisition it is imagined, if not absolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scottish or Germane language are all one; so that the kings children are properly called *Barones*, from whence also it was first translated to their kinred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greatest honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* signifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be scene, although with some corruption: for to this daie, euen the common sort doe call their male children barnes here in England, especiallie in the north countie, where that word is yet accustomed in vse. And it is also growne into a proverbe in the south, when anie man suffereth a great hinderance, to saie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrew tongue (as some affirme) it signifieth *Filius*, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdom but *Fili* or *serui regum*? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from henceforth the originall of the word *Baro* shall not be anie more to seeke: and the first time that euer I read thereof in anie English historie, is in the reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a council holden at Cirencester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else where remembred. Howbeit the word *Baro* doth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the chiefe or high tribune of the exchequer is of custome called lord chiefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts next vnto the lord treasurer, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ararij, & rationales*. Vnto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not sel dome and in like sort with sundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they doe execute the same, and no longer.

Bishops.

Unto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the same come in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whose countenances in time past were much more glorious than at this present it is, because those lustie prelates sought after earthlie estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the lost shepe of Christ, of which they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leisure to attend vpon the same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remaineth no lesse reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they esteemed with high and low. They reueine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little impugned by such as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the eldership is equallie distributed betwene the bishop and the minister, yet for ciuill gouernements sake, the first haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the rest maie thereby be with more ease retained within a limited compasse of vniformitie, than other wise they would be, if each one were suffered to walke in his owne course. This also is more to be marvelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their estate, crying to haue the word lord abolished, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the present condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to saie trulie, few of them doe agree vpon forme of discipline and gouernement of the church succedent: wherein they resemble the Capuans, of whom Luic doth speake in the slaughter of their senat. Neither is it possible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one towne

1 Sam. 15.
1 Reg. 7.

towne or citie, or to stirre by such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, with our corruption is such that it will neuer yield to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath deuised. But whether am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates do daily decaye, & suffer some diminution? Wherein neuertheless their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared because of their authoritie and seuerer government vnder the prince, now are they beloued generally for their painefull diligence daily shewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of some hungrye wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the loose ends of their best commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common gulle, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall living, what part thereof he will first forgoe and part with to their vse. Finally, how it standeth with the rest of the cleargie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor great care to know. Neuertheless with what degrees of honour and worship they haue bene matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others doe expresse; and this also found beside their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat, and pelling prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie also appeare in the great charter, and sundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious comparisons and ambitious titles are now decayed and woorthilie shynke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to mainteine such pompous vanitie, they do thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their livings to their sees (so long as they shall be able) from the hands of such as indoeuour for their owne preferment to flerce and diminish the same. This furthermore will I adde generally in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portugal, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in deed so skillfull in the two principall tonges, that it is accounted a shame in anie one of them, not to be exactlye sene in the Greke and Hebrew, much more then to be utterly ignorant or nothing conuersant in them. As for the Latine tong it is not wanting in anie of the ministerie, especiallie in such as haue bene made within this twelue or fourtene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vsuerued, because they had none at all. And to saie truth, our aduersaries were the onlie causers hereof. For whilst they made no further accompt of their priesthood, than to construe, sing, read their service and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon examination had, few made in quene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to do anie more, and verie hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serue at all.

Dukes, marquesses, earles, viscounts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honoz by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a viscount, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good service done by the first ancestor, with some advancement, which with the title of that honour is

alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigour of the lawe be but esquires: yet in common speech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie doth agree to none of lower degree than barons, yet by lawe and vse these be not esteemed barons.

The baronie or degree of lords doth answer to the degree of senators of Rome (as I said) and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Roman Patricij. Also in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie dispense of yearelie reuenues a thousand pounds, or so much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But viscounts, erles, marquesses, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degree & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he keepeth this degree: but if the decaye be excessive and not able to mainteine the honour, as *Senatores Romani* were *amoti a senatu*: so sometimes they are not admitted to the upper house in the parlement although they keepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anie such occasion. The most of these names haue descended from the French intencion, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

This also is woorthie the remembrance, that vnto the first emperor of that name, endeavouring to restore the decayed estate of Italie vnto some part of his paffinate magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates & pradia* to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valualors or capteins, and valualines.

His *Pradia* in like maner were tributes, tolls, postage, bankage, frackage, coinage, profits by salt pits, milles, water-courses (and what soeuer emoluments grew by them): such like. But at that present I read not that the word *Baro* was brought into those parts. And as for the valualors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrees of honoz vnder the first three (which are properly named the kings capteins) so that they are called *Maiores, minores, & minimi valualores*. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor thereof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquess, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valualores*, if from anie of his three peeres, then were they *Minores valualores*: but if anie of these *Valualors* do substitute a deputie, those are called *Minimi valualores*, and their deputies also *Valualini*, without regard vnto which degree the valualor doth appertene: but the word *Valualor* is now growne out of vse, therefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to encourage them the more to aduenture & trie their manhood: or after the battell ended, as an advancement for their courage and prowesse already shewed (then are they called *Milites*): or out of the warres for some great seruice done, or for the singular vertues which do appeare in them, and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order seemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called *Equitum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were chosen *Ex censu*, that is, according to their substance and riches, so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or abundance of riches, wherewith to mainteine their estates. Yet all that

De Asia, cap. 12

No Græke, no grace.

Bene con, bene can, bene lo

Duke, marquess, earle, viscount.

Barons.

Of the second degree of gentlemen.

Prædia.

Valualores.

Knights.

th

Milites.

Equites aurati.

that had *Esquestrum confusum*, were not chosen to be knights, and no more be all made knights in England that may spend a knights lands; but they onely whome the prince will honour. Sometime diuerse ancient gentlemen, burgeses, and lawyers, are called vnto knightthod by the prince, and neuertheless refuse to take that state vpon them; for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that reboundeth vnto his cofers, and to saie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than other wise their service should be, if they did yeld vnto knightthod. And this also is a cause, wherefore there be manie in England able to dispend a knights living, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne consents. The number of the knights in Rome was also vncertaine: and so is it of knights likewise with vs, as at the pleasure of the prince. And whereas the *Equites Romani* had *Equum publicum* of custome bestowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not so, but beare their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie meet for their defense and service. This neuertheless is certeine, that who so may dispend 40 pounds by the yeare of free land, either at the coronation of the king, or marriage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be enforced vnto the taking of that degree, or otherwise paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onely forty pounds by an old proportion, and so for a time be acquitted of that title. We name him knight in English that the French calleth Cheualier, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equestris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is striken of the king or his substitute with his sword naked by, on the backe of shoulder, the prince, &c. saieing, *Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riseth vp the king saith *Aduances bon cheualier*. This is the manner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in vse among the common sort.

Knights of the bath.

At the coronation of a king or quene, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But how soeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, so well as the barons wife; he himselte hauing added to his name in common appellation this syllable *Sir*, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife also of courttesie so long as she liueth is called my ladie, although she happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the comon lawe the hath no such prerogative. If hir first husband also be of better birth than hir second, though this later likewise be a knight, yet in that she pretendeth a priuilege to lose no honoz through courttesie yelded to hir fer, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not sene elswhere.

Knights of the garter.

The other order of knightthod in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, instituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king John of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Castile the bastard out of his realme, and ressozed Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blaque prince) he then inuited this societie of honour, and made a choise out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowned persons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garnished with gold and preti-

ous stones, to beare dailie on the left leg and side: also a kettie, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other solemnne and magnificient apparell, both of stuffe and fashion exquisite & honestall to beare at high feasts, as to so high and princelie an order appertineth. Of this compantie also he and his successors kings and quenes of England, be the soveraignes, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawes amongst themselves be taken as brethren and fellows in that order, to the number of six and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the same, an example whereof I haue here inserted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this manner.

I might at this present make a long tractation of the round table and estate of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iland; and thereunto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in so doing that I should rather set downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facility describe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue peeres, with their solemnne rites and blages; but vnto this also I haue no great deuotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errors and fables inserted into the same by the lewd religious sort, that except a man should profite to le with them for companie, there is little sound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerse aswell subiects as princes haue attempted to ressoze againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth) but such were the excessive charges appertaining thereto (as they did make allowance) and so great molestation dailie ensued there vpon, besides the breeding of sundrie quarrels among the knights, and such as resorted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and suffered their whole inuentions to perish and decay, till Edward the third deuised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as shall appeare hereafter.

Round table,

Roger Mortimer.

The order of the garter therefore was deuised in the time of king Edward the third, and (as some write) vpon this occasion. The quenes maistie then liuing, being departed from his presence the next waie toward hir lodging, he following some after happened to find hir garter, which slacked by chance and so fell from hir leg, vnespied in the throng by such as attended vpon hir. His groomes & gentlemen also passed by it, disdainning to stoop and take vp such a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to staie and reach it vp to him. Why and like your grace (saiech a gentleman) it is but some womans garter that hath fallen from hir as she followed the quenes maistie. What soeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me. So when he had received the garter, he said to such as stood about him: You my maisters do make small account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudest of you all to reuerence the like. And euen vpon this slender occasion he gaue himselfe to the deuising of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had so simple a beginning hath growne in the end to so great honour and estimation. But to proceed. After he had studied awhile about the performance of his deuisse, and had set downe such orders as he himselte inuented concerning the same, he proclaimed a roiall feast to be holden at Windsor, whither all his nobilitie resorted with their ladies, where he published his institution, and

The occasion of the deuisse.

Peraduenture but a blue ribbon.

for the which he is appointed member into the as
for the said fellowship, whose names in the, himselfe be
ing the soueraigne and in the pall of that companie.
Port with himselfe also he placed

Edward prince of Wales.	S. Thomas Holland.
Henrie duke of Lancaster.	Sir John Graie.
N. earle of Warw.	Sir Rich. Fitzsimon.
N. capt. de Bouche.	Sir Miles Stapleton.
N. earle of Stafford.	Sir Thomas Wale.
N. earle of Sarum.	Sir Hugh Wrotesley.
N. lord Mortimer.	Sir Neale Lording.
Sir John Lisle.	Sir John Chandos.
Sir Bartholomew Burwath.	S. James Dawdleie.
N. sonne of sir Iohn Beauchamp.	Sir Otho Holland.
Sir N. de Mahun.	Sir Henrie Eme.
S. Hugh Courtneie.	Sir Sandet Dambri-court.
	Sir Walter Pannell alias Paganell.

Election.

What order of election, and what estatutes were
prescribed vnto the elected at this first institution, as
yet I can not exaetly vnderstand; neither can I
learne what euerie prince afterward added therevnto
before the fir and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the
eight, and thirde of king Edward the first: wherefore
of necessitie I must resort vnto the estate of the said
order as it is at this present, which I will set downe
so brieflie as I may. When anie man therefore is to
be elected (vpon a rone found void for his admitt-
on) into this fellowship, the king directeth his letters
vnto him, notwithstanding that he before hand be
nominated to the same, to this effect. Right trustie
and welbeloued we græte you well, ascerteining
you, that in consideration aswell of your approued
truth and fidelitie, as also of your couragious and
valiant acts of knighthood, with other your probable
merits knowne by experience in sundrie parties and
behalves: we with the companions of the noble or-
der of the Garter, assembled at the election holden
this daie within our manour of N. haue elected and
chosen you amongst other to be one of the compani-
ons of the said order, as your deserts doe condigne-
lie require. Therefore we will that with conuenient
diligence vpon the sight herof, you repaire vnto our
presence, there to receiue such things as to the said
order apperteineth. Dated vnder our signet at our
maner of N. &c. These letters are the exemplifi-
cation of certeine, which (as it should seme) were
written An. 3. Edwardi sexti at Grænewich Aprilis
24. vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George
Cobham your lordships honorable father, at such
time as they were called vnto the aforesaid compa-
nie. I find also these names subscribed vnto the
same.

Edward duke of Summerfet vn- cle to the king.	L. Russell lord priue seale.
The marq. of North- hampton.	L. S. Iohn lord great master.
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.	Sir Iohn Gage.
Earle of Shrewes- burie.	S. Anthonie Wing- field.
	Sir William Paget.

Dedication.

Being elected, preparation is made for his instal-
ling at Windsor (the place appointed alwaies for
this purpose) whereat it is required that his banner
be set vp, of two yardes and a quarter in length, and
three quarters in bredth, beset with fringe. Second-
lie his sword of what soeuer length him seemeth good.
Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpbwards
ought to be of three inches at the least. Fourthlie the
crest, with mantels to the helme belonging, of such
conuenient stiffe and bignesse, as it shall please him

to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his shal-
lard crest with mantels and beards supportant, to be
grauen in the mettall.

Item lodging scutcheons of his armes, inuiron-
ned with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of
buckram, which when he traucleth by the waie are
to be fixed in the common Inns where he doth lodge,
as a testimonie of his presence and sales from time
to time as he did trauell.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college
at Windsor, the other to vse at his pleasure, with
the scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the gar-
ter with laces, tasselets, and knops of blue silke and
gold belonging to the same.

Item a surcote or gowne of red or crimosine vel-
uet, with a whod of the same, lined with white farce-
net or damaske.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of
gold & roie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richly garnished
with precious stones or otherwise.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle
and pendant garnished with gold.

Item a booke of the statutes of the said order.

Item a scutcheon of the armes of S. George in
the garter to set vpon the mantell. And this furni-
ture is to be provided against his installation.

When anie knight is to be installed, he hath with
his former letters, a garter sent vnto him, and when
he cometh to be installed, he is brought into the
chapter house, where incontinently his commission
is read before the soueraigne, or his deputie, and the
assemblie present: from hence he is lead by two
knights of the said order, accompanied with the o-
ther of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell,
hauing his mantell bozne before him, either by a
knight of the order, or else the king at armes, to
whome it secondarily apperteineth to beare it. This
mantell shall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, af-
ter his oth taken before his shal, and not before: which
done, he shall returne vnto the chapter house, where
the soueraigne, or his deputie, shall deliuer him his
collar, and so he shall haue the full possession of his ha-
bit. As for his shal, it is not giuen according vnto
the calling and countenance of the receiuer, but as
the place is that happeneth to be void, so that each one
called vnto this knighthood (the soueraigne, and em-
perours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted)
shall haue the same seat, which became void by the
death of his predecessour, howsoeuer it fall out: wher-
by a knight onlie oftentimes doth sit before a duke,
without anie murmuring or grudging at his rone,
except it please the soueraigne, once in his life onelie
to make a generall alteration of those seats, and to
set each one according to his degree.

Now as touching the apparell of these knights, it
remaineth such as king Edward, the first deuiler of
this order left it, that is to saie, euerie yeare one of
the colours, that is to say, scarlet, sanguine in grain,
blue and white. In like sort the kings grace hath at
his pleasure the content of cloth for his gowne and
whod, lined with white satine or damaske, and multi-
tude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath five yardes of cloth for his gowne
and whod, and garters with letters of gold at his
pleasure, beside five timber of the finest mineuer.

A duke hath five yardes of wollen cloth, five tim-
ber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath five yardes of wollen cloth, five
timber of mineuer, 110 garters of silke.

An earle five yardes of wollen cloth, five timber
of mineuer, and 100 garters of silke.

A viscount five yardes of wollen cloth, five tim-
ber

A timber con-
taineth foure
skins, pelles,
or selles.

ber of mineuer, 90 garters of silke.

A baron five yardes of wollen cloth, thre tim-
ber of mineuer gresle, 80 garters of silke.

A banneret five yardes of wollen cloth, thre tim-
ber of mineuer, 70 garters of silke.

A knight five yardes of wollen cloth, thre tim-
ber of mineuer, 60 garters of silke.

The bishop of Winchester chapleine of the garter,
hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure,
nineteene timber gresle, thre timber and a halfe of
the best, and foure & twentie yardes of wollen cloth.

The chancelor of the order five yardes of wollen
cloth, thre timber of mineuer pure.

The register of the order five yardes of wollen
cloth, thre timber of mineuer pure. And this order to
be holden generallie among the knights of this
companie, which are six and twentie in number, and
whose patrone in time of superstition was supposed
to be S. George, of whome they were also called S.
Georges knights as I haue heard reported. Would
to God they might be called knights of honor, or by
some other name, for the title of saint George argu-
eth a wrong patrone.

Installation.

Furthermore at his installation he is solemnlie
sworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good also
to annex, in this maner. Von being chosen to be
one of the honorable companie of the order of the
Garter, shall promise and sweare vpon the holie e-
uangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and
true to the kings maiestie, and to obserue and keepe
all the points of the statutes of the said order, and e-
uerie article in them conteined, the same being a-
greeable and not repugnant to the kings highnesse
other godlie proceedings, so far as to you belongeth
& apperteneeth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much
haue I thought good to note touching the premises.

Statutes.

As touching the statutes belonging to this or-
der they are manie, and therefore not to be touched
here. Howbeit if anie doubt do arise aboue the in-
terpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall
sovereigne of that order hath to determine and re-
solve the same. Neither are anie chosen therunto
under the degree of a knight, and that is not a gen-
telman of blood and of sound estimation.

Gentleman of
blood.

And for the better understanding what is meant
by a gentleman of blood, he is defined to descend of
three descents of noblenesse, that is to saie, of name
and of armes both by father and mother.

Degree of
reproch.

There are also foure degrees of reproch, which
may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of
which the first is hereticallouslie pꝛoued, the second
high treason, the third is flight from the battell, the
fourth riot and prodigall expence of expenses, where-
by he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the
port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie
thereof. Whereouer touching the wearing of their a-
pparell, it is their custome to weare the

Apparell.

same, when they enter into the chappell of S. George
or be in the chapter house of their order, or finallie do
go about anie thing appertaining to that companie.
In like sort they weare also their mantels vpon the
euen of S. George, and go with the souereigne, or
his deputie in the same maner of procession from
the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto
the college, and likewise backe againe vnto the afo-
said place, not putting it from them, vntill supper be
ended, and the auoid done. The next daie they resort
vnto the chappell also in the like order, & from thence
vnto dinner, wearing afterwarde their said apparell
vnto evening prayer, and likewise all the supper time,
vntill the auoid be finished. In the solemnitie like-
wise of these feasts, the thirteene chanoins there, and
six and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the
order, whereof those for the chanoins are of purple

with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other
of red, with a scutcheon onelie of the said armes.

If anie knight of this order be absent from this
solemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and
be enforced not to be present either through bodilie
sickenesse, or his absence out of the land: he doth in
the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remai-
ning, prouide an honorable stall for the kings mai-
estie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of e-
stat, and cushions, and scutcheon of the garter, and
therein the armes of the order. Also his owne stall of
which side foucer it be distant from the kings or the
emperours in his owne place, appointed so nigh as
he can, after the maner and situation of his stall at
Winbore, there to remaine, the first evening prayer
on the euen of S. George, or thre of the clocke, and
likewise the next daie during the time of the diuine
seruice, vntill the morning prayer, and the rest of the
seruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time
his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace,
without either hood, collar or surcote. And if he be so
sicke that he do keepe his bed, he doth vse to haue
that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine
seruice aforesaid.

At the seruice time also vpon the morrow after S.
George, two of the chiefe knights (sauing the depu-
tie of the souereigne if he himselfe be absent) shall of-
fer the kings banner of armes, then other two the
sword with the hilts forwards, which being done the
first two shall returne againe, and offer the helme
and cress, hauing at each time two heralds of armes
going before, according to the statutes. The lord de-
putie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time
being, alone and assisted with one of the chiefe lords,
doth deliuer at his offering a peece of gold, and ha-
ving all the king of armes and heralds going before
him, he so proceedeth to the offering. When he hath
thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like so-
lemnitie vnto his stall, and next of all goeth againe
with one herald to offer for himselfe, whose oblation
being made, euerie knight according to their stals,
with an herald before him proceedeth to the offering.

What solemnitie is vsed at the buriall of anie
knight of the Garter, it is but in baine to declare:
wherefore I will shew generallie what is done at
the disgrading of one of these knights, if through a-
nie grievous offense he be separated from this com-
panie. Whereas otherwise the signe of the order is
neuer taken from him vntill death do end & finish vpon
his daies. Therefore when anie such thing is done, pro-
mulgation is made therof after this maner ensuing.

Be it knowne vnto all men that R. R. knight of
the most noble order of the Garter, is found guilty of
the abhominable and detestable crime of high trea-
son, for he hath most traitorouslie conspired against
our most high and mightie prince souereigne of the
said order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the
faithfull oth, which he hath sworne and taken. For
which causes therefore he hath deserued to be depo-
sed from this noble order, and fellowship of the Gar-
ter. For it may not be suffered that such a traitor
and disloyall member remaine among the faithfull
knights of renowned stomack & bountifull pꝛowes,
or that his armes should be mingled with those of no-
ble chivalrie. Wherefore our most excellent prince
and supreme of this most honorable order, by the ad-
uise and counsell of his colleagues, willethe and com-
mandeth that his armes which he before time hath de-
serued shall be from henceforth be taken awaie and
throtone downe: and he himselfe cleane cut off from
the societie of this renowned order, and neuer from
this daie reputed anie more for a member of the
same, that all other by his example may hereafter
betwene how they commit the like trespass, or fall in-
to

Sicke or ab-
sent.

Offering.

Buriall.

Disgrading.

to such noxious infamie and rebuke. This notice being given, there resorteth unto the partie to be disgraced certaine officers with diuerse of his late fellows appointed, which take from him his George, and other inuestiture, after a solemne manner.

And hitherto of this most honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in uttering thus much. For sith the noble order of the Toison D'or, or golden fleece, with the ceremonies appertaining unto the creation and inuestiture of the six and thirtie knights thereof: and likewise that of saint Michaele and his one and thirtie knights, are discouraged upon at large by the historiographers of their owne countries, without reprehension or checke, especially by Vincentius Lupan. lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis, where he calleth them Cheualliers sans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the least, and honour thereof so great, that it is not lawfull for them to sell, giue, or laie the same to mortgage (would to God they might once brybe their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not suffer some of the best of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I trust I haue not giuen anie cause of displeasure, by elsie to set forth those things that appertene vnto our renowned order of the Garter, in whose compasse is written commonlie, "Honi soit qui maly pense, which is so much to saie, as, Euill come to him that euill thinketh: a verie sharpe imprecation, and yet such as is not contrarie to the word, which promisseth like measure to the meter, as he doth mete to others.

*Some think that this was the answer of the quene, when the king asked what men would thinke of hir, in losing the garter after such a manner.

Bannerets.

There is yet another order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie the point of his pennant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, so that being before but a bachelor knight, he is now of an higher degree, and allowed to displate his armes in a banner as barons do. Whoebeit these knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings standard being unfolded.

Esquire.

Esquire (which we call commonlie squire) is a French word, and so much in Latine as *scutiger vel armiger*, and such are all those which beare armes, or armours, testimonies of their race from whence they be descended. They were at the first costerels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being instructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to distinguish them from common souldiers called *Gregarij milites* when they were together in the field.

Gentlemen.

Gentlemen be those whose race and bloud, or at the least their vertues do make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles & generosi*, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacy of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and surname: so the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Aemilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c. of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were also called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that house and race.

Howeouer as the king doth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, so gentlemen whose ancestors are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none account, much lesse of the British issue) do take their beginning in England, after this manner in our times.

Lawiers students in vniuersities, Physicians, Captiues.

Who neuer studieth the lawes of the realme, who so abideth in the vniuersitie giuing his mind to his booke, or professeth physike and the liberall sciences, or becometh his seruice in the ranke of a captiue in the warres, or good counsell giuen at home, whereby

his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for monie haue a cote and armes bestowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the same do of custome pretend antiquitie and seruice, and manie gaie things) and therevnto being made so good cheape be called master, which is the title that men giue to esquires and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is so much the lesse to be disallowed of, for that the prince doth lose nothing by it, the gentleman being so much subiect to taxes and publike payments as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise doth beare the gladlier for the sauing of his reputation. Being called also to the warres (for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth little) what soeuer it cost him, he will both arraie & arme himselfe accordingly, and shew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the person which he representeth. No man hath hurt by it but himselfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buskens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe saith, now and then beare a bigger saile than his boat is able to suffice.

Certes the making of new gentlemen byed great strife sometimes amongst the Romans, I meane when those which were *Novi homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie sene and shewed, than the old smell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardise & euill life of their nephews & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinity with iustice and equitie, so it forceth not what language the malicious do giue out, against such as are exalted for their wisdomes. This neuertheless is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie, and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vsuall sending of noblemens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but more atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, whereby it commeth to passe that they retorne far worse men than they went out. A gentleman at this present is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earnest protestant, but comming home he could sate after this maner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no losse or hinderance of a further purpose is suffeined by holding of the same; and forgiveness onelie to be shewed when full reuenge is made. Another no lesse forward than he, at his retorne from thence could ad thus much: He is a sole that maketh account of any religion, but more sole that will lose anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for constant leaning to anie: but if he yeeld to lose his life for his possession, he is stark mad, and worthy to be taken for most sole of all the rest. This gate bottie gate these gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may see what fruit is afterward to be looked for where such blossoms do appere. I care not (saith a third) what you talke to me of God, so as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my side. Such men as this last, are easilie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go by and do none also in England, with pages at their heeles finelie apparelled, whose face and countenance shall be such as sheweth the master not to be blind in his choise. But least I should offend too much, I passe oner to saie anie more of these Italianes and their demeanour, which alas is too open and manifest to the world, and yet not called into question.

Citizens and burgeses haue next place to gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities, and are of some likelie substance to beare office in the same. But these citizens or burgeses are to serue the

Citizens and burgeses.

the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common assemble of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little swaie (which assemble is called the high court of parliament) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgesses to haue voices in it, and giue their consent or dissent vnto such things as passe or staie there in the name of the citie or borough, for which they are appointed.

Merchants.

In this place also are our merchants to be installed, as amongst the citizens (although they often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen do with them, by a mutuall conuersion of the one into the other) whose number is so increased in these our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cause of the exceeding prices of foireine wares, which otherwise when euerie nation was permitted to bring in his owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speake not, sith the matter will easilie bewaie it selfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heape of them were somewhat restrained, as also of our lawyers, so should the rest liue more easilie vpon their owne, and few honest chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankrupt. I do not denie but that the naue of the land is in part maintained by their traffike, and so are the high prices of wares kept vp now they haue gotten the onelie sale of things, vpon pretense of better furtherance of the commonwealth into their owne hands: whereas in times past when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth halfe a crowne, raisons or coynts for a penie that now are holden at six pence, and sometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nuttings at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raisons three pound for a penie, cinnamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and sixtene pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequele of things not alwaies but verie seldome to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the most part brode clothes and carries of all colours, likewise cottons, frises, rugs, tin, woll, our best bare, bales, bustian, mockadoes tatted and plaine, rath, lead, fells, &c: which being shipped at sundrie ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times past their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portugal, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iseland onelie: now in these daies, as men not contented with these iournies, they haue sought out the east and west Indies, and made now and then suspicious voiajes not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise into Cathaia, Spiccola, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I see not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for so I do account of it) was sufficientlie provided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble estatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occasion the generall execution thereof is staied or not called on, in god soth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and seuerall bo-

cation strueth with other, which of them should haue all the water of commoditie run into his owne cesterne.

Peomen are those, which by our law are called *Ze-yeomen*, *gales homines*, free men borne English, and may depend of their owne free land in yearelie reuennue, to the summe of fortye shillings sterling, or six pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the same which the French men call *barlets*, but as that phrase is used in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be so. The truth is that the word is deriued from the Saxon terme *Zeoman* or *Geoman*, which signifieth (as I haue read) a settled or staied man, such I meane as being married and of some yeares, betaketh himselfe to staie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himselfe and his familie, whereof the single sort haue no regard, but are likelie to be still fleeing now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This sort of people haue a certeine preheminance, and more estimation than labourers & the common sort of artificers, & these commonlie liue wealthilie, keepe good houses, and trauell to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called *Pagani*, & *opponuntur militibus*, and therefore *Perficius* calleth himselfe *Semipaganus*) or at the leastwise artificers, & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of seruants (not idle seruants as the gentlemen do, but such as get both their owne and part of their masters lining) do come to great welth, in somuch that manie of them are able and do buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the scholes, to the vniuersities, and to the Inns of the court; or otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may liue without labour, do make them by those means to become gentlemen: these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called master as gentlemen are, or sir as to knights apperteineth, but onelie John and Thomas, &c: yet haue they bene found to haue done verie good seruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were wont to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their hoislemen: the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist.

Englishmen on foot and Frenchmen on horsebacke best.

The fourth and last sort of people in England are daie labourers, poore husbandmen, and some retailers (which haue no free land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tanners, shoemakers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, &c. As for slaues and bondmen we haue none, naie such is the priuilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land they become so free of condition as their masters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is bitterlie removed from them, where in we resemble (not the Germans who had slaues also, though such as in respect of the slaues of other countries might well be reputed free, but) the old Indians and the Taprobanes, who supposed it a great iniurie to nature to make or suffer them to be bond, whome she in his wonted course doth product and bring forth free. This fourth and last sort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogether neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of peomen they are faine to make vp their inquests of such manner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, stouemen, aleconners, now and then constables, and manie times intoie the name

Capite censu or Proletarij.

No slaues nor bondmen in England.

The description of England.

of hedboroughes. Vnto this sort also may our great swarmes of idle seruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a prouerbe; Young seruing men old beggers, because seruice is none heritage. These men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well perused, they are enemies to their masters, to their friends, and to themselves: for by them oftentimes their masters are encouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their friends brought vnto povertie by their rents increased, and they themselves brought to confusion by their owne prodigallitie and errors, as men that hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their excesses, doe search in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and stables, which way to supplie their wants. How diuerse of them also co-ucting to beare an high saile doe insinuate themselves with young gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the case is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onely a little impaired, but also their liuelihoods and reuenues too wasted and consumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they shall be able to recouer themselves. It were verie good therefore that the superfluous heapes of them were in part diminished. And sith necessitie inforceth to haue some, yet let wisdom moderate their numbers, so shall their masters be rid of vnnecessarie charge, and the common wealth of manie theues. No nation cherisheth such store of them as we doe here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themselves to idlenesse, that otherwise would be brought to labour, and liue in order like subiects. Of their vborodomies I will not speake anie thing at all, more than of their swearing, yet is it found that some of them doe make the first a chiefe pillar of their building, consuming not onlie the goods but also the health & welfare of manie honest gentlemen, citizens, wealthie peomen, &c. by such vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I wandered in this point, or how farre may I faile in such a large sea? I will therefore now staie to speake anie more of those kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter, this furthermore among other things I haue to saie of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer so excellent in their trades as at this present. But as the workmanship of the latter sort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, so was it neuer lesse strong and substantiall for continuance and benefit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common sort of our artificers more than haile, and a barbarous or slaushly desire to turne the penie, and by ridding their worke to make speedie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to bungle vp and dispatch manie things they care not how so they be out of their hands, where by the buier is often soze defrauded, and findeth to his cost, that haile maketh wast, according to the prouerbe.

Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no need: how manie needfull commoditties haue we which are perfected with great cost, &c. and yet may with farre more ease and lesse cost be provided from other countries if we could vse the meanes. I will not speake of iron, glasse, and such like, which spoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better cheape than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie also in manie other. But to leaue these things and proceed with our purpose, and herein (as occasion serueth) generallie by waie of conclusion to speake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is governed and mainteined by three sorts of persons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head governour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the wo-

man) the queene: in whose name and by whose authoritie all things are administered.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two sorts, as the barons or estate of lords (which containeth barons and all aboue that degree) and also those that be no lords, as knights, esquires, & simple gentlemen, as I haue noted already. Out of these also are the great deputies and high presidents chosen, of which one serueth in Ireland, as another did sometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwik; as one lord president doth gouerne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this Island, which later with certaine counsellors and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But forsomuch as I haue touched their conditions elsewhere, it shall be enough to haue remembered them at this time.

3 The third and last sort is named the peomanrie, of whom & their sequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue said somewhat euen now. Whereof I ad that they be not called masters and gentlemen, but godmen, as godman Smith; godman Cot; godman Cornell; godman Walsall; godman Cockswet, &c. in matters of law these and the like are called thus, Giles Jeton peoman, Edward Wouniford peoman, James Cocke peoman, Henrie Butcher peoman, &c. by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common sorts. Cato calleth them *Aratores & optimos ciues rei publice*, of whom also you may read more in the booke of common wealth which sir Thomas Smith sometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen also some are by the prince chosen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which said offices diuerse concerne the whole realme; some be more priuat and peculiar to the kings house. And they haue their places and degrees, prescribed by an act of parlement made An. 31 Henr. octauii, after this maner ensuing.

These foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treasurer, (who is *Supremus erarij Anglici quasi* or *Tribunus a-rarius maximus*) the lord President of the councill, and the lord priuie seale, being persons of the degree of a baron or aboue, are in the same act appointed to sit in the parlement and in all assemblies of counsell aboue all dukes, not being of the blood roiall, Videlicet the kings brother, vncle, or nephue.

And these six, the lord great Chamberleine of England: the lord high Constable of England: the lord Marshall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great master or Steward of the kings house: and the lord Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all assemblies of counsell, after the lord priuie seale, according to their degrees and estates: so that if he be a baron, then he is to sit aboue all barons: or an earle, aboue all earles.

And so likewise the kings secretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degree, he shall sit and be placed according thereto.

60 The rehearfall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the ancience of their creations, or first calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this present.

The Marquisse of Winchester.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Orford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shrewesburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derby.
The earle of Worcester.

No duke in England.
Earles.

The

The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suffe.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Marlowe.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Denbroke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leicester.
The earle of Essex.
The earle of Lincoln.

Viscounts.

The viscount Montague.
The viscount Windon.

Barons.

The lord of Abergeuenie.
The lord Audeleie.
The lord Zouch.
The lord Berkeley.
The lord Spoleie.
The lord Dacres of the south.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scrope.
The lord Dodele.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountie.
The lord Dgle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Pountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Manr.
The lord Windsoze.
The lord Wentworth.
The lord Wozough.
The lord Wozdaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Cuers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willottbie.
The lord Sheffield.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chichester.
The lord Howard of Effingham.
The lord Pozth.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunsdon.
The lord saint John of Bletso.
The lord of Buckhirst.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Chetneie.
The lord Pozreis.

Bishops in their anciencie, as they
sat in parlement, in the fift of the
Queenes maiesties reigne
that now is.

Clergie.

The archbishop of Canturburie.
The archbishop of Pozke.
London.
Durham.
Winchester.

The rest had their places in sentozitis of con-
secration.

10

Chichester.
Lutasse.
Hereford.
Elie.
Worcester.
Wango.
Lincolne.
Salisbury.
S. Davids.
Rochester.

Bath and Welles.
Cowntrie and
Lichfield.
Excester.
Dorwich.
Peterborough.
Carleill.
Chester.
S. Asaph.
Gloucester.

20

And this for their placing in the parlement house.
Whichebeit, when the archbishop of Canturburie siteth
in his provinciall assemblie, he hath on his right hand
the archbishop of Pozke, and next unto him the bi-
shop of Winchester, on the left hand the bishop of
London: but if it fall out that the archbishop of
Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his see,
then the archbishop of Pozke is to take his place, who
admitteth the bishop of London to his right hand,
and the prelat of Winchester to his left, the rest sit-
ting alwaies as afoze, that is to saie, as they are el-
ders by consecration, which I thought god also to
note out of an ancient president.

Of the food and diet of the English.

Chap. 6.

30



40

The situation of our region, li-
eng nere unto the north, doth
cause the heate of our so-
maches to be of somewhat
greater force: therefore our
bodies do craue a little more
ample nourishment, than the
inhabitants of the hotter re-
gions are accustomed withall, whose digestive force
is not altogether so vehement, because their internall
heat is not so strong as ours, which is kept in by the
coldnesse of the aire, that from time to time (special-
lie in winter) doth enuiron our bodies.

50

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are of
tentimes more plentifullie garnished than those of o-
ther nations, and this trade hath continued with vs
euen since the verie beginning. For before the
Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our
countrie, our predecessors fed largelie vpon flesh and
milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this
Ile, because they applied their chiefe studies vnto pa-
sturage and feeding. After this maner also did our
Welsh Britons order themselves in their diet so
long as they liued of themselves, but after they be-
came to be vntied and made equall with the English
they framed their appetites to liue after our maner,
so that at this daie there is verie little difference be-
twene vs in our diets.

60

In Scotland likewise they haue given themselves
(of late yeares to speake of) vnto verie ample and
large diet, wherein as for some respect nature doth
make them equall with vs: so otherwise they far ex-
ceed vs in ouer much and distemperate gozmani-
dize, and so ingrosse their bodies that diuerse of them
do oft become vnapt to anie other purpose than to
spend their times in large tabling and bellie chere.
Against this pampering of their carcasses doth He-
ctor Boetius in his description of the countrie verie
sharpe lie inueigh in the first chapter of that treatise.
Henrie Wardlaw also bishop of S. Andrews, no-
ting their vehement alteration from competent fru-
galitie into excessive gluttonie, to be brought out of
England with James the first (who had bene long
time prisoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries,
and

and at his returne caried diuerse English gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorable preferred there) with vehementlie eclame against the same in open parlement holden at Perth 1 4 3 3, before the thre estates, and so bringeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presentlie made there for the restraint of superfluous diet, amongst other things baked meats (which neuer before this mans daies were in Scotland) were generallie so provided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the same vnder the degree of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiual daies, but alas it was soon forgotten.

In old time these north Britons did giue themselves vniuersallie to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would often feed but once or twice at the most in two or thre daies (especiallie if they held themselves in secret, or could haue no issue out of their bogges and marishes, through the presence of the enimie) and in this distresse they used to eat a certaine kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger about common expectation. In woods moreover they lived with hearbes and rootes, or if these shifts serued not thorough want of such provision at hand, then used they to creepe into the water or fast morish plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue brought and bene ready to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustenance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ouer all, to eat either gosse, hare, or henne, because of a certaine superstitious opinion which they had conceived of those thre creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I saie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long per open shipwracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in procelle of time, so well the north and south Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make such difference in meats, as they had done before.

From thenceforth also vnto our daies, and euen in this season wherein we live, there is no restraint of anie meat, either for religious sake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to feed vpon what soeuer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especiallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that abundance of fish which the sea yeldeth, more generallie received. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preservation of the nautie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of sea faring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decay, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how soeuer this case standeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheese, which were neuer so deere as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe states throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilest such as are more wealthie, do feed vpon the flesh of all kinds of cattell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame fowles as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose cookes are for the most part muscull headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, fish there is no daie in manner that passeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie base,

mutton, beale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow beere, beside great varietie of fish and wild fowle, and thereto sundrie other delicacies wherein the sweet hand of the feasting Dotingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to tast of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to do, but ech one feedeth vpon that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being reserued vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whome it is diuised by still by the waiters as order requirerth, and from whome it descendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof) is rather to yeld vnto a conspiracy with a great deale of meat for the speedie suppression of naturall health, then the vse of a necessarie meane to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to susteine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not seene in their gasses, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue daile much resort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto reteine great numbers of seruants, it is verie requisite & expedient for them to be somewhat plentifull in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their daile provision is brought in before them (commonlie in silver beset if they be of the degree of barons, bishops and vnto wards) and placed on their tables, whereof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserued, and after ward sent downe to their seruing men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, their reuerision also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same. This is spoken of the principall tables, whereat the noble man, his ladie and guesstes are accustomed to sit, beside which they haue a certaine ordinarie allowance daile appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted by custome to wait vpon their master) and with them such inferiour guesstes do feed as are not of calling to associat the noble man himselfe (so that besides those afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or thre score persons fed in those hals, to the great reliefe of such poore sutors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardie. As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, goblets, iugs, bols of silver in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these elsewhere in pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds (whereof manie are garnished with silver) or at the leastwise in pewter, all which notwithstanding are seldome set on the table, but each one as needeth vntogeth, calleth for a cup of such drinke as him liketh to haue: so that when he hath tasted of it he deliuered the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the same. By this deuise (a thing brought vp at the first by Mnestheus of Athens, in conseruation of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egeus and Clitemnestra) much idle tippling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continually stand at the elbow or nere the trencher, diuerse would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelie when necessitie vntogeth, and so auoid the note of great drinking, or oft troubling of the seruitors with filling of their bols. Neuertheless in the noble mens hals, this order is not used, neither in anie mans house commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or esquire of great

great reuenues. It is a world to see in these our daies, wherein gold and silver most aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as loathing those mettals (because of the plentie) do now generallie chuse rather the Venice glasses both for our wine and beere, than anie of those mettals or stone wherein before time we have bene accustomed to drinke, but such is the nature of man generallie that it most coueteth things difficult to be attained; & such is the estimation of this stuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto *Surana* (a towne nere to Venice situat on the Adriatique sea) from whence the verie best are daillie to be had, and such as for beautie do well nere match the chistfall of the ancient *Murrhina vasa*, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is scene in the gentilitie, so in the wealthie communalitie the like desire of glasse is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchase is yet much more increased to the benefit of the merchant. The poorest also will haue glasse if they may, but sith the Venecian is somewhat to drede for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to shards at the last, so that our great expenses in glasses (beside that they breed much strife toward such as haue the charge of them) are wooll of all beflowed in mine opinion, because their peeces do turne vnto no profit. If the philosophers stone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with sortie of molten glasse, it would induce such a metalllicall toughnesse thereto, that a fall should nothing hurt it in such manner, yet it might peraduenture burch or batter it, neuertheless that inconuenience were quickelie to be redressed by the hammer. But whither am I slipped?

Ro.Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants keepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himselfe with foure, five, or six dishes, when they haue but small resort, or peraduenture with one, or two, or three at the most, when they haue no strangers to accompanie them at their tables. And yet their seruants haue their ordinarie diet assigned, beside such as is left at their masters houses, & not appointed to be brought thither the second time, which neuertheless is often scene generallie in venison, lambe, or some especiall dish, whereon the merchant man himselfe liketh to feed when it is cold, or peraduenture for sundrie causes incident to the seader is better so, than if it were warme or hot. To be short, at such time as the merchants do make their ordinarie or voluntarie feasts, it is a world to see what great provision is made of all manner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countie, wherein beside that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will seldom regard anie thing that the butcher vsuallie killeth, but reiect the same as not worthe to come in place. In such cases also gellies of all colours mixed with a varietie in the representation of sundrie flowers, herbes, trees, formes of beastes, fish, foules and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine wrought with no small curiositie, tarts of diuerse helues and sundrie denominations, conserues of old fruits forren and home-bred, luckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, gingerbread, gingerbread, florentines, wildfoule, venison of all sorts, and sundrie outlandish confections, althoughter seasoned with suger (which *Plinie* calleth *Mal ex arundinibus*, a deuile not common nor greatlie vsed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, *India* & *Scellia*) do generallie beare the swaite, besides infinit deuises of our owne not possible for me to remember. Of the potats and such vnerous roots as are brought out of Spaine, Portugale, and the *Indies* to furnish by our bankets, I speake not, wherein

our spurs of no lesse force, and to be had about *Cro-*
sbie *Kauenstath*, do now begin to haue place.

But among all these, the kind of meat which is obtained with most difficultie and cost, is commonlie taken for the most delicat, and thereupon each guest will soonest desire to feed. And as all estates doe erre here in, I meane for strangenesse and number of collie dishes, so these forget not to vse the like excess in wine, in so much as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where more store of all sorts than in England, although we haue none growing with vs but pearce, lie to the proportion of 20000 or 30000 tun and upwards, notwithstanding the daillie restreins of the same brought ouer vnto vs) whereof at great meetings there is not some store to be had. Neither do I meane this of small wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c. which amount to about fiftie six sorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but also of the thirtie kinds of Italian, 20
Grecian, Spanishe, Canarian, &c. whereof *Veruage*, *Catepument*, *Kaspis*, *Spiscabell*, *Romnie*, *Baslard*, *Tire*, *Oseie*, *Capike*, *Clareie* & *Palmeiseie* are not least of all accompted of, because of their strength and valure. For as I haue said in meat, so the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means whereof in old time, the best was called *Theologicum*, because it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whose houses manie of the lattie would often send for bottels filled with the same, bring sure that they would neither drinke nor be serued of the 30
wool, or such as was anie waies mingled or brewed by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his soule should haue gone straightwaie to the diuell, if he should haue serued them with other than the best. Furthermore when these haue had their course which nature yieldeth, sundrie sorts of artificiall stuffe, as *ppocras* & *woometwood* wine must in like manner succed in their turnes, beside stale ale and strong beere, which neuertheless beare the greatest burnt in drinke, and are of so manie 40
sorts and ages as it pleaseth the buyer to make them.

The beere that is vled at noble mens tables in their fixed and standing houses, is commonlie of a yeare old, or peraduenture of two yeares tunning or more, but this is not generall. It is also brewed in *Sparch* and therefore called *Sparch beere*, but for the household it is vsuallie not vnder a more the age, ech one cometh to haue the same stale as he may, so that it be not so we, and his head new as is possible so that it be not hot.

Beere.

The artificer and husbandman make greatest account of such meat as they may soonest come by, and haue it quickliest readie, except it be in London when the companies of euery trade do meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie. Their food also consisteth principally in beefe and such meat as the butcher selleth, that is to saie, mutton, veale, lambe, porke, &c. whereof he 60
sith great store in the markets adjoining, beside foule, bialone, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of sundrie sorts, cheese, butter, eggs, &c. as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne provision, which is at the best hand, and commonlie least charge. In scaffing also this latter sort, I meane the husbandmen doe erreced after their manner: especiallie at *bydales*, parifications of women, and such od meetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed & spent, ech one bringing such a dish, or so manie with him as his wife & he do consult vpon, but alwaies with this consideration, that the lesser friend shall haue the better provision. This also is commonlie scene at these bankets, that the good man of the house is not charged with any thing sauing beere, drinke, sauce, house- rome

Artificer.

rome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes do deale far otherwise, for albeit that some of them do suffer their salues to go off before their clothes, and diuerse of them by making good chere do hinder themselves and other men: yet the wisser sort can handle the matter well enough in these sun-kettings, and therefore their frugalitie deserueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberrall, & verie friendly at their tables, and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtiltie, that it would do a man good to be in companie among them. Wherein onelie are the inferior sort somewhat to be blamed, that being thus assembled, their talke is now and then such as saunoureth of scurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themselves not to be merie & welcomer, if their folish beines in this behalfe be neuer so little restrained. This is mozeouer to be added in these meetings, that if they happen to stumble vpon a peece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide against their appointed dates) they thinke their chere so great, and themselves to haue fared so well, as the lord Sparoz of London, with whom when their belies be full they will not often sticke to make comparison, because that of a subiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined
so well as my
lord maior.

I might here talke somewhat of the great silence that is vsed at the tables of the honorable and wisser sort, generallie ouer all the realme (albeit that too much deserueth no commendation, for it belongeth to gells neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*) likewise of the moderate eating and drinking that is vailie faene, and finallye of the regard that each one hath to keepe himselfe from the note of surffetting and drunkennesse (for which cause salt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whitt esteemed, and yet these three may not be much powdered) but as in rehearsall thereof I should commend the noble man, merchant, and frugal artificer, so I could not cleare the meaner sort of husbandmen, and country inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there some od yeoman) with whom he is thought to be the meriest that talketh of most ribaldrie, or the wisest man that speaketh fastest among them, & now and then surffetting and drunkennesse, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in those errors of set mind and purpose. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, small drinke, and some of them hauing scarce enough of that, are fonder ouer taken when they come vnto such bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no small disgrace if they happen to be cupphotten, so that it is a greafe vnto them though now sans remedie sith the thing is done and past. If the friends also of the wealthier sort come to their houses from farre, they are commonlie so welcome till they depart as vpon the first date of their coming, wheras in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little wine, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie bestowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an Pou are hartelie welcome is thought to be great interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this saieing in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinement of towneshirns and Londoners after the dates of their aboad in this maner:

Primus iucundus, tollerabilis est, secundus,

Tertius est vanus, sed fetet quatrduanus.

The bread through out the land is made of such graine as the soile yeeldeth, neuertheless the gentilitie commonlie prouide themselves sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilist their household and poze neighbours in some shires are enforced to content themselves with rie, or barleie, yea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogether and some a cornes among, of which scourge the poorest do sonest tast, sith they are least able to prouide themselves of better. I will not saie that this extremitie is oft so well to be seene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I should I could easilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almost in euerie place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iust cause (except it be that landlords do get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to keepe by the peeces for their owne priuate games and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poze laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himselfe with horse-corne, I meane, beanes, peason, otes, rares, and knittels: and therefore it is a true pouerbe, and neuer so well verified as now, that hunger fettereth his first foot into the horse manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poze men to feed on, and some catterpillers there are that can saie so much alreadie.

Of bread made of wheat we haue sundrie sorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the first and most excellent is the mainchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, whereof Budeus also speaketh, in his first booke De asse, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushell with another they make sortie cast of manchet, of which euerie lose weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and six ounces out, as I haue bene informed. The second is the cheate or wheaten bread, so named because the colour thereof resembleth the graie or yellow with wheat, being cleane and well drelled, and out of this is the coursest of the bran (vsuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raveled is a kind of cheate bread also, but it reteteth moze of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat: and this being moze sleightlie wrought vp, is vsed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne doth beare) and by a statute prouided by king John in that behalfe. The raveled cheate therefore is generallie so made that out of one bushell of meale, after two and thertie pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (where vnto they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet) they make thirtie cast, euerie lose weighing eighteene ounces into the ouen and sixteene ounces out: and beside this they so handle the matter that to euerie bushell of meale they ad onelie two and thertie or thre and thertie pound of water, washing also in some houses there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is moze excellent in colour and pleasing to the eie, than other wise it would be. The next sort is named bryotone bread of the colour, of which we haue two sorts, one baked vp as it cometh from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the flour are anie whitt diminished, this Cellus called *Autopirus panis*, lib. 2. and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other hath little or no flour left therein at all, howbeit he calleth it *Panem Cibarum*, and it is not onlie the worst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for seruants, slaues, and the inferior kind of people to feed vpon,

I famine at
hand is first
seene in the
horse man-
ger when the
poze do fall
to horsecom.

Primarius pa-
nis.

Cheate bread.

Raveled
bread.

The size of
bread is here
ill kept or not
at all looked
vnto in the
countrie
townes and
markets.

Bryotone
bread.

Panis Ciba-
rium.

upon. Hereunto likewise, because it is drie and brittle in the working (for it will hardlie be made by handsomelie into loaves) some adde a portion of rie meale in our time, whereby the rough dyneesse or drie roughnes therof is somewhat qualified, & then it is named miscelin, that is, bread made of mingled cozne; albeit that diuerse doe sow or mingle wheat & rie of set purpose at the mill, or before it come there, and sell the same at the markets vnder the aforesaid name.

Summer wheat and winter barleie were rare in England.

In champaigne countries much rie and barleie bread is eaten, but especiallie where wheat is scant and geson. As for the difference that is betwene the summer and winter wheat, most husbandmen know it not, sith they are neither acquainted with summer wheat, nor winter barleie: yet here and there I find of both sorts, speciallie in the north and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and also of summer rie, but in so small quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Drinke.

Our drinke, whose force and continuance is partly touched already, is made of barleie, water, and hops, sodden and mingled together, by the industrie of our brewers, in a certaine exact proportion. But before our barleie doe come vnto their hands, it suffereth great alteration, and is converted into malt, the making whereof, I will here set downe in such order, as my skill therein may extend vnto (for I am scarce a good malster) chieselie for that forreine writers haue attempted to describe the same, and the making of our bere, wherein they haue shot so farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betwene themselves & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beseech thee) that lead thee from the description of the plentiful diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a seruile trade, or rather from a table delicatelie furnished, into a mustie malthouse: but such is now thy hap, wherefore I praise thee be contented.

Making of malt.

Our malt is made all the yeare long in some great towne, but in gentlemens and peomens houses, who commonlie make sufficient for their owne expenses onelie, the winter halfe is thought most meet for that commoditie: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow doth bud, is commonlie worst of all, neuertheless each one indureth to make it of the best barleie, which is sowed in a certerne, in greater or lesse quantitie, by the space of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie soaked. This being done, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and layeng it vpon the cleane floze on a round heape, it resteth so vntill it be readie to shote at the root end, which malsters call Comming. When it beginneth therefore to shoot in this manner, they saie it is come, and then forthwith they spread it abroad, first thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the said floze (as it commeth) and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fve times) by the space of one and twentie daies at the least, the workeman not suffering it in anie wise to take anie heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which oversight or hurt of the stuffe it selfe the malt would be spoiled, and turne small commoditie to the brewer. When it hath gone or bene turned so long vpon the floze, they carie it to a kill covered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue spread it there berie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be euermore drie. For the more it be dried (yet must it be done with soft fire) the sweeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but slackelie handled, it will breed a kind of worme, called a twisel, which groweth

in the houre of the cozne, and in processe of time will so eat out it selfe, that nothing shall remaine of the graine but euen the berie rind or huske.

The best malt is tried by the hardnesse & colour, for if it looke freshly with a yellow hew, & thereto will write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a stickell in funder in the middell, then you may assure your selfe that it is dried downe. In some places it is dried at leisure with wood alone, or strawe alone, in other with wood and strawe together, but of all the strawe dried, is the most excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brewed, beside that the drinke is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not used thereto, because of the smoake. Such also as be both indifferentlie to barke, cleaue, and drie their wood in an oven, thereby to remoue all moisture that shuld procure the fume, and this malt is in the second place, & with the same likewise, that which is made with dried fire, become, &c: whereas if they also be occupied graine, they are in maner so prejudiciall to the cozne, as is the moist wood. And thus much of our malts, in buying whereof some grinde the same somewhat grossette, and in seething well the liquoz that shall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcozne, which consisteth of sundrie graine, as wheate, and otes ground. But what haue I to do with this matter, or rather so great a quantitie, where with I am not acquainted. Neuertheless, sith I haue taken occasion to speake of buying, I will exemplifie in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, because it is the vsuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practised by my wife & hir maid seruants, who proceed withall after this maner, as she hath oft informed me.

Buying of bere.

Having therefore ground eight bushels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is faued, they addeth vnto it halfe a bushell of wheate meale, and so much of otes small ground, and so tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot easilie discern the one from the other, otherwise these later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The first liquoz which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, they maketh boiling hot, and then potozeth it softly into the malt, where it resteth (but without stirring) vntill hir second liquoz be almost readie to boile. This done they letteth hir mault run till the malt be left without liquoz, or at the leastwise the greatest part of the moisture, which they perceiue by the state and softnesse thereof, and by this time hir second liquoz in the furnace is ready to seeth, which is put also to the malt as the first wort also againe into the furnace whereunto they addeth two pounds of the best English hops, and so letteth them seeth together by the space of two houres in summer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie superfluous tartnesse. But before they putteth hir first wort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, they taketh out a vessell full, of eight or nine gallons, which they shutteth vp close, and suffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this they reserueth by it selfe vnto further vse, as shall appeare hereafter, calling it Blackwort or Charwort, and as she saith it addeth also to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeldeth not into amber or fine gold in hew vnto the rie. By this time also hir second wort is let runne, and the first being taken out of the furnace and placed to cole, she returneth the middle wort vnto the furnace, where it is striken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile and mashed the second time, while the third liquoz is heat (for there are three liquozs) and this

Charwort.

this last put into the furnace, when the second is mased againe. When the hath mased also the last liqour (and let the second to cole by the first) the letteth it runne, and then setteth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peradventure two pounds as the sixth cause by the goodnesse or basenesse of the hops, & when it hath sodden in summer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, the striketh it also and referueth it vnto mixture with the rest when time doth serue therfore. Finallie when the setteth hir dvinke togither, she addeth to hir blackwort or charwort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of balberries finelic powdered, and then putting the same into hir wort with an handfull of wheat stowe, she procédeeth in such vsuall order as common bzinging requirerth. Some in stead of arras & baies adde so much long pepper onelie, but in hir opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make three hoggetheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is met for poore men as I am to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fawtie pounds a yeare *Comptatis computandis* able to performe) may indure no deeper cut, the charges wherof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings which I buie, my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, seruants wages two shillings six pence with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my bestell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of beere or moze, notwithstanding the losse in seething, which some being loth to forgoe do not obserue the time, and therfore speed thereafter in their successe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaies determined after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hoped it lasteth longer. For it feedeth vpon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguished the drinke must be spent or else it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade also our bziers obserue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they daillie occupie; and soile through which it passeth, for all waters are not of like goodnesse, sith the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie soiles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whercon the sunne lieth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other the fennie and moorish is the worst, and the clearest spring water next vnto it. In this busines therefore the skillfull workeman doth redeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and sickmens drinke) is neuer seene nor heard of. Howbeit as the beere well sodden in the bzinging, and scale, is cleere and well coloured as muscadell or malucseie, or rather yellowe as the gold noble as our porknights call it: so our ale which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is moze thicke, fullsome, and of no such continuance, which are three notable things to be considered in that liqour. But what for that? Certes I know some aleknights so much addicted thereto, that they will not cease from moztow until euen to visit the same, clensing house after house, till they desile themselves, and either fall quite vnder the board, or else not daring to stirre from their stoles, sit still pincking with their narrow eyes as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh. Such sights also haue the alewives for the utterance of this drinke, that they will mire it with rosen and salt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale, so nere the bottome of the

pot as you can put it, you shall see the rosen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the moze the drinker thirsteth, the moze he may, and so doth he carrie off a drinke drunken noll to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie; and both are ground and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Suller, Kent, Worcester, and other steds, where these sorts of fruits do abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate sorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, wherof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Grekes did of their Ambrosia or Pectar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods themselves did delite in. There is a kind of swish made also in Citer, and diuerse other places, with honicombs and water, which the homelie countrie viues, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as loue to be loose bodied at large, or a little eased of the cough, otherwise it differeth so much fro the true metheglin, as chalie from cheese. Trulie it is nothing else but the washing of the combes, when the honte is wyng out, and one of the best things that I know belonging thereto is, that they spend but litle labour and lesse cost in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied. Whitherto of the diet of my countymen, & some what more at large peradventure than manie men will like of, wherfore I thinke good now to finish this tractation, and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole processe of the same shall fullie be deliuered, & my promise to my friend in this behalfe performed.

Heretofore there hath bene much moze time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakfasts in the forenone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest (a toie brought into England by hardie Canutus and a custome thereof Athenæus also speaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates speake but of twofe at the most lib. 2. *De rat. vict. in feb. ac.*) Now these odrepasts thanked be God are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yong hungrie stomach that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie. The proportions mistaking the gourmandise of Canutus, ordeined after their arruall, that no table should be couered above once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either wearing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or suffering the cockle of old custome to ouergrow the good cozne of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie, that in often feeding they surmounted Canutus surnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the daie, these spent their clothes five or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custome of long and statelie sitting at meat, whereby their feasts resembled those ancient pontificall bankets wherof Macrobius speaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for sumptuousnesse of fare, long sitting and curiositie shewed in the same, exceeded all other mens feasting, which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it propeth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most exercise and misgouernment of our bodies do appeere, although

Citer, Pirrie,

Metheglin,

Mead,

Metheglin,

The time spent in eating than heretofore.

Canutus a glutton, but the Romans at the last exceeded him in that vice.

Long sitting
reprehended.

although it be a great expence of time, and woorthie
of reprehension. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and
merchantmen, especiallie at great meetings do sit
commonlie till two or three of the clocke at after-
none, so that with manie is an hard matter, to rise
from the table to go to evening paiser, and returne
from thence to come time enough to supper. For my
part I am perswaded that the purpose of the Ro-
mans at the first was to reduce the ancient Roman
order or Danish custome in feeding once in the daie, 10
and toward the evening, as I have red and noted.
And indeed the Romans had such a custome, and like-
wise the Grecians, as may appere by the words of
Socrates, who said unto the Atheniens, *Oriente sole
consilium, occidente consilium est cogitandum*, although a
little something was allowed in the morning to
young children which we now call a breakfast. Plato
called the Siciliens monasters, for that they used to
eat twice in the daie. Among the Persians onelie
the king dined when the sunne was at the highest, 20
and shadow of the stile at the shortest: the rest (as it
is reported) went alwaies but once to meat when
their stomachs craved it, as the Canariens and In-
dians do in my time (who if appetite serve refuse not
to go to meat at anie houre of the night) and like-
wise the ancient Calpans. Yet Arrianus noteth it
as a rare thing li. 4. cap. 16. that the Epyhenians had
taken up an ill custome to feed twice in a daie. How-
beit at the last they fell generallie to allow of sup-
pers toward the setting of the sunne in all places, 30
because they would have their whole familie to go to
meat together, and wherunto they would appoint
their guests to come at a certaine length of the sha-
dow, to be perceived in their dials. And this is moze
to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plu-
tarch saith) did feed before that time, he incurred a note
of reprehension as if he had bene gluttonous and
given unto the bellie, 8. Sympol. 6. Their slaves in
like sort were glad, when it grew to the tenth part, for
then were they sure some after to go to meat. In the
scripture we read of manie suppers & few dinners,
onelie for that dining was not greatlie used in
Christs time, but taken as a thing latelie sprung up,
when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, oc-
casioned by idleness and great abundance of riches.
It is pretie to note in Juvenal, how he saunteth Ma-
rius for that he gaue himselfe to drinke before the
ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to
be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began com-
monlie at eight, which was an houre too soone. Af-
terwards when gurmandise increased yet moze a-
mongst the Romans, and from them was dispersed
unto all nations under their subjection, it came to
passe that six houres onlie were appointed to worke
and consult in, and the other six of the daie to feed and
drinke in, as the verse saith:

*Sext hora tantum rebns tribuantur agendis,
primere post illas, lictura Zetha monet.*

Whereunto Maximus Planudes (except my me-
mozie faile me) addeth this scholie after his maner,
saient that from morning unto none (which is six of
the clocke after the unequal accompt) each one doth
travell about his necessarie affaires, that being
done, he betaketh himselfe to the refreshing of his
bodie, which is noted and set downe by the Greke
letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horolo-
gles were marked, as ours be with their numerall
letters) whereby the time is described; for those which
point 7, 8, 9 and 10 are written with $\epsilon \eta \theta \iota$, and be-
ing joined yeild $\epsilon \eta \theta \iota$, which in English signifieth so
much as lue, as if they should meane, eat that thou
maist lue. But how Martial divided his daie, and
with him the whole trope of the learned & wisser sort,
these verses following do moze evidentlie declare:

*Prima saluantes, atque altera comisset horis,
Exercet rancos tertius cauidicos.
In quintam varios extendis Roma labores,
Sexta quies lapsus, septima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidum oclana palestrin,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima est Eupheme meorum;
Temperat Ambrosias cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus aethere laxatur Nectare Caesar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parcamanus.
Tunc admittite iocos: gressu timet ire licenti,
Ad matutinum nostra Thaleia iocetur.*

Thus we see how the ancient maner of the Gre-
tills was to feed but once in the daie, and that toward
night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good
custome. I might here remember also their maner
in pulling off their shoes when they sat downe to
meat, whereof Martial saith:

*Deposui soleas, affertur protinus ingens
Inter lactucas oxygarmis liber, &c.*

And Tullie also remembreth where he saith *Seruum a
pedibus ad te misi*, which office grew of the said cu-
stome, as *Seruum ad limina* did of keeping the doze,
though in most houses both these were commonlie
one mans office, also *Ad pocula* of attending on the
cup. But because the good writers of our time haue
observed these phrases and such like with their causes
and descriptions, in their infinite and severall treat-
ises, I shall not need to discourse anie farther vpon
them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and students,
do ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before none,
and to supper at nine, or betwene nine and six at after-
none. The merchants dine and sup seldome before
twelve at none, and six at night especiallie in Lon-
don. The husbandmen dine also at high none as
they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of the
tearme in our vniuersities the scholars dine at ten.
As for the poorest sort they generallie dine and sup
when they may, so that to talke of their order of re-
past, it were but a needlelesse matter. I might here
take occasion also to set downe the varietie used by
antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherein
almost euerie nation had a severall fashion, some be-
ginning of custome (as we do in summer time) with
salets at supper, and some ending with lettice, some
making their entrie with eggs, and shutting up their
tables with mulberries, as we do with fruit and con-
celts of all sorts. Diuerse (as the old Romans) began
with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with
the fish called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (or as
we do yet also) with butter and eggs vpon fish dais.
But whereas we commonlie begin with the most
grosse food, and end with the most delicate, the Scot
thinking much to leaue the best for his mensall ser-
uants maketh his entrance at the best, so that he is
sure thereby to leaue the worst. We vse also our wines
by degrees, so that the hottest cometh last to the ta-
ble, but to stand vpon such toies would spend much
time, and turne to small profit, wherefore I will deale
with other things moze necessarie for this turne, 60

Of their apparell and attire.

Chap. 7.



An Englishman, intending
sometime to write of our at-
tire, made sundrie platfoymes
for his purpose, supposing by
some of them to find out one
stedfast ground whereon to
build the samme of his dis-
course. But in the end (like
an ozafour long without exercise) when he saw what
D. J. a

*That is at
three of the
clocke at af-
ternone.

a difficult peece of worke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his franell, and onelie dyue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a peece of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while together, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and ungracious priest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, sith the phantasticall folie of our nation, euen from the courtier to the carter is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the sickle headed tailors, who couet to haue severall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expence of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enormitie, than describe anie certainte of our attyre: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanishe guise, to morrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish manner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Portugall gowns, the Barbarian sleues, the mandilion womne to Collie wesson ward, and the short French breeches make such a comelie besture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England. And as these fashions are diuerse, so likewise it is a world to see the costlinesse and the curiositie: the excellence and the vauitie: the pompe and the bauerie: the change and the varietie: and finally the sickenesse and the follie that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancie of attyre. Wh how much cost is bestowed now adades vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie futes of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other: how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left therein to feed the later: how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies: how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it: what chafing, what fretting, what repprochfull language doth the poore workeman beare awaie: and manie times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long freames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we pufte, then we blow, and finally sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off a boue or vnder the eares round as by a wooden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing bush, other with a pique de vant (A fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growlen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therfore if a man haue a leane and streight face, a marquette Ottsons cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrotter; if he be well bearded, then much heare left on the cheeks will make the owner loke big like a botobled hen, and so grim as a gosse, if Cornelis of Chelmeressford saie true: manie old men do weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage,

do weare either rings of gold, stones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workmanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adorne their persons, as by their nicenesse in apparell, for which I saie most nations do not vniuallie deride vs, as also for that we do seeme to imitate all nations round about, vs wherein we be like to the Polypus or Chameleon; and therunto bestowed most cost vpon our arses, & much more than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women do likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they do now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who neuertheless are transformed from the cap euen to the verie shew) and such staring attyre as in time past was supposed meet for none but light housewines onelie, is now become an habit for chaste and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant coddieles on the breast full of tags & cuts, and sleues of sundrie colours: their gallscons to beare out the ir bums & make their attyre to sit plum round (as they terme it) about their fardingals, and diuerse coloured netther stocks of silke, ierdsele, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended: I haue met with some of these trulles in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters: and those good gifts which almighty God hath giuen vnto vs to releue our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogether the grace of God into wantonnesse, so)

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secunda
not otherwise bestowed than in all excellence, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and wast them. I praise God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whose errors were pride, excellence of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits abundantlie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poore, and certeine other points which the prophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to flourish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by vnreasonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poore tenants, wherewith to mainteine the same. Neither was it euer merier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abroad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carrie hosen, and a meane slop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of browne blue or puke, with some prettie furniture of veluet or furre, and a doublet of sad tawnie, or blacke veluet, or other comelie silke, without such cuts and gawdisse colours as are worn in these daies, and neuer brought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselves the galest men, when they haue most diuersities of iaggess and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attyre, and therefore are most to be commended: for albeit that which they weare be verie fine and costlie, yet in forme and colour it representeth a great peece of the ancient grauitie appertaining to citizens and burgessees, albeit the ponger sort of their wifes both in attyre and costlie housekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in deed in whome all kind of curiositie is to be found and seene, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a sort of helmes deuised for the nonce, wherewith to please phantasticall heads, as goseturd greene, peate porrige tawnie, poppingate blue, lussie gallant, the diuell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe them ouer thinking

Andrew
Wood.

Strange
guise.

Such cost
vpon the bo-
die, and little
vpon the soule

Beards.

Excellence in
women.

Ezech. 16.

Attire of
merchants.

thinking it sufficient to haue said thus much of ap-
parell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be
spoken of ante constancie thereof.

Of the high court of parlement, and authoritie of the same.

Chap. 8.

In speaking of parlement
lawe, I haue in the chapter
precedent said somewhat of
this high and most honorable
court. Wherefore it shall not
need to remember ought here
that is there touched: I will
onelic speake of other things
therefore concerning the estate of assemblee, whereby
the magnificence thereof shall be in some part better
knowne vnto such as shall come after vs. This
house hath the most high and absolute power of the
realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue
from time to time bene deposed from their thrones,
lawes either enacted or abrogated, offenders of all
sorts punished, and corrupted religion either dis-
nulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into
two houses or parts, the higher or vpper house consist-
ing of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the bar-
on and bishop: the lower called the nether house
of knights, squires, gentlemen, and burgeses of the
commons, with whome also the inferior members of
the cleargie are ioined, albeit they sit in diuerse pla-
ces, and these haue to deale onelic in matters of re-
ligion, till it come that they ioine with the rest in
confirmation of all such acts as are to passe in the
same. For without the consent of the three estates,
that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and laeticie, shal-
dome anie thing is said to be concluded vpon, and brought
vnto the prince for his consent and allowance. So be-
thot, whatsoeuer the people of Rome did in their
Centuriats or Tribunitys comings, the same is and may
be done by authoritie of our parlement house, which
is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place
wherein euerie particular person is intended to be
present, if not by himselfe, yet by his aduocate or
attorneie. For this cause also any thing ther enacted
is not to be misliked, but obeyed of all men without
contradiction or grudge. By the space of fortie daies,
before this assemblee be begun, the prince sendeth his
writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, summon-
ing them to appeare at the said court. The like he doth
to the shiriffe of euerie countie; with commande-
ment to chosse two knights within ech of their coun-
ties, to giue their aduise in the name of the shire,
likewise to euerie citie and towne, that they may
chosse their burgeses, which commonlie are men best
skilled in the state of their citie or towne, either for
the declaration of such benefits as they want, or to
shew which waie to reforme such enormities as thro-
ugh the practises of all members are practised and
crept in among them: the first being chosen by the
gentlemen of the shire, the other by the citizens and
burgeses of euerie citie and towne, whereby that
court is furnished. The first daie of the parlement
being come, the lords of the vpper house, as well
ecclesiasticall as temporall, do attend vpon the
prince, who rideth thither in person, as it were to o-
pen the doore of their authoritie; and being come into
the place, after prayers made, and causes shewed,
wherefore some not present are informed to be absent,
each man taketh his place according to his degree.
The house it selfe is richly furnished with tapiste-
rie, and the king being set in his throne, the spirituall

lords take vp the side of the house which is on the
right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the
left, I meane, so well dukes and earles, as viscounts
and barons, as I before remembred. In the middell
and a pretty distance from the prince, lie certeine
sackes stuffed with towll or haire, whereon the iudges
of the realme, the master of the rolls, and secretaries
of estate doe sit. Howbeit these iudges haue no voice
in the house, but onelic shew what their opinion is of
such & such matters as come in question among the
lords, if they be commanded so to do: as the secreta-
ries are to answer such letters or things passed in
the counsell, whereof they haue the custodie & know-
ledge. Finally, the consent of this house is giuen
by each man seuerallie, first for himselfe being pre-
sent, then seuerallie for so manie as he hath letters
& priores directed vnto him, saing onlie, Content or
Not content, without any further debating. After the
number assembled in the lower house, I haue alrea-
die made a generall report in the chapter precedent,
and their particulars shall follow here at hand. These
therefore being called ouer by name do chosse a spea-
ker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they pre-
sent vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuse or
admit him by the lord chancelor, who in the princes
name doth answer vnto his oration, made at his
first entrance & presentation into the house, wherein
he declareth the good liking that the king hath con-
ceiued of his chosse vnto that office & function. Be-
ing admitted, he maketh five requests vnto that ho-
norable assemblee, first that the house may (as in
times past) enioy hir former liberties and priuile-
ges: secondlie, that the congregates may franklie
shew their minds vpon such matters as are to come
in question: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower house
do giue anie cause of offense during the continu-
ance of this assemblee, that the same may inflict such
punishment vpon the partie culpable, as to the said
assemblee shall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if
anie doubt should arise among them of the lower
house, that he in their name might haue free access
and recourse vnto his maiestie & lords of the higher
house, to be further instructed and resolved in the
same: fiftlie and last, he craueth pardon for himselfe,
if in his going to and fro betwene the houses, he for-
get or mislike anie thing, requiring that he may re-
turne and be better informed in such things as he did
faile in without offense: vnto which petitions the lord
chancelor doth answer as apperteineth, and this is
done on the first daie, or peraduenture the second, if
it could not be conuenientlie performed in the first.
Beside the lord chancelor there is another in the
vpper house called the clerke of the parlement, whose
office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that com-
meth in consultation in either house, is first put in
writing in paper, which being read, he that listeth ri-
seth vp and speaketh either with it or against it, and
so one after another so long as they shall thinke good;
that done they go to another, and so to the third, &c:
the instrument still whole or in part faced or refo-
med, as cause moueth for the amendment of the
same if the substance be reputed necessarie. In the
vpper house the lord chancelor demandeth if they
will haue it ingrossed, that is to saie, put in parch-
ment, which done, it is read the third time, & after de-
bating of the matter to and fro if the more part do
conclude withall, vpon the bitturance of the lords,
Are ye contented that it be enacted or no? the clerke
sitteth vnderneath Soit baille aux commons, and so
when they see that they send such billes approued to
the commons by some of them that sit on the towll
sackes, who coming into the house, & demanding
licence to speake, do vse this kind of words or the
like to the speaker, as Sir Thomas Smith doth deliuer

Places of
the peers.

Of the lower
house.
Speaker.

Petitions of
the speaker.

Clerke of the
parlement.

The parles-
ment house
diuideth the
estate of the
realme into
nobilitie and
the commons.

Time of
summons.

Of the vpper
house.

and let them do wone, whose onelie direction I vse, and almost word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borrowage as he hath vsed toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrees of estates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) shall be no discredit to his traueill. After speaker, my lordes of the upper house haue passed amongst them, and thinke good that there should be enacted by parlement such an act, and such an act (reading their titles in such sort as he receiued them) they praise you therefore to consider & shew your aduise vpon them. Which done they go their waies, and the doore being shut after them, the speaker declareth what message was sent vnto them, and if they be then vield of consultation vpon anie other bill, he presentlie demandeth what their pleasures are, first of one, then of another, &c: which are solemnelie read, or their contents breuie shewled and then debated vpon among them.

Of the new
ether house.

The speaker sitteth in a chaire erected somewhat higher than the rest, that he may see and be seene of all men, and before him on a lower seat sitteth his clerke, who readeth such bills as be first propounded in the lower house, or sent downe from the lords: for in that point each house hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke meet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bills be thise and on diuerse daies read and disputed vpon before they come to the question, which is, whether they shall be enacted or not; and in discourse vpon them, verie good order is vsed in the lower house, wherein he that will speake giueth notice thereof by standing vpon bare headed. If manie stand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he speaketh first that was first seene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the speaker, without reherfall of his name whose speches he meaneth to confute, so that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation these discourses are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie on that daie, so one man can not speake twise to one bill in one daie though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may speake againe, & yet but once as afore. So vile, seditious, vntreuerent or biting words are vsed in this assemblie, yet if anie happen to escape and be bittered, the partie is punished according to the censure of the assemblie and custome in that behalfe. In the afternone they sit not except vpon some vrgent occasion, neither hath the speaker anie voice in that house, wherewith to moue or dissuade the furtherance or staie of anie bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof breuie to declare the contents. If anie bill passe, which cometh vnto them from the lords, it is thus subscribed, Les commons ont assentus: so if the lords agree vpon anie bill sent vnto them from the commons, it is subscribed after this manner, Les seignours ont assentus. If it be not agreed on after thise reading, there is conference required and had betwene the upper and nether houses, by certeine appointed for that purpose vpon the points in question, whereupon if no finall agreement by the more part can be obtained, the bill is dashed and reiected, or (as the saleng is) cleane cast out of the doores. None of the nether house can giue his voice by pporie but in his owne person, and after the bill twise read, then ingrossed and the third time read againe & discussed vpon, the speaker asketh if they will go to the question, wherunto if they agree he holdeth vp the bill & saith: So manie as will haue this bill go forward saie *Pea*: her vpon so manie as allow of the thing. *crie* *Pea*, the other *Pea*: & as the *crie* is more or lesse on either side, so is the bill to staie or else go forward. If the number of negative and affirmatiue voices seme to be equall, so manie as allow of the bill go downe withall; the rest sit still, and being told by the poll the greater part do carrie a

way the matter. If something be allowed and in some part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committees to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and passeth or staie as the voices vield thereto. This is the order of the passage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houses haue agreed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his assent. Vpon the last daie therfore of the parlement or session, the prince cometh in person againe into the house, in his robes as at the first. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, first in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the speaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewise for their paines, with promise of recompense as opportunitie & occasion shall serue therfore. This done one readeth the title of euerie act passed in that session, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with these words, *Le roy veult*. If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them *Le roy aduiera*. And so those acts are dashed, as the other from thenceforth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except such as concerne some priuat persons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the scale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vse. And this is the summe of the manner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfeiture of life, member or lands of anie Englishman, where no law is ordeined for the same before hand, is auailable or can take place amongst vs. And so much in maner out of the third chapter of the second booke of the common-wealth of England written by sir Thomas Smith: wherunto I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which send knights, burgesses, and barons to the parlement house, and doth intue as followeth.

The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, sending knights, citizens, burgesses, and barons to the parlement of England.

Bedford.

K Knights.	2
The borough of Bedford.	2
Buckingham.	2
K Knights.	2
The borough of Buckingham.	2
The borough of Wilkombe.	2
The borough of Ailesburie.	2
Barckeshire.	2
K Knights.	2
The borough of Peter Windsor.	2
The borough of Reading.	2
The borough of Wallingford.	2
The borough of Abington.	2
Cornwall.	2
K Knights.	2
The borough of Lanceson <i>aka</i> Petropost.	2
The borough of Lescer.	2
The borough of Lottwell.	2
The borough of Dunhet.	2
The borough of Truro.	2
The borough of Bodmin.	2
The borough of Helsing.	2
The borough of Saltash.	2
The borough of Camelford.	2
The borough of Bostham <i>aka</i> Bostham.	2
The borough of Graunpoint.	2
The borough of Castlow.	2
The borough of Purie.	2
The borough of Tregeon.	2
The borough of Trebentia <i>aka</i> Bodminie.	2
The borough of St. Ies.	2

The

The borough of Fowlaie.	2	The citie of Lincolne.	2
The borough of Germine.	2	The borough of Wotton.	2
The borough of Mitchell.	2	The borough of great Grimsby.	2
The borough of saint Maries.	2	The borough of Stamford.	2
Cumberland.	2	The borough of Grantham.	2
Knights.	2	Leicestershire.	2
The citie of Caerleff.	2	Knights.	2
Cambridge.	2	The borough of Leicester.	2
Knights.	2	Lancasterhire.	2
The borough of Cambridge.	2	10 Knights.	2
Chester.	2	The borough of Lancaster.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Preston in Audenes.	2
The citie of Chester.	2	The borough of Liverpool.	2
Darbie.	2	The borough of Bolton.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Wigan.	2
The borough of Darbie.	2	The borough of Clithero.	2
Deuon.	2	Middlesex.	2
Knights.	2	Knights.	2
The citie of Excester.	2	The citie of London.	4
The borough of Totnes.	2	20 The citie of Westminster.	2
The borough of Plimmoth.	2	Monmouth.	2
The borough of Bardnestable.	2	Knights.	2
The borough of Plimton.	2	The borough of Monmouth.	2
The borough of Taunestocke.	2	Northampton.	2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton,	2	Knights.	2
and Verdines.	2	The citie of Peterborough.	2
Dorsetshire.	2	The borough of Northampton.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Barkleie.	2
The borough of Poole.	2	The borough of Wigham Ferris.	2
The borough of Dorchester.	2	Noringham.	2
The borough of Linne.	2	30 Knights.	2
The borough of Pelcombe.	2	The borough of Nottingham.	2
The borough of Watemouthe.	2	The borough of Etreastford.	2
The borough of Wureport.	2	Norffolke.	2
The borough of Shaftesburie.	2	Knights.	2
The borough of Warham.	2	The citie of Norwich.	2
Essex.	2	The borough of Linne.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of great Ternenmouth.	2
The borough of Colchester.	2	The borough of Thetford.	2
The borough of Spalden.	2	40 The borough of castell King.	2
Yorkshire.	2	Northumberland.	2
Knights.	2	Knights.	2
The citie of Poze.	2	The borough of New castell upon Tyne.	2
The borough of Kingston upon Hull.	2	The borough of Worpeth.	2
The borough of Baresborough.	2	The borough of Barwike.	2
The borough of Shardborough.	2	Oxford.	2
The borough of Rippon.	2	Knights.	2
The borough of Hudon.	2	The citie of Orford.	2
The borough of Wozoughbridge.	2	The borough of Wamburle.	2
The borough of Thuske.	2	50 The borough of Woodstocke.	2
The borough of Aldebrough.	2	Rudland.	2
The borough of Beuerleie.	2	Knights.	2
Glocestershire.	2	Surreie.	2
Knights.	2	Knights.	2
The citie of Gloucester.	2	The borough of Southwarke.	2
The borough of Cirencester.	2	The borough of Blechingleigh.	2
Huntingtonshire.	2	The borough of Kigate.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Guildford.	2
The borough of Huntingdon.	2	The borough of Gatton.	2
Hertfordshire.	2	60 Stafford.	2
Knights.	2	Knights.	2
The borough of saint Albons.	2	The citie of Litchfield.	2
Herefordshire.	2	The borough of Stratford.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of New castell under Linne.	2
The citie of Hereford.	2	The borough of Tamworth.	2
The borough of Kempster.	2	Salop.	2
Kent.	2	Knights.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Salop.	2
The citie of Canturburie.	2	The borough of Wuges alias Wydogemorth.	2
The citie of Rochester.	2	The borough of Ludlow.	2
The borough of Maidstone.	2	The borough of Wenlocke.	2
The borough of Quinborough.	2	Southampton.	2
Lincolne.	2	Knights.	2
Knights.	2	The citie of Winton.	2

The description of England.

The borough of Southampton.	1
The borough of Portsmouth.	1
The borough of Peterfield.	1
The borough of Stockbridge.	1
The borough of Christchurch.	1
Suffolke.	1
Knights.	2
The borough of Ipswich.	1
The borough of Dunwich.	2
The borough of Wyford.	2
The borough of Aldeborough.	2
The borough of Sudbury.	2
The borough of Eya.	2
Summerfet.	2
Knights.	2
The citie of Wyfflow.	2
The citie of Bath.	2
The citie of Welles.	2
The borough of Taunton.	2
The borough of Bridgewater.	2
The borough of Spined.	2
Suffex.	2
Knights.	2
The citie of Chichester.	2
The borough of Portsmouth.	2
The borough of Spidhurst.	2
The borough of Limes.	2
The borough of Shoreham.	2
The borough of Bamber.	2
The borough of Stening.	2
The borough of Castlegrenewed.	2
The borough of Arundell.	2
Westmerland.	2
Knights.	2
The borough of Appulbie.	2
Wilton.	2
Knights.	2
The citie of New Sarum.	2
The borough of Wilton.	2
The borough of Downton.	2
The borough of Hindon.	2
The borough of Hestelburie.	2
The borough of Westburie.	2
The borough of Caine.	2
The borough of Denises.	2
The borough of Chippenham.	2
The borough of Palmesburie.	2
The borough of Cricklade.	2
The borough of Budwin.	2
The borough of Ludgesale.	2
The borough of Old Sarum.	2
The borough of Wotton Bassett.	2
The borough of Sparleborough.	2
Worcester.	2
Knights.	2
The citie of Worcester.	2
The borough of With.	2
Warwike.	2
Knights.	2
The citie of Conventrie.	2
The borough of Warwike.	2
Barons of the ports.	2
Passings.	2
Windchelle.	2
Rie.	2
Rummeie.	2
Wythe.	2
Douer.	2
Sandwich.	2
Mountgomerie.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Mountgomerie.	1
Flint.	1
Knights.	1

The borough of Flint.	1
Denbigh.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Denbigh.	1
Merionneth.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Haverfordwest.	1
Carneruan.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Carnestant.	1
Angleseie.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Beaumares.	1
Carmarden.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of new Carmarden.	1
Pembroke.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Pembroke.	1
Cairdigan.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Cairdigan.	1
Brecknoch.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Brecknoch.	1
Radnor.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Radnor.	1
Glamorgan.	1
Knights.	1
The borough of Cardiffe.	1

¶ The summe of the foresaid number of
the common house videlicet, of

Knights.	90.
Citizens.	46.
Burgesses.	289.
Barons.	14.
439.	

Of the lawes of England since his
first inhabitation.

Chap. 9.

That Samoths or Dis gave
the first lawes to the Celtes
(whose kingdome he erected
about the fiftenth of Alm-
brote) the testimonie of Bero-
sus is pofe fufficient for he
not onelie affirmeth him to
publish the same in the fourth
of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there lived
none in his daies of more excellent wifdome, nor po-
litike inuention than he, whereof he was named
Samoths, as some other do affirme. What his lawes
were, it is now altogether unknowne, as most
things of this age; but that they were altered againe
at the comming of Albion, no man can abfolutelis
denie, fith new lordes vse commonlie to giue new
lawes, and conquerors abolifh fuch as were in vse
before them.

The like also may be affirmed of our Brites, not
withftanding that the certeine knowledge fo well of
the one as of the other is perished, and nothing too,
the memorie left of all their doings. Somewhat
yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued
fuch princes as reigned in this land, but also brought
the realme to good order, that long before had bene
forne with ciuill difcord. But where his lawes are to
be found, and which they be from other mens, no
man living in these daies is able to determine.

Certes

The praise of
Dunwallon.

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of
who ne his subjects conceived better hope in the be-
gining, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none
that made so ridiculous an end: in like sort there hath
not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whose waies
were more feared at the first, than those of Dunwal-
lon (king Henrie the first excepted) and yet in the end
he proved such a prince, as after his death there was
in manner no subject, that did not lament his fune-
rals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance,
seuere administration of iustice, and prouident fra-
ming of his lawes and constitutions, for the gouern-
ment of his subjects. His people also, cōueting to
continue his name vnto posteritie, intituled those
his ordinances according to their maker, calling
them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which
indured in execution among the Britons, so long as
our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. After-
ward when the coming Sarons had once obtained
the superiortie of the kingdom, the maiestie of those
lawes fell for a time into such decaye, that although
Non penitus cecidit, tamen potuit cecidisse uideri, as Le-
land saith, and the decrees themselves had utterlie
perished in deed at the verie first burnt, had they not
bene preferred in Wales, where they remained a-
mongst the reliques of the Britons, & not onlie vntill
the coming of the Normans, but even vntill the
time of Edward the first, who obtaining the four-
reignie of that portion, vnderstode verie earnestlie
to ertingulsh those of Mulmutius, and to establish his
owne.

But as the Sarons at their first arrivall did what
they could to abolish the British lawes, so in procelle
of time they yielded a little to relent, & not so much
to abhorre and mislike of the lawes of Mulmutius,
as to receiue and embrace the same, especiallie at
such time as the said Saron princes entered into
amitie with the British nobilitie, and after that be-
gan to soine in matrimonie with the British ladies,
as the British barons did with the Saron frowes,
both by an especiall statute and decree, wherof in an-
other treatise I haue made mention at large. Where-
of also it came to passe in the end, that they were
contented to make a choise, and insert no small num-
bers of them into their owne volumes, as may be
gathered by those of Athelbert the great, surnamed
king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the west
Sarons, and diuerse other yet extant to be seene.
Such also was the lateward estimation of them,
that when anie of the Saron princes went about to
make new ordinances, they caused those of Mulmu-
tius (which Gildas sometime translated into Latine)
to be first expounded vnto them, and in this perusal
if they found anie there already framed, that might
serue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the same,
and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is most
of all to be commended, who not onelie chose out the
best, but gathered together all such whatsoever the
said Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they
should lie no more in corners as folowne bookes, and
vnto the learned of his kingdom, he cau-
sed them to be turned into the Saron tongue, wherein
they continued long after his decease.

As for the Normans, who for a season neither re-
garded the British, nor cared for the Saron statutes,
they also at the first utterlie misliked of them, till at
the last, when they had well weied that one kind of
regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that
no stranger, being in a forren countrie netolie
brought vnder obedience, could make such equall or-
dinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new
common-wealth without some care & trouble: they
fell in with such a desire to see by what rule the state of

the land was gouerned in time of the Sarons, that
hauing perused the same, they not onelie commen-
ded their maner of regiment, but also admitted a
great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the
name of S. Edwards lawes, and vied as principles
and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the
rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almost in-
tolerable burden of seruitude which they had late-
lie laid vpon the shoulders of the English, but also left
vs a great number of the old Mulmutian lawes,
whereof the most part are in vse to this daie as I
said, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to dis-
tinguish them from others, that are in strength a-
mongst vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was Mar-
tia, whose Leland surnameth Proba; and after him
John Bale also, who in his Centuries dooth iustlie con-
fesse himselfe to haue bene holpen by the said Le-
land, as I my selfe do likewise for manie things
contained in this treatise. She was wife vnto Out-
celine king of the Britons: and being made protec-
trix of the realme, after hir husbands deceasse in the
nonage of hir sonne, and seeing manie things daile
to grow by among hir people worthe reformation,
she deuised sundrie and those verie politike lawes, for
the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir subjects
when she was dead and gone, did name the Martian
statutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I
do not read, howbeit (as I said before of the lawes
of Mulmutius) so the same Alfred caused those of this
excellentlie well learned ladie (whose diuerse com-
mend also for hir great knowledge in the Greke
tong) to be turned into his owne language, where-
vpon it came to passe that they were daile executed
among his subjects, afterward allowed of (among
the rest) by the Normans, and finally remaine in vse
in these our daies, notwithstanding that we can not
differer them also verie readilie from the other.

The seuenth alteration of lawes was practised by
the Sarons, for I ouerpasse the vse of the ciuill ordi-
nances vied in Rome, finally brought hither by the
Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuili-
ans of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor ful-
lie receiued by all the severall regions of this Iland.
Certes there are great numbers of these later, which
yet remaine in sound knowlege, and are to be read,
being comprehended for the most part vnder the
names of the Martian and the Saron law. Beside
these also I read of the Dane law, so that the people
of middle England were ruled by the first, the west
Sarons by the second, as Essex, Suffolke, Suff-
folke, Cambridgeshire, and part of Herefordshire
were by the third, of all the rest the most inuall and
intollerable. And as in these daies what soeuer the
prince in publike assemblee commanded vpon the
necessitie of his subjects, or his owne voluntarie au-
thoritie, was counted for law: so none of them had
appointed anie certeine place, wherevnto his people
might repaire at fixed times for iustice, but caused
them to resort commonlie to their palaces, where in
proper person they would often determine their
causes, and so make shortest worke, or else commit
the same to the hearing of other, and so dispatch them
awaie. Neither had they any house appointed to as-
semble in for the making of their ordinances, as we
haue now at Westminster. Wherefore Edmund
gaue lawes at London & Lincoln, Ethelred at Ha-
bam, Alfred at Woodstock and Mannetting, Athel-
stane in Grecester, Grecklade, Feuersham, & Thun-
derclie, Canutus at Winchester, &c: other in o-
ther places, whereof this may suffice.

Among other things also vied in the time of the
Sarons, it shall not be amisse to set downe the forme
of their Dballian law, which they brought hither
with

Martia,

Martian
law.
Saron law,
Dane law.

with them from beyond the seas out of Scythia, and used onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it contained not an ordinarie proceeding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we see practised in these daies; but a short dispatch & triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfully translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted copie, latelie published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Neuerthelesse, as the Scythians were the first that used this practise, so I read that it was taken up and occupied also in France in procelle of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his hystorie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and bew in that behalfe. But what stand I hereupon?

Ordalium
law.
fire.

The Ordalium (saith the aforesaid author) was a certaine manner of purgation used two waies, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire, the partie accused should go a certaine number of paces, with an hot iron in his hand, or else bare footed upon certaine plough shares red hot, according to the manner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of three, and then named treble Ordalium, and whosoever did beare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was absolved guiltlesse, otherwile if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespass whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

Water.

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessel of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or struggling for life, he was forthwith acquitted as guiltlesse of the fact whereof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediately upon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme up to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without any manner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: or otherwile he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordingly. The fierie manner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and such as were free bozne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Whereof to shew the vnclearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set forth the whole manner, which continued here in England vntill the time of King John, who seeing the manifold subtilties in the same (by sundrie sycerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restrained) did extinguishe it altogether as flat lewdnesse and bouverie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the guiltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron. Then it followeth: After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and praier, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to saie, O alie workes of God the Lord, and in Latine *Benedicite omnia opera*, &c. he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth: *Benedic Domine Deo locum istum, ut sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas,*

virtus, et victoria, et sanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, et plenitudo legis, et obedientia Deo patri, et filio, et spiritui sancto. Hac benedictio fit super hunc locum, et super omnes habitantes in eo. In English: *Blesse thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, purenesse, humilitie, godnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it.* Then followeth the blessing of the fire.

Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) ut ab eo lumine accendamus igne claritatis tue. Et sicut igne illuminasti Moysen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, et sensus nostros, ut ad vitam eternam mereamur peruenire, per Christum, &c. Lord God father almightie, light euermassing, heare vs, sith thou art the maker of all lights, Blesse O Lord this light, that is already sanctified in thy light, which hath lightened all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightened with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euermassing life, through Christ our, &c. This being ended let him say the *Pater noster*, &c. then these words: *saluum fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c.* That is, O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

The praier. *Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, et per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, ut sit sanctificatum, et omni demonum falsitate precul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifestata, per eundem Dominum, &c.* In English: Blesse we beseech thee O Lord, holie father, euermassing God, through the inuocation of thy most holie name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of metall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels utterlie removed, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Jesus, &c.

After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilest it heateh, let the priest go to masse, and doe as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the manner.

The office of the masse.

Iustus Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iust, &c.

The Praier.

Absolve quesumus Domine delicta famuli tui, ut a peccatorum suorum nexibus, qua pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, et in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iustitia tua praueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c. That is: Pardon we beseech thee O Lord, the finnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued, thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.

The Gospell. Mar. 10.

In illo tempore, cum egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrrens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogebat eum dicens, Magister bone,

bono, quid faciam ut vitam eternam percipiam? Iesus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. In those daies when Iesus went forth toward his iourneie, and one meeting him in the wate running, and kneeling vnto him, asked him saieng: God master what shall I do that I may possesse eternall life? Iesus said vnto him, Whie callest thou me god? &c. Then followeth the secreet, and so forth all of the rest of the masse. But before the partie dooth communicate, the priest shall vse these words vnto him: *Adiuo te per patrem, & filium, & spiritum sanctum, & per veram christianitatem quam suscepisti, & per sanctas reliquias que in ista ecclesia sunt, & per baptismum quo te sacerdos regenerauit, ut non praesonas ullo modo communicare, neq. accedere ad altare, si hoc fecisti aut consensisti, &c.* I adiuo thee by the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost, by the true chistendome which thou hast receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptism wherewith the priest hath regenerated thee, that thou presume not by any manner of means to communicate, no; come about the altar, if thou hast done or consented vnto this, thereof thou art accused, &c. Here let the priest suffer him to communicate, saieng: *Corpus hoc, & sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sit tibi ad probationem hodie.* This bodie & this blond of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto thee a triall this daie. The praiser: *Percepisti Domine Deus noster sacris muneribus, supplices deprecamur, ut huius participatio sacramenti a proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis sententiam declaret, &c.* Having receiued of Lord God these holie mysteries, we humbly beseech thee that the participation of this sacrament may rid vs of our guiltinesse, and in this thy seruant set forth the truth. Then shall follow Kyrieleson, the Letanie, and certeine Psalmes, and after all them Oremus: Let vs praie. *Deus qui per ignem signa magna ostendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldaeorum quibusdam perentibus eruiisti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conspectum Moysi & minime comburi permisisti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicus plerisque succensis, tres pueros tuos illesos eduxisti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodoma inuoluens, Lot famulum tuum cum suis salute donasti, Deus qui in aduentu sancti spiritus tui, illustratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuisti: ostende nobis in hoc prauitatis nostre examine virtutem eiusdem spiritus, &c.* & per ignis huius feruorem discernere infideles, ut a tactu eius cuius inquisitio agitur, confusus exhorrescat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens vero paenitus illesus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla unquam secreta effugiunt, fidei nostra tua bonitate responde, & presta ut quisquis purgandi se gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel absoluator ut innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c. In English thus: O God, which in shewing great tokens by fire diddest deliuer Abraham thy seruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whilst other perished; O God which sufferedst the bush to burne in the sight of Moses, and yet not to consume; O God which deliueredst the three children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whilst diuerse were consumed; O God which by fire diddest wrap the people of Sodome in their destruction, and yet sauedst Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the shining of thy brightnesse at the comming of the holie ghost in likenesse of fire, diddest separate the faithfull from such as beloued not: shew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickednesse, the power of the same spirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire discern the faithfull from the unfaithfull, that the guiltie whose cause is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in safetie, &c. O God from whom no secrets are hidde, let thy godnesse answer to our faith, and grant that whosoever in this purgation, shall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offender, &c. After this the priest shall

The cup yet in use.

sprinkle the iron with holie water, saieng: The blessing of God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iust iudgement of God. And forthwith let him that is accused beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and sealed vp for the space of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw flesh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and sound, let him giue thanks to God. And thus much of the fire Ordalia, where vnto that of the water bath so precise relation, that in setting forth of the one, I haue also described the other, wherefore it shall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall.

Hitherto also (as I thinke) sufficientlie of such lawes as were in vse before the conquest. Now it resteth that I should declare the order of those, that haue bene made and receiued since the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto doe produce three score and foure seuerall courts. But forasmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little skill to proceed in the same accordingly, it shall suffice to set downe some generall discourse of such as are vled in our daies, and so much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-saie.

We haue therefore in England sundrie lawes, and first of all the ciuill, vled in the chancerie, admiraltie, and diuerse other courts, in some of which, the seuerer rigor of iustice is often so mitigated by conscience, that diuerse things are thereby made easie and tollerable, which otherwise would appeare to be more inturie and extremitie.

We haue also a great part of the Canon lawe, vlie practised among vs, especiallie in cases of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and such like, as are vsuallie to be seene in the consistories of our bishops and higher courts of the two archbishops, where the exercise of the same is verte hotlie followed. The third sort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & those alwaies so variable, & subiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerse iudgements doe passe vpon one manner of case, whereby the saieng of the poet,

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,

may verie well be applied vnto such, as being vged with these words; In such a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for sound law; doe answer nothing else, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, so that they saie farre otherwise. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon three lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Customarie law, and Prescription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelve men at an assise, or wager of battell, of which the last is little vled in our daies, as no appeale doth hold in the first and last rehearsed. But to returne to my purpose.

The first is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the most part holden at Westminster nere London, is the highest of all other, & consisteth of three seuerall sorts of people, that is to saie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not summoned, but vpon urgent occasion when the prince doth see his time, and that by seuerall writs, dated commonlie full six weekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher house by the lords spirituall and temporall, and in the lower house by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in pocolles, or if occasion so require in Westminster church, is a member) there speaking by the mouth of the knights of the shire and burgesses, remaine in the end to be confirmed by

water.

Ciuill law.

Canon law.

Lawiers of England not alwaies constant in iudgement.

Parlement law.

by the prince, who commonlie resozeth hither of co-
some, vpon the first and last daies of this court,
there to vnderstand what is done, and giue his collall
consent to such statutes as him liketh of. Comming
therfore hither into the higher house, and hauing
taken his throne, the speaker of the parlement (for
one is alwaies appointed to go betwene the houses,
as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the
matters there determined by the said three estates,
and then craueth the princes consent and finall con-
firmation to the same. The king hauing heard the
summe and principall points of each estatute briefe-
lie recited vnto him, answereth in French with
great deliberation vnto such as he liketh (Il nous
plaist) but to the rest Il ne plaist, whereby the latter
are made void and frustrate. That also which his
maiestie liketh of, is hereby authorized, confirmed,
& euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in
anie the like assemblie. The number of the com-
mons assembled in the lower house, beside the cleargie,
consisteth of ninetie knights. For each shire of
England hath two gentlemen or knightis of great
wisdom and reputation, chosen out of the bo-
die of the same for that onelie purpose, sauing that
for Wales one onlie is supposed sufficient in euerie
countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is
made vp. There are likewise fourtie and six citi-
zens, 28 burgesses, and fourtene barons, so that the
whole assemblie of the laitie of the lower house, con-
sisteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine persons, if
the full number be supplied. Of the lawes here made
likewise some are penall and restraine the common
law, and some againe are found to enlarge the same.
The one sort of these also are for the most part taken
strictlie according to the letter, the other more large-
lie and beneficallie after their intendment and mea-
ning.

Number of
congregates
in the par-
lement.

Common
law.

The Common law standeth vpon sundrie mayn-
mes or principles, and yeares or termes, which do
conteine such cases as by great studie and solemne
argument of the iudges sound practise confirmed by
long experience, fetched euen from the course of most
ancient lawes made farre before the conquest, and
thereto the deepest reach and foundations of reason,
are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes these cases
are otherwise called pleas or action, wherof there are
two sorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The
meanes and messengers also to determine those cas-
ses are our writs or brieses, wherof there are some
originall and some iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe &
defendant when they appeare proceed (if the case do so
require) by plaint or declaration, barre or answer,
replication, rejoinder, and so by rebut, surrebut to
issue and triall if occasion so fall out, the one side af-
firmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common ex-
perience teacheth. Our trials and recoveries are ei-
ther by perjurie and demourre, confession or default,
wherein if anie negligence or trespass hath bene
committed, either in processe and forme, or in matter
and iudgement, the partie grieved may haue a writ
of error to vndo the same, but not in the same court
where the former iudgement was giuen.

Customarie
law.

Customarie law consisteth of certeine laudable
customs vsed in some priuat countie, intended first
to begin vpon good and reasonable considerations,
as gaucell kind, which is all the male children equallie
to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where
it is onelie to my knowledge retained, and no where
else in England. It was at the first deuised by the
Romans, as appeareth by Caesar in his comentaries,
wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of
the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all
the male children (or females for want of males which
holdeth still in England) should haue their fathers in-

heritance equallie diuided amongst them. By this
meanes also it came to passe, that whereas before
time for the space of firtie yeares, they had put the
Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the
space of thirtie yeares after this law made, their
power did wax so feeble, and such discords fell out a-
mongst themselves, that they were not able to main-
teine warres with the Romans, nor raise anie lust
armie against them. For as a river running with one
streame is swift and more plentifull of water than
when it is dyained or dyalwne into manie branches:
so the lands and goods of the ancestors being disper-
sed amongst their issue males, of one strong there
were raised sundrie weakes, whereby the originall or
generall strength to resist the aduersarie, became in-
feebled and brought almost to nothing. *Primum* (saith
the philosopher) *fortior est eadem dispersa*, and one good
purde is better than manie euill, and when euerie
man is benefited alike, each one will seeke to main-
teine his priuate estate, and few take care to pro-
uide for publike welfare.

Barroto kind, is where the yongest is preferred be-
fore the eldest, which is the custome of manie coun-
tries of this region; also the woman to haue the third
of hir husbands possessions, the husband that marieth
an hette to haue such lands as moue by hir during
his naturall life, if he suruiue hir, and hath a child by
hir which hath bene heard crie thorough foure wals,
ec: of such like to be learned elsewhere, and some-
times frequented generallie ouer all.

Prescription is a certeine custome, which hath con-
tinued time out of minde, but it is more particular
than customarie law, as where onelie a parish or
some priuat person doth prescribe to haue common,
or a waie in another mans soile, or tithes to be paid
after this or that maner, I meane otherwise than
the common course and order of the law requirith,
whereof let this suffice at this time, in stead of a lar-
ger discourse of our owne lawes, least I should
seeme to enter farre into that wherof I haue no
skill. For what hath the meditation of the law of
God to do with anie precise knowledge of the law
of man, sith they are feuerall trades, and incident to
diuerse persons?

Description

There are also sundrie small courts holden once
in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie
call termes, of the Latine word *Terminus*, wherein all
controuerfies are determined, that happen within
the Quenes dominions. These are commonlie
holden at London, except vpon some great occasion
they be transferred to other places. At what times al-
so they are kept both for spiritiual and temporall dea-
ling, the table insuing shall easilie declare. Finally
how well they are followed by iutors, the great
wealth of lawyers without anie trauell of mine can
readilie expresse. For as after the coming of the
Normans the nobilitie had the start, and after them
the cleargie: so now all the wealth of the land doth
flow vnto our common lawyers, of whome some one
hauing practised little aboue thirtene or fourtene
yeares is able to buye a purchase of so manie 1000
pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and
will be richer if their clients become not the more wor-
ser & warie hereafter. It is not long, since a sergeant
at the law (whome I could name) was arrested vpon
an extent, for thre or foure hundred pounds, and an-
other standing by did greatlie maruell that he could
not spare the gaines of one terme for the satisfaction
of that dutie. The time hath bene that our lawyers
did sit in Bowles vpon stoles against the pillers and
walles to get clients, but now four of them will not
come from their chambers to the Guildhall in Lon-
don vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the best.
And one being demanded why he made so much of
his

Term.

his scame, answered, that it was but follie for him to go so farre, when he was assured to get more monie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had a sute of late of some balure, and to be sure of counsell at his time, he gaue unto two lawiers (whose names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie shillings a peece, telling them of the date and houre wherein his matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came not vnto the barre at all, whereupon he staied for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increased his former gifts by so much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe serued him as before. In the end he met them both in the berie hall doore, and after some timorous reprehension, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he bestowed either thre angels or foure more vpon each of them, whereupon they promised peremptorie to speake earnestlie in his cause. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet sucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a scroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he spake not aboue thre or foure wordes, almost so sone vttered as a good morrow, and so went from the bar, and this was all the poze man gat for his monie, and the care which his counsellours did seme to take of his cause, then standing vpon the hazard. But inough of these matters, for if I should set downe how little law poze men can haue for their small fees in these daies, and the great murmurings that are on all sides vttered against their excessive taking of monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpose. Wherefore it shall suffice to haue set downe so much of their demeanour, and so much as is euen enough to cause them to loke with somewhat more conscience into their dealings, except they be dull and senselesse.

Deceit.

Manie of our lawiers hope not at small fees.

Poze men contentious.

Promoters like matters to let lawiers on wordes withall.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected sundrie courts, especiallie of the chancerie at Woke and Ludlow, for the ease of poze men dwelling in those parts, yet will the poze of all men commonlie most contentious) refuse to haue his cause heard so nere home, but incontinently rather to his vtter undoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there somenest to preuaile against his aduersarie, though his case be neuer so doubtfull. But in this toie our Welshmen doe exceed of all that euer I heard, for you shall here and there haue some one of poze Wards of them giuen so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wearing) because he hath no change. When he cometh there also, he will make such importunate begging of his countremen, and hard shift otherwise, that he will sometimes carie downe six or seuen wits with him in his purse, wherewith to molest his neighbor, though the greatest quarrell be scarcelie worth the fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, least in renewing the superfluous follie of a few babbler in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my selfe amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable case to see furthermore, how a number of poze men are daily abused and vtterlie undone, by sundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as promoters or brokers betwene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle and espie coales of contention, whereby the one side may reape commoditie, and the other spend and be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Essex, Denis and Painford excelled, till John of Ludlow, alias Mason came in place, vnto whom in comparison they two were but childezen:

for this last in lesse than thre or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie else where in other places) almost to extreamie miserie (if beggerie be the vttermost) that before he had the shauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake with the least) and finally feeling that he had not sufficient wherewith to susteine himselfe and his familie, and also to satisfie that greedie rauencour, which still called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and pensiuenesse. After his death also he so handled his sonne, that there was neuer shape shorne in spate, so nere clipped of his fleece present, as he was of manie to come: so that he was compelled to let awaie his land, because his cattell & stocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in stead of these enormities, a table shall follow of the termes containing their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my friend John Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the same to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, nere London in Westminster, and finally the great expences employed vpon the same, should be no small cause of the state and hinderance of the administration of iustice in this land: but as it falleth out they proue great occasions and the state of much contention. The reasons of these are some to be conceived, for as the broken steele doth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cause manie to sit at home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and feare of delaie doth drive those oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwise would liue at strife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men desirous of games would haue the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might ingender longer sute; other would haue the houses made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to minister the lawes. But as the times of the termes are rather too short than too long by one returne a peece: so if there were smaller rooms and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make payntes before they did rashlie enter into ple. But sith my purpose is not to make an ample discourse of these things, it shall suffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which inueth after this manner.

The times of our termes no hinderance to iustice.

A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

His terme beginneth the thre and twentieth daie of Januarie (if it be not fundate) otherwile the next daie after, and is finished the twelue of Februarie, it hath foure returnes.

{ Octabis Hilarij. } { Crastino Purific. }
{ Quind. Hilarij. } { Octabis Purific. }

¶ Easter terme beginneth seuentene daies after Easter, endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie, and hath five returnes.

{ Quind. Pasch. } { Menfe } { Quinque Pascha. }
{ Tres Pascha. } { Pascha. } { Crast. Ascension. }

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the first daie after Trinitie fundate, and endeth the wednesdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

{ Crast. Trinitatis. } { Quind. Trinitatis. }
{ Octabis Trinitatis. } { Tres Trinitatis. }

¶ Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not fundate) and ending the eight and twentieth

twentieth of November, it hath eight returnes.

Octabis Michael. Craft. anima.
Quind. Michael. Craft. Martini.
Tres Michael. Octa. Martini.
Mense Michael. Quind. Martini.

Note also that the checker, which is *Fiscus* or *erarium publicum principis*, openeth eight daies before ante terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vsuall termes as they are kept for the administration of our common lawes, whereunto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accustomed holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other ecclesiasticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for so much time as their execution indureth (which in comparison is scarcele one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called by to answer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being soie in the meane season, that the vse of the popish calendar is so much retained in the same, and not rather the vsuall daies of the moneth placed in their romes, with most of them are fixed and palter not their place of standing. Howbeit some of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie so easlie, pretending facilitie and custome of vsage, but meaning peradventure inwardlie to keepe a commemoration of those dead men whose names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

S. Faith. All Soules. S. Andrew.
S. Edward. S. Martin. Conception.
S. Luke. Edmund. of the virgin.
Simon & Iu. Katharine. Marie.

It is to be remembred that the first date following euerie of these feasts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in West church in the forenone. And the same first date in the afternone is the admeraltie court for ciuill and seafaring causes kept in Southwarke, where iustice is ministred & execution done continually according to the same.

The second date following euerie one of the said feasts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the consistorie in Paules in the forenone. And the selfe date in the afternone, in the same place is the prerogative court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie such feast in the forenone, the consistorie court of the bishop of London is kept in Paules church in the said consistorie, and the same third date in the afternone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quenes highnesse commissioners upon appeales is likewise kept in the same place on the fourth date.

Hilarie terme.

S. Hilarie. S. Scolastic. S. Chad.
S. Wolstan. S. Valentine. Perpet. & Fel.
Conuerfion. Ashwednes. S. Gregorie.
of S. Paule. S. Marthe. Annuciation
S. Blase. of our Ladie.

Note that the foure first daies of this terme be certeine and vnbchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yeare, and sometime kept and sometime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feasts fall on wednesdaie, commonlie called Ashwednesdaie after the date of S. Blase (so that the same lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie cannot be kept because the lawdaie of the other feast doth light on the same) then the second lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie be the next date after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all and euerie court daies be obserued in order, as they may be kept conveniently. And marke that although Ashwednesdaie be put the seuenth in order, yet it hath no cer-

teine place, but is changed as the course of Easter canseth it.

Easter terme.

The fiftieth daie after Easter.

S. Alphege. Gordian.
S. Marke. S. Dunstan.
Inuention of the crosse. Ascension daie.

In this terme the first sitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftieth daie after Easter, and so forth after the feasts here noted, which next folloio by course of the yeare after Easter, and the like space being kept betwene other feasts.

The rest of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Ascension, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, doe come before anie of the feasts aforesaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewise if anie of those daies come before the fiftieth of Easter, those daies are omitted also.

Trinitie terme.

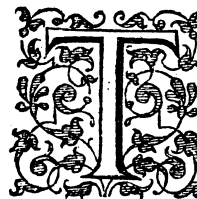
Trinitie fundaic. S. Butolph. S. Swithune.
Corpus Christi. S. John. S. Margaret.
Boniface bish. S. Paule. S. Anne.
S. Barnabie. Translat. Thomas.

Here note also that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitsuntide, and the first sitting is kept alwaies on the first lawdaie after the feast of the holie Trinitie, and the second session is kept the first lawdaie after the idolatrous and papistical feast date called Corpus Christi, except Corpus Christi date fall on some day aforesaid: which chanceth sometime, and then the sifter date is kept. And after the second session account foure daies or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feast day, and the first lawdaie after the said feast shall be the third session. The other lawdaies folloio in order, but so marte of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare shall be thought meet.

It is also generallie to be obserued, that euerie date is called a lawdaie that is not fundaic or holie daie: and that if the feast daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the first or second date following be fundaic, then the court date is kept the date after the said holie daie or feast.

Of prouision made for the poore.

Chap. I.º.



Here is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, where there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarilie to be relieved by the welthier sort, which otherwile would starue and come to bitter confusion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into three sorts, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded souldier, the decayed householder, and the sicke person visited with grievous and painefull diseases: the third consisteth of thriftlesse poore, as the riotour that hath consumed all, the bagabund that will abide no where, but runneth by and doleue from place to place (as it were seeking worke and finding none) and finally the roge and drumpet which are not possible to be diuided in sinder, but runne to and fro ouer all the realme, chéfelie keeping the champaine soiles in summer to auoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds.

For

For the first two sorts, that is to say, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by casualtie; which are the true poore in deed, and for whom the word dooth bind vs to make some daile provision: there is order taken through out euerie parish in the realme, that weeklie collection shall be made for their helpe and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoy both towne and countie. And yett the alms are given vnto the justices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for such as make default, to the end that the intent of the statute in this behalf be truly executed, according to the purpose and meaning of the same, so that these two sorts are sufficientlie provided for: and such as can liue within the limits of their allowance (as each one will be that is goodly and well disposed) may well so beate to come and range about. But if they refuse to be supported by this benefit of the law, and will rather endeavour by going to and fro to maintaine their idle trades, then are they adjudged to be parcell of the third sort, and so to stee of contentous refreshing at home, are often corrected with sharpe execution, and whipp of iustice abroad. Spaine there are, which notwithstanding the rigor of the lawes provided in their behalf, yield rather with this licence (as they call it) to be daile under the seare and terror of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be punished for by the deuotion of the parish. I found not long since a note of these latter sort, the effect whereof followeth. Idle beggers are such either through other mens occasion, or through their owne default. By other mens occasion (as one wrote for example) when some conuolous man, such I meane as haue the cast or right beine, daile to make beggers through wherby to perster the land, eloping a further commoditie in their commonns, holdes, and tenures, doo find such meanes as thesed by to wipe wante out of their occupiengs, and carrie the same vnto his priuate gaines. Wherevpon it followeth, that although the wise and better minded, doo either forsake the realme for altogether, and seeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germany, Italy, India, Spaine, and vnto the Calcutte, complaining of no want to be left for them at home, so to beate themselves that they are worthy to be accepted among the second sort: yet the greater part committeth haunting nothing to state vpon are willfull, and the reason doo either proue idle beggers, or else continue starks thers till the galloves doo eat them by, which is a lamentable case. Certes in some mans iudgements these things are but trifles, and not worthy the regarding. Some also doo grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessitie bynd of castell farre better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liue say men best of all vnto the pope and the biuell, who practise the hinderance of the flourish of the number of the elect to their uttermost, to the end the authority of the one vpon earth, the deserveng of the lockeng up of the other in everlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first may continue and endure the longer. But if it should come to passe that any foren invasion should be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake! then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stacks of corne and bags of monie, and complain of the want when it is too late to seeke remedie. The like occasion caused the Romans to deuise their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the conuolous utterly condemning it as rigorous and vnpioffable, neuer ceased to practise disturbance till it was quite abolished. But to proceed with my purpose.

Such as are idle beggers through their owne de-

fault are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casual or more voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casual meanes, are in the beginning tuffie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the third sort, they do what they can to continue their miserie, and with such impediments as they haue to straine and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest creature. Certes I call these casual meanes, not in respect of the originall of their povertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such is their owne ingratiuous leuynesse, and stoward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of cozorties, and applying the same to the more fleshy parts of their bodies; and also laising of rattaine, sperdow, crows, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull and obdious sores, and make the parts of the goers by such places where they lie, to peme at their miserie, and therevpon bestow large almesse vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and chuse out words of behemence, whereby they do in manner confute or aduocate the goer by to pite their cases, I passe over to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuerlant in the mouths of none: and yet the preference of the heuenlie maiestie further off from ind men than from this ingratiuous compante. Which maketh me to thinke that punishment is farre mether for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willes vs cheele to haue a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

Vnto this next is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which hauing sound and perfect lims, doo yet notwithstanding sometime counterfett the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times in their apparell also they will be like seruing men or labozers: oftentimes they can plate the martiners, and seeke for thys which they neuer loof. But in fine, they are all theues and caterpillers in the common wealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but like the sweat from the true labozers holues, & beate the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to maintaine their exesse, consuming the charitie of well disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked & detestable manner.

It is not yet full threescore yeares since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge, for they are now supposed of one ser and another, to amount vnto aboute 10000 persons; as I haue heard reported. Moreover, in counterfetting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselves, which they name Caning, but other peblers French, a speech compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to vnderstand. The first deuiler thereof was hanged by the necke, a lust reward no doubt for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman also of late hath taken great paines to searh out the secret practises of this ingratiuous rabble. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth thre & twentie sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, whereby ech one may take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

The severall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds.

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Rufflers. | 3 Hookers or Anglers. |
| 2 Uprightmen. | 4 Roges. |
| | 5 Wills |

Thomas Harman.

A thing of ten same.

At whose hands shall the blood of these men be required?

- 5 Wild roges.
- 6 Pilgers or pians-
lers.
- 7 Wallfards.
- 8 Fraters.
- 9 Abzans.
- 10 Freshwater mar-
ners, or whiplacks.
- 11 Dummerers.
- 12 Wyunken tinkers.
- 13 Swadders or ped-
lers.
- 14 Barkemen or patri-

coers.

¶ Of women kind.

- 1 Demanders for glim-
mar or fire.
- 2 Baudie baskets.
- 3 Sportes.
- 4 Antem moites.
- 5 Talking moites.
- 6 Dores.
- 7 Welles.
- 8 Kitching moites.
- 9 Kitching coes.

The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must needs be martiall law, to be exercised upon them, as upon thieues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enemies to the common-wealth & welfare of the lawd. What notable robberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yong children, burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people, I need not to rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses upon their othes, he is then immediatlie aduoged to be greuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed upon him, except some honest person worth fise pounds in the quenes books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich householder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a felon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute doth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finalie, we find to be compassed all ptoozs that go by and downe with counterfeit licences, cosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, pccifiers of physionomie and palmeftrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, plaisters, minstrels, iuglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretended schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From among which compante our beare wards are not excepted, and iust cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, bene occasion of the death and deuoracion of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew that was become of them. And for that cause there is & haue bene manie sharpe lawes made for bearewards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the quenes maiestie for euerie time that he doth so succour them, as it shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue bene informed. And thus much of the poze, & such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

Of sundrie kinds of punishments appointed for malefactors.

Chap. II.

In cases of felonie, manslaughter, roberie, murder, rape, piracie, & such capitall crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offender is to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments used in other countries we haue no knowledge or vse, and yet so few greuous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To the torment also or question by paine and torture, in these common cases with vs is greatlie abhorred, which we are found alwaie to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, choosing rather frankelie to open our minds than to yeild our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are used in other countries. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons do go so cherefullie to their deaths, for our nation is free, stout, haucie, prodigall of life and blood, as sir Thomas Smith saith lib. 2. cap. 25. *de republica*, and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be used as villanes and slaues, in suffering continuall beating, seruitude, and seruile torments. For our gailers are guiltie of felonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prisoner committed to their custodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greatest and most greuous punishment used in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered alue, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throtone into a fire provided nere hand and within their owne sight, euen for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespass be not the more hainous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when soeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason by their peeres, that is to saie, equals (for an inquest of peomen passeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads onelie, notwithstanding that the sentence do run after the former order. In triall of cases concerning treason, felonie, or anie other greuous crime not confessed, the partie accused doth yeild, if he be a noble man, to be tried by an inquest (as I haue said) and his peeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the pcomantie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vse) and being condemned of felonie, manslaughter, &c: he is either hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murder, done either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable roberie, he is either hanged a line in chaines nere the place where the fact was committed (or else vpon compass taken first strangled with a rope) and so continueth till his bones consume to nothing. We haue vse neither of the wheele nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manslaughter is perpetrated, beside hanging, the offender hath his right hand commonlie stricken off before or nere vnto the place where the act was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word felon is deriued of the Saron words Fell and One, that is to say, an euill and wicked one, one

a one of infamous nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like sort in the world felonie are manie greuous crimes conteined, as breach of prison An. 1 of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors An. 1. of Henrie the seventh. Rape or stealing of women & maidens An. 3. of Henrie the eighth. Conspiracie against the person of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the seventh. Embeslilling of goods committed by the master to the servant, above the value of fourtie shillings An. 17. of Henrie the eighth. Carling of horses or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eighth. Sodomie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eighth. Stealing of halukes eggs An. 31. of Henrie the eighth. Contumring, sorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of crosses An. 33. of Hen. 8. Prophaness upon armies, cognisances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Casting of slanderous bills An. 37. Hen. 8. Willfull killing by poison An. 1. of Edw. the first. Departure of a soldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the first. Diminution of coine, all offenses within case of premunire, embeslilling of records, goods taken from dead men by their servants, stealing of what soeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, upon the sea, or of dwelling houses, letting out of ponds, cutting of purses, stealing of dore by night, counterfeitors of coine, evidences, charters, and writings, & diuerse other needlesse to be remembered. If a woman poison hir husband he is burned aliue, if the servant kill his master he is to be executed for petie treason, he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practise: in cases of murther all the accessaries are to suffer paines of death accordingly. Perforie is punished by the pillozie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the reuolting of the trees growing upon the grounds of the offenders and losse of all his mouables. Manie trespasses also are punished by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offender, as the utterance of seditious words against the magistrates, framakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the eares, carriers of sheepe out of the land by the losse of their hands, such as kill by poison are either boiled or skalded to death in lead or seething water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and doing of open penance in sheets, in churches and market steds are often put to rebuke. Whobbeit as this is counted with some either as no punishment at all to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offenders, so I would wish adulteric and fornication to haue some sharper law. For what great smart is it to be turned out of an hot sheet into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let lose againe vnto their former trades? Whobbeit the dragging of some of them ouer the Thames betwene Lambeth and Westminster at the taile of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifieth them which are condemned thereto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marshall, and that within the compasse of his iurisdiction & limits onelie. Canutus was the first that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to punish whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being too seuer in this behalfe. For before the time of the said Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleasure; and the adulteresse was to lose hir eyes or nose, or both, if the case were more than common: whereby it appeareth of what estimation marriage was amongst them, sith the breakers of that holie estate were so greuouslie rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more fauorable with them, than

ting rather at the punishments of such priests and clearkes as were married, than the reformation of adulteric and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that anie seueritie was shewed, except vpon such laie men as had defiled their nuns. As in thest therfore so in adulteric and whoredome I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the galleies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a sheet, though the weather be neuer so colde.

Man slaughter in time past was punished by the parrie, wherein the quantitie or qualitic of the punishment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 shillings. And by an estatute made vnder Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else where I haue spoken more at large. Such as kill themselves are buried in the field with a stake driuen through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned, but theues are hanged (as I said before) generallie on the gibbet or gallowes, sauing in Halifar where they are beheaded after a strange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath bene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Halifar, that who soeuer doth commit anie felonie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirtene pence halfe pence, he is forthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall usually vpon the tuesdaies, thursdaies, & saturdays) or else vpon the same daie that he is so convicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is done, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which doth ride vp and downe in a slot, rabet, or regall betwene two peces of timber, that are framed and set vpright of fine yarden in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ar ketted or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there fastned by a wooden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Shamsons post) vnto the middelt of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that cometh downe among the people, so that when the offender hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost blocke, euerie man there present doth either take hold of the rope (or putteth forth his arme so nere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to see true iustice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ar is fastned doth fall downe with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge distance. If it be so that the offender be apprehended for an ox, oren, sheepe, kine, horse, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast or other of the same kind shall haue the end of the rope tied somewhere vnto them, so that they being drawen do draw out the pin wherby the offender is executed. Thus much of Halifar law, which I set downe onelie to shew the custome of that countrie in this behalfe.

Roges and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped, scolds are ducked vpon cuckingstoles in the water. Such fellows as stand mute and speake not at their arraignment are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a board, that lieth ouer their bzell, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these comonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which if they were condemned should be confiscated to the prince. Theues that are saued by their books and cleargie, for the first offense,

Halifar law.

Whore.

Cleargie.

22. y.

offense, if they haue stolen nothing else but oxen, sheepe, moneie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high wate side, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores, are bound in the left hand, vpon the bryane of the thombe with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke betwixt them to haue bene arraigned of felonie before, where by they are sure at that time to haue no mercie. I do not read that this custome of sauing by the booke is vsed anie where else than in England, neither do I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that lawe. Holbeite, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuised to traine the inhabitants of this land to the loue of learning, which before contented letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themselves to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue bene amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not suffer euen their princes to be learned for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counsell house, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whensoever anie thing touching the state of the land was to be consulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the shore at lotse water marke, where they are left till thair rides haue ouerwashed them. Finallie, such as hanging wals and banks nere vnto the sea, and do suffer the same to decay (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and doth oneth by the countrie, are by a certeine ancient custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

Pirats.

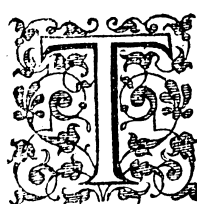
And thus much in part of the administration of iustice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding that we do not often heare of horrible, merciless, and wilfull murders (such I meane as are not sildome seene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then some manslaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be seuerelie punished, and in such wise as I before reported. Certes there is no greater mischance done in England than by robberies, the first by yong whisting gentlemen, which oftentimes do beare more port than they are able to mainteine. So conuile by seruuingmen, whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them byches, wherefore they are now and then constrained either to keepe high wales, and breake into the wealthie mens houses with the first sozt, or else to walke vp and downe in gentlemen and rich farmers pastures, there to see and view which houses feed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard adventure it hath bene knotone by their confession at the galloves, that some one such chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or sirtie stolen horses at pasture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselves in the meane season being taken about home for honest pcomen, and verie wealthie brewers, till their dealings haue been betwaxed. It is not long since one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie townesman, he uttered also more horses than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable priceworthy, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man bricked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentle man or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Iesus I stole him. Which talke was plaine enough,

and yet such was his estimation, that each beleued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indeed.

Our third annoters of the common wealth are roges, which do verie great mischance in all places where they become. For whereas the rich onelie suffer iniurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or small, all is fish that cometh to net with them, and yet I saie both they and the rest are trusted by apace. For there is not one peate commonte, wherein three hundred or foure hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten by the galloves in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth it vpon the report of the bishop of Lerouia) in the gentiture of king Edward the first, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes here seuerelie against such idle persons, I meane great thieves, petty thieves and roges, did hang by the necke and twelve thousand of them in his time. He feared for a while greatlie to haue terrified the rest: but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle sozt, hauing once serued, but sene the other side of the sea under colour of seruice to shake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to retorne into his former trade) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes already made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish totones and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of thieves and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well provided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man complaine and giue warning of slaughter or murder committed, the constable of the village whereunto he cometh and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespasser may be, or is supposed to lurke, and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable after serch made to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the offender is harbored and found. It is also provided, that if anie parish in this businesse do not hir dutie, but suffereth the these (for the avoiding of trouble sake) in carrying him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape the same parish, is not onelie to make fine to the king, but also the same with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law, holbeite I haue knotone by mine owne experience, fellows being taken to haue escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for want of watch & gard, that thieves haue bene let passe, because the couetous and greedie parishoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to prison, if it were far off, that when hue and crye haue bene made euen to the faces of some constables, they haue said: God refoze your losse, I haue other businesse at this time. And by such meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors (unboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath sweet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.

Of the maner of building and
furniture of our houses.

Chap. 12.



The greatest part of our building in the cities and good townes of England consisteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the communalitie (except here & there in the West countie townes) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerse other places be builded so good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houses of the Britons were slightlie set vp with a few posts & many rabels, with stable and all offices vnder one rofe, the like whereof almost is to be seene in the fennie countres and nothern parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in speaking of building to make a distinction betwene the plaine and wooddie soiles: for as in these, our houses are commonlie strong and well timbered, so that in manie places, there are not aboue foute, six, or nine inches betwene stud and stud; so in the open and champaigne countries they are inforced for want of stuffe to vse no studs at all, but onlie franke posts, ralsins, beames, pickeposts, groundfels, summers (or doymants) transoms, and such principalls, with here and there a girding, wherunto they fasten their splints or rabels, and then cast it all ouer with thicke claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwisse would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in quene Maries daies to wonder, but chiefe when they saw what large diet was vsed in manie of these so homelie cottages, in so much that one of no small reputation amongst them said after this maner: These English (quoth he) haue their houses made of sticks and durt, but they fare commonlie so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such coarse cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like sort as euerie countie house is thus apparelled on the out side, so is it inwardlie diuided into sundrie rooms aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwisse with straw, sedge, or reed, except some quarrie of slate be nere hand, from whence they haue for their monie so much as may suffice them.

The claie wherewith our houses are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of these the first doth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke, the second is called loam, but the thirde efflones changeth colour so sone as it is wrought, notwithstanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke also we haue our excellent Asbestos or white lime, made in most places, wherewith being quenched we strike ouer our claie workes and stone walls, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemen houses: otherwise in stead of chalke (where it wanteth) for it is so scant that in some places it is sold by the pound they are compelled to burne a certaine kind of red stone, as in Wales, and else where other stones and shels of oysters and like fish found vpon the sea coast, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallic (as the other) abhorre and eschew water whereby it is dissolued, and neuertheless desire oile wherewith it is easilie mixed, as I haue seene by experience. Within their doores also such as are of skitt: do oft make their stoues and parget of fine

alabaster burned, which they call plaster of Paris, whereof in some places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable against the rage of fire.

In plastering likewise of our fairest houses ouer our heads, we vse to laie first a laine or two of white morter tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or sometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made fast here and there with saplaths for falling downe) and finallye couer all with the aforesaid plaster, which beside the delectable whitenesse of the stufte it selfe, is laied on so euen and smoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be done with more exactnesse. The walls of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisserie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerse histories, or hearbes, beastes, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seled with oile of our owne, or wainescot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the rooms are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close than otherwise they would be. As for stoues we haue not hitherto vsed them greatlie, yet do they now begin to be made in diuerse houses of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in as in Germanie and else where, but now and then to sweate in, as occasion and need shall require it. This also hath bene common in England, contrary to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be seene (for example in most streets of London) that many of our greatest houses haue outwardlie bene verie simple and plaine to sight, which inwardlie haue bene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their ease. Whereby moreover it is come to passe, that the fronts of our streets haue not bene so vniiforme and orderlie builded as those of foireine cities, where (to saie truth) the better side of their mansions and dwellings haue oft more cost bestowed vpon them, than all the rest of the house, which are often verie simple and breaslie within, as experience doth confirme. Of old time our countie houses in stead of glasse did vse much lattise and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwisse. I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithstanding vsed some glasse also since the time of Benedict Biscop the monke that brought the feat of glasing first into this land) did make panels of horne in stead of glasse, & fir them in wooden calmes. But as horne in windows is now quite laid downe in euerie place, so our lattises are also growne into lesse vse, because glasse is come to be so plentifull, and within a verie little so good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obscure mention of the specular stone also to haue bene found and applied to this vse in England, but in such doubtfull sort as I dare not affirme it for certaine.ouertheless certaine it is that antiquitie vsed it before glasse was knowne, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glasse was first found I care not greatlie to remember even at this present, although it be directlie beside my purposed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & nere to the foot of mount Carmell there is a more or marrie, wherout riseth a brooke called sometime Belus, and falleth into the sea nere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie ascribed vnto Baall, and also honozed vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Israell. It came to passe also as a certaine merchant sailed that waie laden with pistrum, the passengers went to land for to repose themselves, and to take in some store of fresh water into their vessell. Being also on the shore they kindled a fire, and made provision for their dinner, but because they wanted freuels or stones wherewith

to set their kettels on, ran by chance into the ship, and brought great pices of Nitrum with him, which served their turne for that present. To be short, the said substance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauell that laye vnder it; and so brought forth that shining substance which now is called glasse, and about the time of Semiramis. When the companie saw this, they made no small account of their successe, and forthwith began to practise the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the said stufte did also issue. Certes for the time this historie may well be true: for I read of glasse in Iob, but for the rest I refer me to the common opinion conceived by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes: Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glazed with Verill (an example whereof is yet to be seene in Sudleie castle) and in diuerse other places with fine cristall, but this especially in the time of the Romans, where of also some fragments haue bene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that onlie the clearest glasse is most esteemed: for we haue diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which would be so good as the best, if we were diligent and carefull to bestow more cost vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreover the mansion houses of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaigne ground stand altogether by streets, joining one to another, but in woodland soles dispersed here and there, each one vpon the several grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generally, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor byrehouse annexed vnto them vnder the same rofe (as in manye places beyond the sea & some of the north parts of our countrie) but all separate from the first, and one of them from another. And yet for all this, they are not so farre distant in lundre, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightly heare what is done in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meinte if anye danger should attach him.

The ancient manours and houses of our gentles men are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue bene and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Whoebeit such as be latelie builded, are commonlie either of byrche or hard stone, or both; their rooms large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with byrche and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron doth often match in our daies with some honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our yeares, where in our workemen excell, and are in manner comparable in skill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptista, and Serlio. Neuertheless, their estimation more than their greedie and seruile couetousnesse, joined with a lingering humour causeth them often to be reiected, & strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasteful of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houses also excelleth, and is growne in manner euen to passing delicacie: and herein I do not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onlie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue anye thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, finer vessel, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupboards, to the summe oftentimes

of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stufte doth grow to be almost incalculable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not seldom to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkie woollie, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto collicke cupboards of plate, worth some or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be daemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other; so in time past, the collicke furniture staled there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie; whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imitate it well) doth infinitelie appeare. Neither do I speake this in reproch of anye man, God is my iudge, but to shew that I do reioise rather, to see how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and whilst I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growne to most excessive prices, & what commoditie so euer is to be had, is daile plucked from the commonaltie by such as looke into euery trade, we do yet find the means to obtaine at chiefe such furniture as heretofore hath bene impossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance; & other three things too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their young daies there were not above two or three, if so manie in most vplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lordes alwaies excepted, and peraduenture some great persons) but each one made his fire against a reedosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

The second is the great (although not generally) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selves also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats covered onlie with a sheet vnder couertlets made of bagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in stead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within fewen yeares after his marriage purchased a matteres or stocke-bed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole feathers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Weshfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pilowes (said they) were thought meet onlie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anye sheet above them it was well, for seldome had they anye vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the picking straws that ran off through the canuas of the pallet, and raised their hardened hides.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessel, as of trene platters into pewter, and wooden spones into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of trene stufte in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure pices of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be iustly called) they were scarce able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the bittermost

These things
greater
amended in
England.

Chimnies.

Hard lodging

Furniture of
household.

This was in
the time of
the
merall
nells.

most by the yeare. Such also was their pouertie, that if some one of farmer or husbandman had bene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst six or seuen of his neighbours, and there in a bawerie to shew what store he had, old cast downe his purse, and therein a noble or six shillings in silver vnto them (for few such men then cared for gold because it was not so readie payment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angel) it was verie likelie that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it: whereas in my time, although peradventure foure pounds of old rent be impoues to sixtie, sithie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date tree thinke his gaires verie small toward the end of his terme, if he haue not six or seuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in od becell going about the house, three or foure featherbeds, so manie coverlids and carpets of tapistrie, a silver salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole nest) and a dozen of spones to furnish vp the lute. This also he taketh to be his owne clere, for what stocke of monie soeuer he gathereth & laith vp in all his yeares, it is often scene, that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he reneweth his lease, which is commonlie eight or six yeares before the old be expired (sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuerfion, and so defeat him out right) that it shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shauen it from his chin. And as they commend these, for beside the decate of housekeeping whereby the poore haue bene relieved, they speake also of three things that are growen to be verie greivous vnto them, to wit, the inhauling of rents, latelie mentioned; the bailie oppression of copyholders, whose lords seeke to bring their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, daily deuising new meanes, and seeking vp all the old how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then seuen times increasing their fines, by iuing them also for euerie trifle to lose and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greatest part of the realme doth stand and is mainteined) to the end they may fleece them yet more, which is a lamentable bering. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Iewes, now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie that he is accounted but for a stole that doth lend his monie for nothing. In time past it was *Sors pro sorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beside that which is about the principall properlie called *vsura*, we challenge *Fenus*, that is commoditie of soile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it selfe. In time past also one of the hundred was much, from thence it rose vnto two, called in Latine *vsura*, *Ex sextante*; three, to wit *Ex quadrante*; then to foure, to wit *Ex triente*; then to five, which is *Ex quincunce*; then to six, called *Ex sennisse*, &c: as the accompt of the *Assis* ariseth, and comming at the last vnto *vsura ex asse*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centesima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elswhere. See Cicero against Verres, Demosthenes against Aphobus, and Adienus lib. 17. in fine: and when thou hast read them well, helpe I praye thee in lawfull manner to hang vp such as take *Centu pro cento*, for they are no better worthe as I doe iudge in conscience. Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they seeme (as it were) to put them vp and deale with bondmen, so that if the

By the yeare.

lease be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his new terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull covenants. I am loze to report it, much more greued to understand of the practice; but most sorrowfull of all to understand that men of great port and countenance are so farre from suffering their farmers to haue a nie gaine at all, that they themselves become grassers, butchers, tanners, shepmaisters, woodmen, and denique quid non, thereby to enrich themselves, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communalitie weake, or as an old doll with broken or feeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plausible shew, but when necessitie shall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter sequele.

Of cities and townes in

England.

Cap. 13.



As in old time we read that there were eight and twentie dioceses and archdioceses in the south part of this Ile, and so manie great cities vnder their iurisdiction: so in these our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them also vnder the ecclesiasticall regiment of some one bishop or archbishop, who in spirituall cases haue the charge and oversight of the same. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be bishopricks & archbishopricks. For notwithstanding that Lichfield and Conentre, and Bath and Wells, doe seeme to extend the aforesaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of these couples are to be accounted, but as one entier cite and see of the bishop, sith one bishoprike can haue relation but vnto one see, and the said see be situate but in one place, after which the bishop doth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient histories, that the cities of this southerlie portion haue bene of exceeding greatnesse and beautie, whereof some were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in these our times are quite decayed, and the places where they stood worne out of all remembrance. Such also for the most part as yet remaine are maruellouslie altered, inasmuch that whereas at the first they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houses, or appeare not to be much greater in comparison than poore & simple villages. Antoninus the most diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other these ancient towne following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from Dorwich, as Leland supposeth (wherein they went by Colchester) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betwene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles east of London, and likewise Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their first founder Magus, the sonne of Samothies, & second king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the towne that ended in Magus should stand in holes and low grounds: which is to be disproued in diuerse cities in the maine, as also here with vs. Of these moreouer sir Thomas Eliot supposeth Neomagus to haue stood somewhere about Chesser; George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie same that we do now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the shore. And as these and sundrie other now perished toke their denomination of this prince, so there are

Six and twentie cities in England.

Sitomagus.
Nouiomagus.
Neomagus.
Niomagus.

are diuerse causes, which moue me to coniecture, that Salisburie doth rather take the first name of Sarron the sonne of the said Magus, than of Caesar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers do imagine) or else at the least wisse of Salisburge of the maine, from whence some Sarons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlíkely, sith before the comming of the Sarons, the king of the Suettonenses had a great part of this Island in subiection, as Caesar saith; and in another place that such of Belgie as stole ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himselfe doth witnesse. But sith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stand now vpon the prooue of this matter, least I should seme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in such wisse to deteine the heads of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise peradventure would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To proceed therefore, As soon after the first inhabitation of this Island, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughly furnished with hir conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, do still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those daies the most part of the Island was reserved vnto pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the least wisse stood not so thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but cheselle after the comming of the Sarons, and after them the Romans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by copie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especiall place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wisse as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.

Leouitius placeth yorke in Scotland de eclipsibus. A legion continued sixtie centuries, thirtie manipli, thre cohorts.

1. London otherwise called
 - Trenouanton.
 - Cair Lud.
 - Londinium or Longidinium.
 - Augusta of the legion Augusta that sojourned there, when the Romans ruled here.
2. Yorke otherwise called
 - Cairbranke.
 - Vrouicum or Yurewije.
 - Eorwije or Eoforwije.
 - Yeworwije.
 - Eboracum.
 - Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there sometime.
3. Canturburie
 - Duroruerno alias Duraruerno.
 - Dorobernia.
 - Cantwarbiric.

- 4 Colchester
 - Cair Colon.
 - Cair Colden.
 - Cair Colkin of Coilus.
 - Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
 - Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans. Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.
 - Coloncester. Tacitus.
 - Camulodunum, Ptolome.
- 5 Lincolne
 - Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood about it.
 - Cair Loichoit, by corruption.
 - Lindum.
 - Lindocollinum.
- 6 Warwiche
 - Cair Guttelin.
 - Cair Line or Cair Leon.
 - Cair Gwair.
 - Cair Vmber.
 - Cair Gwaerton.
- 7 Chester vpon Vske was a famous vniuersitie in the time of Arthure.
 - Cair legion.
 - Carlheon.
 - Cairdium.
 - Dececester.
 - Castra legionum.
- 8 Carleill
 - Cair Lucill.
 - Cair Leill.
 - Lugibalia.
 - Cair Doill.
- 9 S. Albanes
 - Cair Maricipit.
 - Cair Municip.
 - Verolamium.
 - Verlamcester.
 - Cair Wattelin, of the street wheron it stood.
- 10 Winchester.
 - Cair Gwent.
 - Cair Gwin.
 - Cair Wine.
 - Venta Simenorum.
- 11 Cister.
 - Cair Churne.
 - Cair Kyrne.
 - Cair Kery.
 - Cair Cery.
 - Cirnecester.
 - Churnecester.
- 12 Silchester.
 - Cair Segent.
 - Selecester.
- 13 Bath.
 - Cair Badon.
 - Therma.
 - Aqua solis.
- 14 Shaftesbury
 - Cair Paladour.
 - Septonia.
- 15 Worcester.
 - Wigornia.
 - Cair Gworangon.
 - Brangonia.
 - Cair Frangon.
 - Woorkecester.
- 16 Chichester.
 - Cair Key or Cair Kis.
 - Cair Chic.
- 17 Bristow
 - Cair Oder nant Badon.
 - Oder.
 - Cair Bren.
 - Venta Belgarum.
 - Brightstow.
- 18 Rochester.

Cair Segent stood vpon the Thames, not farre from Reading.

- 18 Ro- Durobreuis, corrupcie Durobrouis.
cheff. Roscester. Dubobris.
Roffa. Durobrouis.
- 19 Porche- Cair Peris.
Rec. Cair Poris.
- 20 Cair- Cair Meridunum.
marden. Cair Meridunum.
Maridunum.
Cair Marnha.
Cair Pridunum.
- 21 Gloucester- Cair Clowwy.
Cair Clowwy.
Clawdd ecclesia.
- 22 Leir- Cair Beir.
cefter. Cair Leir.
Cair Lirion.
Wirall, ceste. March. West. 895.
- 23 Cam- Grantabric.
bridge. Cair Graunt.
- 24 Cair Vrnach, peradventure Burgh
castell.
- 25 Cair Cururat.
- 26 Cair Draiton, now a slender
village.
- 27 Cair Celennon.
- 28 Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dorne (another whereof I read likewise) it stood somewhere upon the Dyne in Huntingdonshire, but now unknowne, sith it was twice rased to the ground, first by the Saxons, then by the Danes, so that the ruines thereof are in these daies not extant to be seene. And in like sort I am ignorant where most of them stood, that are noted with the list. I find in like sort mention of a noble citie called Alclud ouer and beside these afore mentioned, sometime builded by Ebraucus of Britaine, as the same goeth, and finally destroyed by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It stood upon the banks of the river Cluda, to wit, betwixen it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the west, and was sometime march betwixen the Britons and the Picts, and likewise the Picts and the Scots; neuertheless, the castell (as I heare) both yet remaine, and hath bene since well repaired by the Scots, and called Dombritain or Dunbritton, so that it is not an hard matter by these few wordes to find where Alclud stood. I could here, if leisure serued, and haue of the printer not require dispatch, declare the ancient names of sundrie other towines, of which Stafford in time past was called Stadstford, and therefore (as I gesse) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebantou now Kimbaltou. But if any man be desirous to see more of them, let him resort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the second, and there he shall be further satisfied of his desire in this behalfe.

It should seme then these ancient cities flourished, that the same towne, which we now call saint Albans, did most of all excell: but cheselle in the Romans time, and was not onlie nothing inferior to London it selfe, but rather preferred before it, because it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onlie by the Britons, as the most part of the Island was also in those daies. Good notice hereof also is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whose writings I haue

thought good to note a few things, whereby the maiestie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto posteritie, and the former estate of Clerkenwell not lie altogether (as it hath bene hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulness, though the negligence of such as might haue deserued better of their herefours, by learning the description thereof in a booke by it selfe, sith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are lost and perished. Ptolemy in the fourth booke of his historie hath mention of it, shewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were interable distressed. Eadem clades (sith he) municipi Verolamio fuit. And hereupon Nethorius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair Municipi, as I before haue noted. Ptolemy speaking of it both place it among the Catyvelchianes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Britan miles from London, placing Sullomaca nine miles from thence, whereby it is evident, that Sullomaca stood nere to

Sullomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in lunder.

Barnet, if it were not the vertie same. Of the old compasse of the walles of Verolamium there is now small knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it selfe you shall partlie vnderstand by that which followeth at hand, after I haue told you for your better intelligence what Municipium Romanorum is: for there is great difference betwixen that and Colonia Romanorum, sith Colonia also traditur a ciuitate Roma, but Municipi alia habet in ciuitatem veniunt sibi, viribus & legibus omni: more ouer their soile is not changed into the nature of the Romanes, but they live in the steadfast friendship and protection of the Romans, as did sometime the Cretes, who were the first people which ever obtained that priuilege. The British Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble seruice in the warres deserued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole freedom of Romans, whereby they were made Municipi, and became more free in truth than their Colonies could be. To conclude therefore, Municipium is a citie in straitly chisled and indured with Roman priuileges, without anie alteration of his former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a Colonia is a compaignie sent from Rome into anie other region or province, to possesse either a citie newlie builded, or to replenish the same from whence his former citizens haue bene expelled and driven out. Now to proceed.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Clodred was abbat there; who being desirous to increase that house, it came into his mind to search about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to see if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garnish his building taken in hand. To be short, he had no sooner begun to dig among the rubbis, but he found an exceeding number of pillars, peeces of antique worke, thresholds, doze frames, and sundrie other peeces of fine masonrie for windowes and such like, vertie convenient for his purpose. Of these also some were of porphyrite stone, some of diuerse kinds of marble, touch, and alabastrer, beside manie curious deuises of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himselfe an happy man, and his successe to be greatly guided by S. Albane. Besides these also he found sundrie pillars of brasse, and sockets of latton, alabastrer and touch, all which he laid aside by great heaps, ordering in the end (I saie) to laie the foundation of a new abbate, but God so presented his determination, that death took him away, before his building was begun. After him succeeded one Cadurcus, who followed the doings of Clodred to the bitter most; and therefore not onlie perused what he had left with great diligence, but also caused his pioners to search

when Albane was martyred Atlepiodorus was legat in Britaine.

pet further, within the old walles of Verolamium, where they not onelie found infinite other peces of excellent workmanship, but came at the last to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which stood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie superstitiouslie and religiouslie adozned, as the pagans left them be like in time of necessitie. These images were of sundrie mettals, and some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie covered, all which ornaments Edmerus toke awaie, and not onelie converted them to other use in his building, but also destroyed an innumerable sort of other idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and substances could do no service. He toke vp also sundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruets of stone and wood most artificiallie brought and carued, and that in such quantitie, besides infinite store of fine household stuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had bene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In proceeding further, he toke vp diuerse pots of gold, silver, brasse, glasse and earth, whereof some were filled with the ashes and bones of the gentils, the mouthes being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Spallingham in Norfolk, of six or eight gallons a pece, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which vessels the said abbat brake into peces, and melting the mettall, he reserved it in like sort for the garnishing of his church.

He found likewise in a stone wall two old booke, whereof one contained the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the martyrdome of saint Albane, both of them written in old British letters, which either because no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, sauing that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue bene found since that time, and diuerse within the memorie of man, of passing workmanship, the like whereof hath no others else bene scene in antie ruines within the compasse of this Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stuffe.

Furthermore, where as manie are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Werlume (afterward called Mere and the Spure) did and doth so still (whatsoener Gildas talketh here of, whose booke may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the river be now growne to be verie small by reason of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in manner the old course, and runneth betwene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmchirst crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are meadow beneath the abbaye, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the said river ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, whereas at this present it is verie slow, and of no such depth as of ancient times it hath bene. But heare what mine author saith further of the same. As those as of old workemen digged in these ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shels, peces of rustie anchors, and keeles of great vessels, whereupon some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderstanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioining to the north side of the citie, which laie then

(as some men thinke) unwalled, but that also is false. For being there vpon occasion this summer passed, I saw some remnant of the old walle standing in that place, which appeared to haue bene verie substantiall building; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be scene running along by the old chapel hard by in manner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the historie of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Wallwell street or there about; for so the view of the place both inforce me to coniecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corruptlie *Stagnum maximum* for *Stagnum maximum*) at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Misa in his time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also vntill the time of Alstyre the seventh abbat of that house, who, bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by excessive charges watred it so narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie (sauing that he reserved a chanel for the river to haue his small course, which he held by with high bankes) because there was alwaies contention betwene the monks and the kings seruants, which shewed on that water vnto the kings behoofe.

In these daies therefore remaineth no manner mention of this poole, but onelie in one street, which yet is called Hippole street, whereof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as seeke rather to yeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas should seeme to mistake this river.

Hauiing thus digressed to giue some remembrance of the old estate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would: holobeth the tale of our cities is scene found by the bishoppsikes, sixth euerie six hath such prerogative giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vse *regalem* within his owne limits. Which priuilege also is granted to sundrie ancient townes in England, especiallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these:

London.	Worcester.	Chester.
Yorke.	Glocester.	Chichester.
Canturburie.	Hereford.	Oxford.
Winchester.	Salisbury.	Peterborow.
Caileill.	Excester.	Landaffe.
Durham.	Bath.	S. Dauids.
Elie.	Lichfield.	Bangor.
Norwich.	Bristow.	S. Alaph.
Lincolne.	Rocheester.	

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall insue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologie be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed) than at this present. And this I note out of diuerse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glasseburie, Abbaddon, Ramseie, Elie, and such like) and whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. Leland in sundrie places complaineth likewise of the decate of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some six, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well

This found-
duty like a lie.

more at their first coming, yet since the first two hundred yeares after the latter conquest, they haue gone so fast againe to decaye, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated: Ranulph the monke of Chester tellety of generall surueie made in the fourth, sixteenth, & nineteenth of the reigne of William Conqueror, surnamed the Bastard, where in it was found, that (notwithstanding the Danes had overthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 towne, 45002 parish churches, and 75000 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreover that there were diuers other builded since that time, within the space of an hundred yeares after the coming of the Bastard, as it were in lieu or recompense of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forest. For by an old booke which I haue, and sometime writtten as it seemeth by an underthritte of Spottingham, I find, even in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parish churches, and but 60216 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the least 28000: for so small is the difference which he doth seeme to vse. Howbeit if the assertions of such as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you shall not find above 17000 towne and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforesaid number, if it be thoroughly scanned.

Certes this misfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto most of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the greedy desire of such as would lue alone and onelie to themselves. And hereof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writteth) was called Heraopolis, because it contained an hundred cities, but now it is so unfurnished that it may hardly be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus saith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which so decayed in procelle of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not above 3000: but in our daies both in all Asia & Aegypt this lesser number shall not verie readilie be found. In time past in Lincoln (as the same goeth) there haue bene two and fiftie parish churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogether to the church by appropriations made vnto monasteries and religious houses, a terrible canker and enemie to religion.

But to leaue this lamentable discourse of so notable and greuous an inconuenience, growing (as I said) by inroaching and joining of house to house, and lateng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houses either altogether pulled downe or suffered to decaye by little and little, although sometime a poore man peradventure doth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repare it, suffereth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himselfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground assigned vnto him whereon to keepe a cow, or wherein to set cabbages, radishes, parsneps, carrots, melons, pompons, or such like stuffe, by which he and his poore household liueth as by their principall food, with they can do no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themselves in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore estate God wot! Howbeit that care our great inrochers: But in diuers places where rich men dwelled sometime in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hopyards, and sheads for poles, or peradventure gardens, as we may see in castell Spottingham,

and diuerse other places. But to proceed.

It is so, that our soile being diuided into champaigne ground and woodland, the houses of the first be vniuersally builded in euerie towne together with streets and lanes, whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and most great market townes, there are commonlie three hundred or foure hundred families or mansions, & two thousand communicants, or peradventure more: so in the other, whether they be woodlands or champaigne, we find not often above fiftie, fiftie, or thre score households, and two or thre hundred communicants, whereof the greatest part neuertheless are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all manner of occupieng, with the ground of the parish is gotten by into a few mens hands, yea sometimes into the tenure of one, two or thre, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired seruantes vnto the other, or else to beg their bread in miserie from doore to doore.

There are some (saith Leland) which are not so honourable when they haue gotten such lands, as to let the houses remaine vpon them to the vse of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the soile to pull them downe for altogether, saieing that if they did let them stand, they should but toll beggers to the towne, thereby to surcharge the rest of the parish, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas these pitifull men see not that they themselves hereby do laie the greatest log vpon their neighbors necks. For sith the prince doth commonlie lose nothing of his duties accustomed to be paid, the rest of the parishioners that remaine must answer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, saieing; I am charged already with a light house, I am to answer in this sort and after that manner. And it is not yet altogether out of knowledge, that where the king had seven pounds thirtene shillings at a taks gathered of fiftie wealtheie householders of a parish in England: now a gentleman hauing thre parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure households do beare all the aforesaid payment, or else Leland is deceived in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he especiallie noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enomytie, both in the hart of the land and likewise vpon the coasts. Certes a great number complaine of the increase of pouertie, saieing the cause vpon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or want of waies that should consume them, affirming that the land was neuer so full, &c: but few men do see the verie root from whence it doth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they florished, and therefoze prescribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for overthrowing of nine and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of thre scors in Inde, where he did plant himselfe. I could (if need required) set downe in this place the number of religious houses and monasteries, with the names of their founders that haue bene in this land: but sith it is a thing of small importance, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herein I will commend sundrie of the monasticall votaries, especiallie monkes, for that they were authours of manie goodlie bozoues and endowares, nere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their conetous minds one waie in enlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent another, appeared herein too much. For being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought off great

great wickednesse, and made those endwaies little better than bodelhoules, especiallie where nunties were farre off, or else no safe accesse unto them. But what do I spend my time in the rehearfall of these filthineses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to have set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue vsed according to the shires, if I might haue brought it to passe.

Shires.	Market townes.	Parishes.
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without,		120
Surrie.	6	140
Suffex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Essex.	18	415

Of castels and holds.

Chap. 14.

I haue bene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels were cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countie: Nevertheless it seemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogether vnnecessfull. This also is apparant by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they haue bene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Salisbury I speake not, of Arwarpe I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to inuade upon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherein they may. For my part I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting thereon, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vterli denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthim affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a breeder of tyrants. Pyrrhus king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Athens, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the frendlie entertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they feare you to repent too late of your great gentleness. Caietan in his common-wealth hath finally no liking of them, as appereth in his eight booke

of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew that plentie we haue of them, which I will performe so far as shall be needfull.

There haue bene in times past great store of castels & places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so manie as them listd vpon their owne demesnes, hoping thereby that they would haue impleated their vs to his aduantag and commoditie. But finally when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselve in the end, than vsed in his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predecessour had suffered, and he himselve might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Wherefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to raze and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the meeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euery light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gaine saie manie of those proceedings, which he and his successours from time to time intended. Whereupon therefore he caused more than eleuen hundred of their said castels to be razed and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restrained. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained, haue decayed, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselves, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remoued: so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all maintained within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countie for the better keeping backe of the forren enimie, when soeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoy vs.

The most prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repaired most of such as were already standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For hauing shaken off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieng that the emperor was offended for his diuorce from quene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderstanding that the french king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes niece, and married his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect than safely to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small speed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieslie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduersaries, and vterli put off their hostile purpose of inuasion. But would to God he had cast his eie toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is done: albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much brieflie for my purpose at this present. For I need not to make anie long discourse of castels,

The best
keepers of
kingdomes.

fields, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged up as in a coope, and hedged in with stone walls, but rather to meet with his entrie in the plaine field at hand strokes, where he may trauaile his ground, choise his plot, and vse the benefit of sunne shine, wind and weather, to his best aduantage & commoditie. Ilocates also saith that towres, walles, bulwarkes, soldiers, and plenty of armour, are not the best keepers of kingdomes; but friends, loue of subiects, & obedience vnto martiall discipline, which they want that shew themselves either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for those tales that goe of Wesson castell, how it shall saue all England on a daie, and likewise the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that said in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fiftith yeare of his reigne:

If I were in my castell of Bungeie,

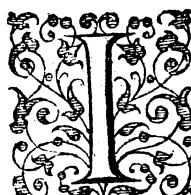
Vpon the water of Wauencie,

I wold worset a button by the king of Cockneie, I repute them but as toies, the first mere vaine, the second fondlie uttered if anie such thing were said, as manie other words are and haue bene spoken of like holts (as Wellingford, &c.) but now growen out of memorie, and with small losse not heard of among the common sort. Certes the castell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforesaid prince, the same yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and castell of Leicester, also the castels of Treske and Spalesar, appertaining to Roger Spowbate, and that of Fremmingham belonging likewise to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like sort take occasion to speake of sundrie strong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plenty here in England in the plaine fields: but I passe ouer to talke of any such needlesse discourses. This neuertheless concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one nere vnto Cambridge now Cogmagogs hill, was called Wintleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to saie the truth I haue often heard them named Wintleburie hilles, which difference may easilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewise is verie large and strong. The second is to be seene in the edge of Shropshire about two miles from Colins, betwene two riuers, the Clun or Colinus, and the Teme otherwile named Themis, wherunto there is no access but at one place. The Welchmen call it Caer Caradoc, and they are of the opinion, that Caradatus king of the Sillures was overcome there by Modorius, at such time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for succour, who betrayed him to the Romans, as you may see in Tacitus.

The wanders
in time
past were called
windles.

Of palaces belonging to the prince.

Chap. 15.



It lieth not in me to set down exactly the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, no: to make anie description of his graces court, sith my calling is and hath bene such, as that I haue scarce presumed to peep in at his gates, much lesse then haue I aduentured to search out and know the estate of those houses, and what magnificent behauiour is to be seene within them. Yet thus much will I saie generallie of all the houses and honours pertaining to his maiestie,

that they are builded either of square stone or bricke, or else of both. And therunto although their capacite and hugenesse be not so monstrous, as the like of diuerse foreign princes are to be seene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they so curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for constance of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of situation, which is not the least thing to be considered of in building. Those that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reueine to these daies the shew and image of the ancient kind of workmanship used in this land: but such as he erected after his owne deuise (for he was nothing inferior in this trade to Adrian the emperor and Justinian the laboguer) do represent another manner of paterne, which as they are supposed to exceed all the rest that be found standing in this realme, so they are and shall be a perpetuall president vnto those that do come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes masonrie did neuer better flourish in England than in his time. And albeit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses created in the sundrie quarters of this Island: yet they are rather curious to the eye like paper worke, than substantiall for continuance: whereas such as he did set up exceed in both, and therefore may iustlie be preferred farre aboue all the rest. The names of those which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reserved to his maiesties onelie vse at pleasure are these: for of such as are given awaie I speake not, neither of those that are vnterlie decayed, as Baintards castell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Baintard, whose wife Inga builded the priorie of little Downemow in the daies of Henrie the first; neither of the towre roiall there also, &c: sith I see no cause wherefore I should remember them and manie of the like, of whose verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of such I saie therefore as I erst mentioned, we haue first of all White hall at the west end of London (which is taken for the most large & principall of all the rest) was first a lodging of the archbishops of Poike, then pulled downe, begun by cardinal Wolseie, and finally enlarged and finished by king Henrie the eight. By east of this standeth Durham place, sometime belonging to the bishops of Durham, but converted also by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerfet place I speake not, yet if the first beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and goodlie duke of Summerfet) had liued, I doubt not but it should haue bene well finished and brought to a sumptuous end: but as untimelie death tooke him from that house & from vs all, so it proued the fraie of such proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it cometh to passe that it standeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and house of munition, and therunto a place for the safekeeping of offenders, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to sojourne in. Yet in times past I find that Welline held his aboad there, and therunto extended the site of his palace in such wise, that it stretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in so much that it approached nere to Wellines gate, & as it is thought some of the ruines of his house are yet extant, howbeit patched up and made warehousen in that tract of ground in our times. S. James sometime a nonrie, was builded also by the same prince. His grace hath also Oteland, Alhidge, Hatfield, Hawering, Enueld, Eltham, Langley, Richmond builded by Henrie the first, Hampton court (begun sometime by cardinal Wolseie, and finished by his father) and therunto Woodstocke, erected by king S. J. Henrie

King Hen. 8.
not inferior to
Adrian and
Justinian.

white hall.

S. James,

Oteland.
Alhidge.
Hatfield.
Enueld.
Richmond.
Hampton.
Woodstocke.

Henrie the first, in which the quenes maiestie delighteth greatlie to sojourne, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captiuitie, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

For strength Windsor or Winsor is supposed to be the chiefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Artragus, as it is thought, and repaired by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successours haue bestowed exceeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quenes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed vpon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building used in our daies, which is moze for pleasure than for either profit or safeguard. Such also hath bene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie bene interred there, but also made it the chiefe house of assembly, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land moze magnificent and statelie.

Greenwich. Greenwich was first builded by Humfreie duke of Glocester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the tyme of Henrie the first, and called Pleasance. Afterwards it was greatlie enlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finally made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie pleasure of his tyme for fine and curious masonrie.

Dartford. Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, sometime a nonnerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, whereunto it was also conuerted by k. Henrie the eight. Eltham. (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these mozeouer diuerse other. But that shall I need to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the quenes maiestie hath; all is hers, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreat hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons injured by hir brutish officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where she continueth during pleasure, and till she returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

Of the court. The court of England, which necessarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowned and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the interteinement of such strangers as daile resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall thereunto, much lesse one excelling it in anie manner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceived of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable posts, of such graue counsellors, and noble personages, as giue their daile attendance vpon the quenes maiestie there. I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautiful vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betwene whose amiable countenances and comelinesse of attyre, there seemeth to be such a daile conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare auaile the prebeminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speeches, beside an excellent being of waiting before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersa-

tions were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best learned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how manie gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Greeke and Latine tonges, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanishe, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: with I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen do surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting!

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court doe shun and auoid idlenesse, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in cawlwooke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuing all reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or foren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine tong, whilst the yongest sort in the meane time applie their lutes, cittharnes, picche-long, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are free from attendance vpon the quenes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerye and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises pertaining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such manner of dealing, least I should seeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them.ouertheless this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are curing in something wherby they keepe themselves occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the portingall is their chiefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearks of the kitchen, who vseth (by a trick taken by of late) to giue in a briefe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper table: which bill some doe call a memorisall, or ther a billet, but some a fillet, because such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whether am I digressed?

I might finally describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and thereunto the great plentie of gold and siluer plate, the severall pates wherof are commonlie so great and masse, and the quantitie therof so abundantlie seruing all the household, that (as I suppose) Cyrus, Cresus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Iudas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no moze, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be scene and vset. But I passe ouer to make such needlesse discourses, resolving my selfe, that euen in this also, as in all the rest, the exceeding merrie and louing kindnesse of God doth wonderfullie appere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefites.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epistle *Ad aulicum quendam*

English courtiers best knowe the South Sea.

Crat
Atten

*dam, faith thus: An non in inferno es omne, qui es in as-
la, ubi demonum habitatio est, qui illic suis artibus humana
licet effugit regnant, atque ubi scelerum schola est, & anima-
rum infortuna ingenis, ac quicquid viciam est perfidia ac doli,
quicquid crudelitatis & inclementie, quicquid effrenate super-
bie, & rapacis auaricie, quicquid obscene libidinis, fedissimæ
impudicitie, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum pessimi-
rum, totum illic æternatur cumulatissimè, ubi supra, rapus,
incestus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi sunt, ubi
fastus & tumor, ira, liuor, sedæque cupido cum socijs suis
imperauit, ubi criminum omnium procellæ virtutumque om-
niū inenarrabile naufragium, &c. In such great princes
courts (I saie) it is a world to see what lewd behaui-
our is vsed among diuerse of those that resort vnto
the same, and what vnhouedome, swearing, ribaldrie,
atheisme, dicing, carding, carotising, drunkennesse,
gluttonie, quareling, and such like inconueniencies
do daillie take hold, and sometimes euen among
those, in whose estates the like behauiour is least
conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which say
that the thing increaseth and groweth in the courts
of princes sauing vertue, which in such places doth
languish and daillie vade away) all which enormities
are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of Eng-
land, or else so qualified by the diligent endeavour of
the chiefe officers of hir graces household, that sel-
dome are any of these things apparantlie seene
there, without due reprehension, and such seuerẽ cor-
rection as belongeth to those trespasses. Finallie to
auoid idleness, and prevent sundrie transgressions,
otherwise likelie to be committed and done, such or-
der is taken, that euery office hath either a bible, or
the booke of the acts and monuments of the church
of England, or both, beside some histories and chroni-
cles lieng therein, for the exercise of such as come in-
to the same: whereby the stranger that entereth into
the court of England vpon the sudden, shall rather
imagine himselfe to come into some publike schole
of the vniuersities, where manie giue eare to one
that readeth, than into a princes palace, if you con-
ferre the same with those of other nations. Would
to God all honorable personages would take exam-
ple of hir graces goodlie dealing in this behalfe, and
shew their conformitie vnto these hir so good begin-
nings: which if they would, then should manie grie-
uous offenses (whereof God is highlie displeased)
be cut off and restrained, which now doe reigne exor-
dinglie, in most noble and gentlemen's houses, where
of the see no paterne within hir graces gates.*

I might speake here of the great traines and
troops of serving men also, which attend vpon the
nobilitie of England in their seuerall liueries, and
with differences of cognisances on their sleeves,
whereby it is knownen to whome they appertene. I
could also set downe what a goodlie sight it is to see
them muster in the court, which being filled with
them doth yeeld the contemplation of a noble va-
riety vnto the beholder, much like to the shew of the
peacocks taile in the full beautie, or of some medow
garnished with infinit kinds and diuersitie of plea-
sant flowers. But I passe over the rehearfall hereof
to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification
than I, and seeke to be more curious in these points
than I proffesse to be.

The discipline of firme peace also that is mainte-
ned within a certeine compasse of the princes pa-
lace, is such, as is nothing inferiour to that we see
daillie practised in the best gouerned holds & fortres-
ses. And such is the seuerẽ punishment of those that
strike within the limits prohibited, that without all
hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, or sanctuarie, they
are sure to lose their right hands at a stroke, and that
in verie solemne maner, the forme whereof I will
set downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to

deale with other matters.

At such time therefore as the partie transgressing
is conuicted by a sufficient inquest impanelled for
the same purpose, and the time come of the execution
of the sentence, the sergeant of the kings wood-yard
prouideth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some
appointed place, and therewithall a great batle, sta-
ple, and cords, wherewith to fasten the hand of the of-
fendor vnto the said blocke, untill the whole circum-
stance of his execution be performed. The yeoman
of the scullarie likewise for the time being, doth pro-
vide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, where-
in the searing irons are to be made readie against
the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall
occupie the same. Vpon him also doth the sergeant
or chiefe farrow attend with those irons, whose of-
fice is to deliuer them to the said surgeon when he
shall be readie by searing to vse the same. The groom
of the salarie for the time being or his deputie is fur-
thermore appointed to be readie with vineger and
cold water, and not to depart from the place untill
the arme of the offendor be bound vp and fullie dress-
ed. And as these things are thus prouided, so the ser-
geant surgeon is bound from time to time to be rea-
die to execute his charge, and seare the stump, when
the hand is taken from it. The sergeant of the cellar
is at hand also with a cup of red wine, and likewise
the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread
to giue vnto the said partie after the execution done,
and the stump seared, as the sergeant of the eluerie
is with clothes, wherein to wind and wrap vp the
arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to
late vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with seared
cloths, and finallie the maister cooke or his deputie
with a sharpe dressing knife, which he deliuereth at
the place of execution to the sergeant of the larder,
who doth hold it vpight in his hand, untill the execu-
tion be performed by the publike officer appointed
therevnto. And this is the maner of punishment
ordained for those that strike within the princes pa-
lace, or limits of the same. Which should first haue
bene executed on sir Edmund Beuelet, in the yeare
1541. But when he had made great sute to saue his
right hand for the further service of the king in his
warres, and willinglie yielded to forgo his left, in
the end the king pardoned him of both, to no small
benefit of the offendor, and publication of the bounti-
full nature that remained in the prince. The like pri-
uilege almost is giuen to churches and churchyards,
although in maner of punishment great difference
do appere. For he that batteth or quarelleth in either
of them, is by and by suspended *Ab ingressu ecclesie*, vn-
till he be absolued: as he is also that striketh with the
fist, or lateth violent hands vpon any whome so euer.
But if he happen to smite with staffe, dagger, or any
maner of weapon, & the same be sufficientlie found
by the verdict of twelue men at his arraignment,
beside excommunication, he is sure to lose one of
his eares without all hope of release. But if he be
such a one as hath bene twice condemned and execu-
ted, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he mar-
ked with an hot iron vpon the cheeke, and by the letter
F, which is seared deepe into his flesh, he is from
thenceforth noted as a common barratour and fraie
maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate,
till by repentance he deserue to be absolued. To
strike a cleark also (that is to saie) a minister, is
plaine excommunication, and the offendor not to be
absolued but by the prince or his especiall commission.
Such also is the generall estate of the excommunicate
in euery respect, that he can yeeld no testimonie in a-
ny matter so long as he so standeth. No bargain or
sale that he maketh is auailable in law, neither any
of his acts whatsoeuer pleadable, whereby he liueth as
a y.

Striking
within the
court and
palace of the
prince.

Craines of
attendants.

an outlaw & a man altogether out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of felonie.

Of armour and munition.

Chap. 16.

How well our stronglie our countrie hath bene furnished in times past with armour and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my selfe to make reherfall: Yet that it lacked both in the late time of queen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but also the talke of certaine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue some manifest notice. Upon the first I need not stand, for set to will denie it: For the second I haue heard, that when one of the greatest paires of Spaine espied our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnlie utter in no obscure place, that it should be an easie matter in short time to conquer England, because it wanted armour, his words were then not so rashly uttered, as they were politike noted. For albeit that for the present time their efficacy was dissembled, and semblance made as though he spake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gracions quene vnto the possession of the crowne, they were so poudentlie called to remembrance, and such speedy reformation sought of all hands for the redresse of this inconuenience, that our countrie was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the maine (beside great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enemies could get vnderstanding of anie such prouision to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open friends being now become our secret enemies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue some beaute exploit against vs and our countrie, did thereupon change their purposes, whereby England obtained rest, that otherwise might haue bene sure of sharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spanish word uttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at the least wise hindered sundrie priue practises of manie at another. In times past the cheefe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we haue in manner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in deed do practise to shot compass for our pastime: which kind of shooting can neuer yeeld anie smart stroke, nor beat downe our enemies, as our countrie men were wont to do at euerie time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Dutchers deciding our new archerie in respect of their cozzets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tayles and crie; Shote English, and all because our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breach of such a varlet should haue bene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other feathered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to see who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vtterlie decayed among vs one waie, so our countrie men were skilfull in sundrie other points, as in shooting in small peeces, the caluer, and handling of the pike, in the severall uses thereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other na-

tions, and therefore consisteth of cozzets, almaine riuets, shirts of maille, sackes quilted and covered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are sowed in the same, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one severall place of euerie towne, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is alwaies ready to be had and twome within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the same, or finally to see those that are inrolled to exercise each one his severall weapon, at the charge of the townesmen of each parish according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poore in England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readinesse to set forth thre or foure soldiors, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the least. So there is not so much wanting as their verie liertes and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if anie hast required: so that if this good order may continue, it shall be impossible for the sudden enemy to find vs unprouided. As for able men for seruice, thanked be God, we are not without good store, for by the numbers taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 112674, and yet were they not so narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left unbilled and uncalled. What store of munition and armour the quenes maiestie hath in hir storehouses, it lieth not in me to yeeld account, sith I suppose the same to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie said after the losse of Calis, that England should neuer recover the store of ordinance there left and lost: that same is at this time proued false, sith euen some of the same persons do now confesse, that this land was neuer better furnished with these things in anie kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

The names of our greatest ordinance are commonlie these.

Robinet, whose weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth five hundred pounds, and his boldnesse is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion posseth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath thre inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fiftene hundred poundes, and is thre inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth thre thousand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath foure thousand pounds, and five inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon six thousand pounds, and six inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon seauen thousand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seauen inches within the mouth.

Basiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and thre quarters within the mouth. By which proportions also it is easie to come by the weight of euerie shot, how manie scopes it doth sle at point blanke, how much powder is to be had to the same, & finally how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

The

Mali mafi
our Master.

The names of the greatest ordinance.	Weight of the shot.	Scoyes of cariage.	Pounds of pouder.	Height of bullet.
Rebinet.	1. li.	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
Falconet.	2. li.	14	2	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Falcon.	2. $\frac{1}{2}$.	16	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Minion.	4. $\frac{1}{2}$.	17	$4\frac{1}{2}$	3
Sacre.	5	18	5	$3\frac{1}{4}$
Demie Culuerijn.	9	20	9	4
Culuerijn.	18	25	18	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Demie canon.	30	38	28	$6\frac{1}{4}$
Canon.	60	20	44	$7\frac{1}{4}$
E. Canon.	42	20	20	6
Basiliske.	60	21	60	$8\frac{1}{4}$

I might here take lust occasion to speake of the
princers armozes. But what shall it ned: sith the
whole realme is hir armozie, and therefore hir fur-
niture infinit. The Turke had one gun made
by one Dhan a Dane, the casser of his ordinance,
which could not be drawen to the siege of Constan-
tinople, but by seauentie yokes of oxen, and two
thousand men; he had two other there also whose shot
poised about two talents in weight, made by the
same Dhan. But to proceed. As for the armozes
of some of the nobilitie (whereof I also haue seene a
part) they are so well furnished, that within some
one barons custodie I haue seene thre scoye o: a
hundred coxlets at once, beside caluiers, hand-
guns, betwes, sheffes of arrowes, pikes, bills, pol-
ares, flakkes, touchbores, targets, &c: the verie sight
therof appalled my courage. What would the wea-
ring of some of them do then (trow you) if I should
be enforced to vse one of them in the field: But
thanked be God, our peaceable daies are such, as no
man hath anie gre:at cause to occupie them at all,
but onelie taketh good leisure to haue them in a rea-
dinesse, and the refoze both high and lowe in Eng-
land

Cymbala pro galeis pro sinu tympana pulsant.

I would write here also of our maner of going
to the warres, but what hath the long blacke golwne
to do with glittering armour: what sound acquain-
tance can there be betwixt spars and the shules:
o: how should a man write anie thing to the pur-
pose of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted:
This neuerthelesse will I adde of things at home,
that seldome shall you see anie of my countreymen
about eightene o: tynente yeres old to go without
a dagger at the least at his backe o: by his side, al-
though they be aged burgeses o: magistrates of a
nie citie, who in apperance are most exempt from
bhabling and contention. Our nobilitie weare com-
monlie swords o: rapiers with their daggers, as
doth euery common seruicg man also that follow-
eth his lord and master. Some desperate cutters we
haue in like sort, which carrie two daggers o: two
rapiers in a sheath allwaies about them, wherewith
in cuerie dyonken fraie they are knowen to worke
much mischief: their swords & daggers also are of a
gre:at length, and longer than the like used in anie
other countre, wherby ech one pretendeth to haue
the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie
orders haue bene taken for the intollerable length
of these weapons, so I see as yet small redresse: but
where the cause thereof doth rest, in sooth for my part
I wote not. I might here speake of the excessiue
flaues which diuerse that trauell by the waie do car-
rie vpon their shoulders, wherof some are twelue
o: thirtene foote long, beside the pike of twelue in-
ches: but as they are commonlie suspected of ho-
nest men to be theenes and robbers, o: at the least
wisse scarce true men which beare them; so by reason
of this and the like suspicious weapons, the honest
traveller is now enforced to ride with a caie of daga

at his saddle bow, o: with some pretie short snapper,
wherby he may deale with them further off in his
owne defense before he come within the danger of
these weapons. Finally, no man trauelleth by the
waie without his sword, o: some such weapon, with
vs; except the minister, who commonlie weareth none
at all, vnlesse it be a dagger o: hanger at his side.
Seldome also are they o: anie other walfaring men
robbed without the consent of the chamberleine,
tapster, o: ostler where they bait & lie, who failing at
their alighting whether their capcases o: budgets be
of anie weight o: not, by taking them doane from
their saddles, o: otherwise see their store in draweing
of their purses, do by and by giue intimation to some
one o: other attendant bailie in the pard o: house, o:
dwelling hard by vpon such matches, whether the
preie be worth the following o: no. If it be for their
turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is asked
which waie he trauelleth, and whether it please him
to haue another ghest to beare him companie at
supper, who rideth the same waie in the morning
that he doth, o: not. And thus if he admit him o:
be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe
wrought. And often it is seene that the new ghest
shall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out
the matter and keepe him from suspicion. Some-
times when they knowe which waie the passen-
ger trauelleth, they will either go before and lie in
wait for him, o: else come galloping apace after,
wherby they will be sure, if he ride not the stronger,
to be fingering with his purse. And these are some
of the policies of such thre wos o: close booted gentle-
men as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies,
and which are most commonlie practised in the win-
ter season about the feast of Christmas, when ser-
uing men and vnchristie gentlemen want monie to
plate at the dice and cards, lewdlie spending in such
wise whatsoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till
some of them sharplie set vpon their cheuillances, be
trussed by in a Liburne tippet, which happeneth vnto
them commonlie before they come to middle age.
Wherby it appereth that some sort of youth will off
haue his swinge, although it be in a halter.

I might also intreat of our old maner of warfare
used in and before the time of Cesar, when as the
cheefe byunt of our sight was in *Effedis* o: wagons;
but this I also passe ouer, noting neuerthelesse out
of Propertius, that our said wagons were gorgeous
and gailie painted, which he setteth to wone in these
four verles insuing, *Arctonise ad Lycotam, lib. 4.
eleg. 3.*

*Te modo viderunt iteratos Baetra per ortus,
Te modo munito Sericus hostis equo,
Hibernique Getae, p: f:oque Britannia curru,
Pisus & Eoa discolor Indus aqua.*

Of the nauie of England.

Chap. 17.



Here is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their names: wherein, whether I consider their speedie building, or great number of ships which some one kingdome or region possessed at one instant; it giueth me still occasion, either to suspect the historie, or to thinke that in our times we come herie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ship growing on the stub, and sailing on the sea within the space of five and fiftie daies? And yet such a nauie was to be seene in the first war of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres also against Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ships bare lease & saile within five and fortie daies. In the second warre of Carthage the nauie that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and seene to saile on the sea fullie furnished in fire werkes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth seme to be false and impossible. In like manner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one skirmish on the sea the Romans lost seauen hundred vessels, which bare ech of them five rowes of oars on a side, and the Carthaginienes five hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of these vessels were not altogether correspondent to our ships and gallies made in these daies: yet the capacitee of most of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; so that if one of their biremes onlie contained so much in burden as a ship of ours of six hundred tun: what shall we thinke of those which had seauen rowes of oars walking on a side? But least I should seme to speake more of these foren things than the course of the historie doth permit without licence to digresse: giue me leave (I beseech the gentle reader) to waide yet a little further in the report of these ancient formes & kinds of vessels. For albeit that the discourse hereof maketh little to the description of our present nauie in England: yet shall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleasant to such as shall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It shall not be amisse therefore to begin at the nauie of Herres, of which ech meane vessel (as appereth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie souldiers, and some of them thre hundred. These were called triremes, and were indede gallies that had thre rowes of oars on euerie side; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied so well to the gallie as ship, as to the conuerfant in histories is easie to be found. In old time also they had gallies of foure rowes, five rowes, six, seauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fiftene rowes of oars on a side; iudge you then of what quantitie those vessels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damasthenes to be the first maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Aminocles of Corinth; the quadriremes were deuised by Aristocle of Carthage; the quinqwiremes by Pessichthon of Salamina; the gallie of six rowes by Enagoras of Syracusa: from this to the tenth Pessigiton brought by Alexander the great caused one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fiftene; Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Crispon of fiftie: all which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion)

than untweldie carts, and more seruing for pleasure and to gaze vpon, than anie vse in the wars for which they should be deuised. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptol. Philopater builded, containing 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in bzeath: it held also seute thousand oars, foure hundred mariners, and thre thousand souldiers, so that in the said vessel were seauen thousand and foure hundred persons: a report incredible, if truth and good testimonie did not confirme the same. I must needs confesse therefore, that the ancient vessels far exceeded ours for capacitee: neuertheless if you regard the forme, and the assurance from perill of the sea, and therewithall the strength and nimblenesse of such as are made in our time, you shall easilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greatest vessel is not alwaies the safest, so that of most huge capacitee is not alwaies the aptest to shift and bwoke the seas: as might be seene by the great Henric, the hugest vessel that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building aboue the water (for of low gallies in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, sith time hath ingendred more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpose at the first intended.

The nauie of England may be diuided into thre sortes, of which the one serueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their liuing by fishing on the sea. How manie of the first order are mainteined within the realme, it passeth my cunning to expresse; yet sith it may be parted into the nauie roiall and common fleet, I thinke good to speake of those that belong vnto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowine to vertie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful or gallant sort of ships than the quenes maiestie of England at this present, and those generally are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with thre or foure of those of other countries, and either botoge them or put them to flight, if they may not bzing them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie foren barkes so conuenientlie made, to bwoke so well one sea as another lieng vpon the thore in anie part of the continent as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselves is dallie confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimblenesse and swiftnesse of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custodie of the admerall, who is so called (as some imagine) of the Greeke word *Almiras* a capiteine on the sea, for so saith Zonaras in *Basilio Macedone*. *Basilio Porphyrogenito*, though other fetch it from *Ad mare* the Latine words, another sort from *Amyras* the Saracen magistrat, or from some French derivation: but these things are not for this place, and therefore I passe them ouer. The quenes highnesse hath at this present (which is the foure and twentieth of hir reigne) alreadie made and furnished, to the number of foure or five and twentie great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham rode, beside thre gallies, of whose particular names and furnitures (so far forth as I can come by them) it shall not be amisse to make report at this time.

The names of so manie ships belonging to hir maiestie as I could come by at this present.

The Bonadventure.	Forefight.
Elizabeth Ionas.	Swift lute.
White Beare.	Aid.
Philip and Marie.	Handmaid.
Triumph.	Dread nought.
Bull.	Swallow.
Tiger.	Genet.
Antlope.	Barke of Bullen.
Hope.	Adiates.
Lion.	Falcon.
Victorie.	George.
Marie Rose.	Reuenge.

It is said, that as kings and princes haue in the young daies of the world, and long since framed themselves to erect euerie yeare a citie in some one place or other of their kingdoms (and no small wonder that Sardanapalus should begin & finish two, to wit, Anchialus and Tharsus in one daie) so hir grace doth yearelie build one ship or other to the better defence of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no assured certaintie, so it shall suffice to haue said so much of these things: yet this I thinke worthy further to be added, that if they should all be diuinen to serue at one instant (which God forbid) they should haue a power by sea of about nine or ten thousand men, which were a notable company, beside the supplie of other vessels appertaining to hir subjects to furnish by hir volage.

Beside these hir grace hath other in hand also, of whom hereafter as their turnes do come about, I will not let to leave some further remembrance. She hath likewise three notable galleies: the Speed well, the Erie right, and the Blacke gallie, with the sight whereof and rest of the naue roiall, it is incredible to say how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cause (I saie) sith by their meanes hir coasts are kept in quiet, and sundrie foren enimies put backe, which otherwise would inuade vs. The number of those that serue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention already, and whose vse is dailye seene, as occasion serueth, in time of the warres, is to me utterly unknowne. Yet if the report of one record be any thing at all to be credited, there are 135 ships that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnder 100 and aboue fortie 656: hoies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fisherboats, and craters, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iust account, sith they are hardlie to come by. Of these also there are some of the quenes maiesties subjects that haue two or three, some foure or six, and (as I heard of late) one man whose name I suppress for modesties sake, hath bene knowne not long since to haue had sixtene or seventene, and employed them wholie to the waiking in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no small commoditie and gaine. I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult volages made into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their darlie success there: but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surceale to speake of them. Onelie this will I ad, to the end all men shall vnderstand somewhat of the great masses of treasure dailye employed vpon our naue, how there are fello of those ships, of the first and second sort, that being apparelled and made readie to sale, are not worth one thousand pounds, or three thousand dwats at the least, if they should presentlie be sold. What shall we thinke then of the greater, but especially of the naue roiall, of which some one vessel is worth two of the other, as the shipwrights haue often

told me: It is possible that some couetous person hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or suppose monie so employed to be nothing profitable to the quenes coffers: as a good husband said once when he hard there should be provision made for armour, wishing the quenes monie to be rather laid out to some speedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, because the realme (saith he) is in case good enough, and so peradventure he thought. But if as by force of armour for the defense of the countrie, he had likewise vnderstanded that the good keeping of the sea, is the safeguard of our land, he would haue altered his censure, and some giuen ouer his iudgement. For in times past, when our nation made small account of nauigation, how soon did the Romans, then the Saxons, & last of all the Danes inuade this Island: whose crueltie in the end enforced our countermen, as it were euen against their wills, to provide for ships from other places, and build at home of their owne, where by their enimies were oftentimes distressed. But most of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a short processe of time after the conquest of this Island, and good consideration had for the well keeping of the same, they supposed nothing more commodious for the defense of the countrie, than the maintenance of a strong naue, which they speedilie provided, maintained, and thereby reaped in the end their wished securitie, where with before their times this Island was neuer acquainted. Before the coming of the Romans, I do not read that we had any ships at all, except a few made of wicker and covered with buffle hides, like vnto the which there are some to be seene at this present in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betwene them. Of the same also Solinus speaketh, so far as I remember: neuertheless it may be gathered by his words, how the upper parts of them about the water onelie were framed of the said wickers, and that the Britons did vse to fast all the whiles they went to the sea in them: but whether it were done for policie or superstition, as yet I do not read.

The Britons fasted all the while they were at the sea in these ships.

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had some ships also, but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpose, so Egbert was the first prince that ener thoughtlie began to know this necessitie of a naue, and vse the service thereof in the defense of his countrie. After him also other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: increased more and more to store themselves at the full with ships of all quantites, but chieslie Edgar, for he provided a naue of 1600 alias 3600 saile, which he diuided into foure parts, and sent them to abide vpon foure sundrie coasts of the land to keepe the same from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthy to be remembered) is Ethelred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, should find a ship furnished to serue him in the warres. Holobert, and as I said before, when all their name was at the greatest, it was not comparable for force and sure building, to that which afterward the Normans provided; neither that of the Normans any thing like to the same that is to be seene now in these our daies. For the tourneies also of our ships, you shall vnderstand, that a well builded vessel will run or saile commonly three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a weeke, or peradventure some will go 2200 leagues in six weekes and an halfe. And suerlie, if their lading be readie against they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the west Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirtene weekes from Colchester; although the said Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornetwall, as I haue bene informed. This also I vnderstand

The description of England.

by report of some travellers, that if anie of our vessels happen to make a voyage to Hispaniola or new Spaine, called in time past Quincezia and Haiti, and lye betweene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies sailing or two hundred and fiftie leagues from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornwall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie matter, beside the safetie and quietnesse in the passage. But moze of this elswhere.

Of faires and markets.

Chap. 18.

There are (as I take it) few great towne in England, that haue not their weeklie markets, one or moze granted from the prince, in which all manner of prouision for household is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Whereby as it cometh to passe that no buier shall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his necessities: so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to seeke for the highest prices, which commonlie are nere unto great cities, where round and speediest utterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue bene in times past created for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intended in them, as the benefit of the seller. Neither are the magistrats for the most part (as men loth to displease their neighbours for their own priuate dignitie) so carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they should be. For in most of these markets neither assises of bread nor orders for goodnesse and sweetnesse of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whitt looked vnto; but each one suffered to sell or let by what and how himselfe listeth: & this is one euident cause of dearth and scarcitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, sith it is rare to see in anie countrie towne (as I said) the assise of bread well kept according to the statute. And yet if anie countrie better happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honest poore man, whom the law of nations do commend, for that he indouneeth to live by anie lawfull meanes, is giuen a waie, and no moze to come there vpon some round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are so nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the same, there is such headie ale & beere in most of them, as for the mightinesse thereof among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called huffercap, the mad dog, father whose sonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, stride wide, and list leg, &c. And this is moze to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled conscience, after he had considered well of his reachlesse life, and dangerous estate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him straightwaie to the strongest ale, as to the next physician. It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liqueur, euen as pigs should lie in a coln, lugging at their dancous feats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus sucke their the wolfe or shepheards wiffe Lupa, with such eger

and sharpe deuotion, as these men haue at huffercap, till they be red as cecches, & little wiser than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse? In returning therefore vnto my purpose, I find that in coine great abuse is daily suffered, to the great piniadice of the towne and countrie, especially the poore artificer and householder, which filletly no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a bushell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: because bodgers, lodgers, and common carriers of coine do not onlie buie by all, but giue about the price, to be serued of great quantites. Shall I go anie further? Well I will saie yet a little moze, and somewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmasse time poore men must make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie by that which the poore bring, vnder pretense of seed coine, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, because one wheat often sown without change of seed, will some decaie and be conuerted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promising there if they happen to be espied (which God wot is verie seldom) to send so much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this shal serue not (neither doth the for ble alwaies one trache for feare of a snare) they will compound with some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huffercap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon some forged surmise, which being done, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lotts, and then if he can do any good for himselfe so it is, if not, they will giue him somewhat for his paines at this time, & reserve him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders stumble vpon blind crickets at the sea coast, I wote not well; but that some haue so done and yet do vnder other mens wings, the case is too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? pra though it be but to serue a meane gentlemans house with coine, who hath cast by all his tillage, because he boasteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can sow his land, as the rich graffer often doth also vpon the like deuise, because graffing requireth a smaller household and lesse attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a bushell or two for his expenses vnto the market crosse, answer is made; for soth here was one euen now that had me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to saie the truth, these bodgers are safre chapmen, for there are no moze words with them, but Let me see it, what shall I giue you, knit it by, I will haue it, go carie it to such a chamber, and if you bring in twentie seme moze in the weeke daie to such an Inne or Sollar where I laie my coine, I will haue it and giue you pence or moze in euerie bushell for six weekes day of payment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beate a waie all, so that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouision in the markets, sith they will hardlie now adaies sell by the bushell, nor breake their measure; and so much the rather, for that the buier will loke (as they saie) for so much ouer measure in a bushell as the bodger will do in a quarter. Pate the poore man cannot off get anie of the farmer at home, because he prouideth altogether to serue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and insatiable desire of gaine, that the sale will be better in the market: so that he must giue

Suborned bodgers.

Bodgers incensed.

giue two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house than the last market craued, or else go without it, and sleepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of coine ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone but needs must iointly other prouision withall, whereby not onlie our friends abroad, but also manie of our aduersaries and countreimen the papists are abundantlie relieved (as the report goeth) but sith I see it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth. Vnto returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for need of monie, being readie peradventure to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of coine in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue thesed little or none of their owne, but bought by of other men, so much as they could come by. Vncesforth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an horseload at the most, therby to be seene to keepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus coine wareth here, but it will be dearer the next market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare ensuing, as men supposing that coine will be little worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. For they haue certeine superstitious obseruations, where by they will giue a gesse at the sale of coine for the yeare following. And our countreimen doe vse commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Whithelms daie, and for wheat as it is sold in seed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flocks of cranes that flie southward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Januarie, & such other apish toles, as by lating twelue coines by on the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: where by they shew themselves to be scant good christians, but what care they so they may come by monie? Hereupon also will they thesed out thre parts of the old coine, toward the latter end of the summer, when new cometh apace to hand, and cast the same in the fourth vnto thesed, where it shall lie vntill the next spring, or peradventure till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not deintie to see mustie coine in manie of our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring forth when they can keepe it no longer. But as they are enforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somewhat to abate the price, so a plague is not seldome ingendred thereby among the poore sort that of necessitie must buie the same, whereby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not by their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will seeme to haue but small store left in their barnes: for else they will giue their theues by the hand, and strake it by of new in lesse come, to the end it may not onlie seeme lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the coine that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their owne price, then will they set it by in some friends house, against an other or the third daie, & not bring it forth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be dearer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthe redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eyes that deale thus, to see their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore

men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie a swate the gaine.

It is a world also to see how most places of the realme are pestered with purueiours, who take by eggs, butter, cheese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, baskon, &c: in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, & suffer their wares to sell the same in another, or to puluers of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or thre market daies, then we may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonable sold, and therevnto the crosse sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such sorte, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were enforced to bring it to the market to sell, a fewer of these butter buiers were stirring, our butter was scarce worth eightene pence the gallon, that now is worth thre shillings foure pence, & perhaps fise shillings. Whereby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessive: for one of them doe commonlie vse to out bid another. And which our countreie commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I neuer looke to see this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is euen enough, & more peradventure than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespass. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a severall bushell, and the lesser it be, the more sellers it dealeth to resort vnto the same. Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaie so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall be either too big or too little at their next coming, and yet not depart without a fee at the first: so that what by their mending at one time and empairing the same at another, the countreie is greatlie charged, and fewe just measures to be had in anie stead. It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vncconscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, & another to buie withall, the like is also in weights and yet all sealed and bonded. Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be moued in this land. Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent coine vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the greedinesse of the appointed receiueurs thereof) fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Whereby some peece of monie must needs passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the coine; Thou art worthe to lose thy lease, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie and no coine, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs indueth to flie and eat by another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthe to be looked vnto, and that is the recarriage of graine from the same into loks and follars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie or clearke of the said market

to make sale thereof according to his discretion, without libertie to the farmer to set up their corne in houses and chambers, I am perswaded that the prices of our graine would soon be abated. Against, if it were enacted that each one should keepe his next market with his graine, and not to run six, eight, ten, fourtene, or twenty miles from home to sell his corne, where he doth find the highest price, and thereby leaue his neighbours unfurnished, I do not thinke but that our markets would be farre better serued than at this present they are. Finally if mens barths might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after haruest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some appointed & trustie person for that purpose, we should haue much more plentie of corne in our towne crosses than as yet is commonlie seene: because each one hideth and hoordeth what he may upon purpose either that it will be dearer, or that he shall haue some priuie beine by bodgers, who do accom-
 10 ablie so deale, that the sea doth load awaie no small part thereof into other countries & our enemies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except some reue-
 20 die be found. But what do I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of bodgers being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as feeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuertheless I speake generallie in each of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold necessarie for mans use, and there is our prouision made commonlie for all the weeke in-
 30 suing. Therefore as there are no great townes with-
 out one weekelie market at the least, so there are be-
 rie few of them that haue not one or two faires or
 more within the compasse of the yeate assigned vnto
 them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are
 not much better than Louse faire or the common
 hirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not
 inferior to the greatest marts in Europe, as Stur-
 40 bridge faire nere to Cambridge, Wiltshir faire,
 Bartholomew faire at London, Lin in mart, Cold
 faire at Petuport pond for cattell, and diuerse other,
 all which or at leastwise the greatest part of them (to
 the end I may with the more ease to the reader and
 lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my taske in their re-
 50 tail) I haue set downe, according to the names of
 the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of
 this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I bo-
 rowed the same from I. Stow, and the reports of o-
 thers.

Of Parkes and Warrens.

Chap. 19.

In euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred
 60 for hir daily prouision of that
 flesh apperteyne to the prince,
 the rest to such of the nobili-
 tie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimo-
 nies lieng in or nere vnto the same. I would glad-
 lie haue set downe the iust number of these in-
 closures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I can-
 not so do, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and
 Essex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and
 twentie in the bishoprike of Durham, wherein
 great plentie of fallow deere is cherished and kept.
 As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almost in-
 numerable, and daile like to increafe, by reason
 that the blacke skins of those beastes are thought to

countervail the prices of their naked carcasses, and
 this is the onelie cause why the graie are lesse este-
 med. Next vnto London their quickest merchan-
 10 dize is of the yong rabbits, wherefore the older conies
 are brought from further off, where there is no such
 speedie viturance of rabbits and sucklings in their
 season, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are
 suffered to growe up to their full greatnesse with
 their owners. Our parkes are generallie inclosed
 20 with strong pale made of oke, of which kind of
 wood there is great store cherished in the woodland
 countries from time to time in each of them; onelie
 for the maintenance of the said deense, and safe-
 keeping of the fallow deere from ranging about the
 countie. Whobett in times past diuerse haue been
 fences in with stone walles (especially in the times
 of the Romans, who first brought fallow deere into
 this land (as some coniecture) albeit those inclosures
 were decayed againe by the Saxons & Danes,
 30 as Cantham, Etonner, and Woodstocke, beside o-
 ther in the best countie, and one also at Bolton.
 Among other things also to be seene in that towne,
 there is one of the fairest clockes in Europe. Where
 no wood is, they are also inclosed with piles of slate;
 and thereto it is douted of manie whether our bucke
 or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beasts or
 not. Plinie seemeth them to be wilde, Marcial is al-
 so of the same opinion, where he saith, *inbellis dum*
quid nisi preda sumus? And so in time past the like con-
 40 trouersie was about bees, which the lawiers call *Fe-
 ras, sit, de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. instit.* But
 Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them
Medias interferas & placidas aues. But whither am I
 so suddenlie digressed? In returning therefore vnto
 our parkes, I find also the circuit of these inclosures
 in like manner containe often times a walke of
 foure or five miles, and sometimes more or lesse.
 50 Whereby it is to be seene what store of ground is em-
 ployed vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth
 no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, sith they
 commonlie giue awaie their flesh, neuer taking pe-
 nte for the same, except the ordinarie fee and parts
 of the deere giuen vnto the keeper by a custome, who
 beside thre shillings foure pence, or five shillings
 in monie, hath the skin, head, vmbles, chine, and
 shoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an
 whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe,
 which in my iudgement is scarcelie equall dealing;
 for venison in England is neither bought nor sold,
 60 as in other countries, but maintained onelie for
 the pleasure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I
 heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a
 great gaine by selling perrelie hir husbands venison
 to the coikes (as another of no lesse name will not
 sticke to ride to the market to see hir butter sold) but
 not performed without infinite scoffes and mockes,
 even of the poorest pezzants of the countie, who
 thinke them as odious matters in ladies and wo-
 men of such countenance to sell their venison and
 their butter, as for an earle to seele his oxen, sheepe,
 and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or
 not, or to sell his wooll vnto the clothier, or to keepe
 a tan-house, or deale with such like affaires as be-
 long not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or
 graziers; for which such, if there be anie may well be
 noted (and not vnto us) to degenerate from true
 nobilitie, and betake themselves to husbandrie. And
 even the same enormitie take place sometime a-
 mong the Romans, and entred so farre as into the
 verie senate, of whome some one had two or thre
 ships going vpon the sea, pretending prouision for
 their houses; but in truth following the trades of
 merchandize, till a law was made which did inhib-
 70 bit and restraine them. Liuius also telleth of ano-
 ther

Village and
 manhand ri-
 mished by
 parkes.

The decaye
 of the peopl
 to the destru-
 tion of a hun-
 dome.

ther law which passed likewise against the senators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flautinus, that no senator, or he that had bene farther to anie senator, should possesse anie ship or vessel above the capacite of three hundred ampozas, which was supposed sufficient for the carlage and recarlage of such necessities as should apperteyne unto his house: with further trading with merchandises and commodities doth declare but a base and covetous mind, not altogether void of envie, that anie man should live but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would have it himselfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and must needs prove in time the confusion of that countrie wherein such enormities are exercised. Where in times past, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compasse of some one parke, and thereby great plentie of coyne and cattell scene, and to be had among them, beside a more copious recreation of humane issue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serve the prince in his affaires: now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and savage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delight; and yet some owners still desirous to enlarge those grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, do not let daille to take in more, not sparing the verie commons wherupon manie towneships now and then do live, affirming that we have already too great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng to some do nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and bitter undoing (they saie) of the common wealth.

Certes if it be not one curse of the Lord, to have our countrie converted in such sort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shroods of wild beasts, I know not what is aile. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most keepers call them) have eaten up and are like hereafter to devour, some men may conjecture, but manie more lament, with there is no hope of restraint to be looked for in this behalfe, because the corruption is so generall. But if a man may presently give a ghesse at the universallitie of this evill by contemplation of the circumstance, he shall saie at the last, that the twentieth part of the realme is imployed upon deere and conies already, which seemeth verie much if it be not duly considered of.

King Henrie the eight, one of the noblest princes that ever reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was constrained to hire foreign aid, for want of competent store of soldiers here at home, perceiving (as it is indeed) that such supplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable unto those that interest them, as may chéele be scene in Valens the emperor, our Hostiger, and no small number of others. He would oft marvell in private talke, how that when seven or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thousand men to the field against another, or two of them against the third, and those taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, so he saw not the cause of this decay, which grew beside this occasion now mentioned, also by laieing house to house, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were converted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminished. The avarice of landholders by increasing of rents and fines also did so wearie the people, that they were ready to rebell with him that would arise, supposing a short end in the warres to be better than a long and miserable life in peace.

Privileges and faculties also are another great cause of the ruine of a common wealth, and de-

minution of mankind: for whereas law and nature both permit all men to live in their best maner, and whatsoever trade they be exercised in, there cometh some privilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, whereby they must needs shift soile, and seeke unto other countries. By these also the greatest commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbase, corrupt, and yet raise the prices of things at their owne pleasures. Example of this last I can give also in books, which (after the first impression of anie one booke) are for the most part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it so well as the first, then would men strive which of them should do it best; and so it falleth out in all other trades. It is an easie matter to prove that England was never lesse furnished with people than at this present; for if the old records of everie manour be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and united together by other men: it will soon appere, that in some one manour seven teen, eighteene, or twentie houses are thynke. I know that I saie by mine owne experience: notwithstanding that some one cotage be here and there created of late, which is to little purpose. Of cities and townes either utterly decayed, or more than a quarter or halfe diminished, though some one be a little increased here and there; of townes pulled downe for shepe-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them, beside those that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could saie somewhat: but then I should swaue yet further from my purpose, whereunto I now returne.

We had no parkes left in England at the coming of the Normans, who added this calamitie also to the servitude of our nation, making men of the best sort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whilst they lived in the meane time upon the spoile of their revenues, and daille overthrowe townes, villages, and an infinit sort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke supposed in these times to be statelie enough, that contained not at the least eight or ten hundred acres, that is, so manie hundred acres or families (or as they have bene alwaies called in some places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was sufficient in old time to mainteine an honest yeoman.

King John travelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre upon the king of Scots, because he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his consent: in his returne overthrowe a great number of parkes and warrens, of which some belonged to his barons, but the greatest part to the abbats and prelates of the cleargie. For hearing (as he travelled) by complaint of the countrie, how these inclosures were the chiefe decaye of men, and of tillage in the land, he swore with an oath that he would not suffer wild beasts to feed upon the fat of his soile, and see the people perishe for want of abilitie to procure and buye them food that should defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was so ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inverted his intent herein to another end; affirming most slanderouslie how he did it rather of purpose to spoile the coyne and grasse of the commons and catholikes that held against him of both estates, and by so doing to impowerish and bring the north part of the realme to destruction, because they refused to go with him into Scotland. If the said prince were alive in these daies, wherein Andrew Boord saith there are more parkes in England than in all Europe (over which he travelled in his owne person) and saw how much ground they consume,

Village and mankind diminished by parkes.

The decaye of the people is the destruction of a king done.

I thinke he would rather double his others, or leaue the most of them open that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope shall not need in time, for the owners of a great sort of the m begin now to smelt out, that such parcels might be employed to their more gaine, and therefore some of them do grow to be disparted.

Part of all we haue the franke chase, which taketh something both of parke and forrest, and is giuen either by the kings grant or prescription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the selfe same thing that a parke is, sauing that a parke is intronned with pale, wall, or such like: the chase alwaies open and nothing at all inclosed, as we see in Cnueld & Maluerne chases. And as it is the cause of the seisure of the franchise of a parke not to keepe the same inclosed, so it is the like in a chase if at anie time it be imparked. It is trespass, and against the law also, for anie man to haue or make a chase, parke, or free warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of prescription: for it is not lawfull for anie subject either to carnellate, that is, build stone houses, imbattell, haue the querke of the sea, or keepe the assise of bread, ale, or wine, or set by furels, tumbrill, thew, or pillorie, or inclose anie ground to the aforesaid purposes within his owne soile, without his warrant and grant. The beasts of the chase were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marturie. But those of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the boze and the wolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, so in stead of the wolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beast commonlie hunted in the east countries, and fed vpon as excellent venison, although with vs I know not anie that feed thereon or care for it at all. Certes it should seeme, that forrests and franke chases haue alwaies bene had, and religiouslie preserved in this land for the solace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were inclosed more than at this present, or otherwise fenced than by vsuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preservation of such venerie and vert of all sorts as were nourished in the same. Neither are anie of the ancient lawes prescribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; sith time hath so dealt with them that they are perished and lost. Canutus therefore seeing the daile spoile that was made almost in all places of his game, did at the last make sundrie sanctions and decrees, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow dære were better looked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in these daies diuerse forrests in England and Wales, of which, some belong to the king, and some to his subjects, as Waltham forrest, Wandlefor, Pickering, Feknam, Delamore, Cillingham, Kingwood, Wence, dale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leicester, Leke, Wokingham, Selwood, Pew forrest, Wichwood, Hatfeld, Sauernake, Welfbirie, Blacamore, Deke, Deane, Benrife, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time lesse deuoured of the people than these latter, sith beside much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, whereas in parks and warrens we haue nothing else than either the keepers & warreners lodge, or at least the manor place of the chief lord & owner of the soile. I find also by good record, that all Essex hath in time past wholie bene forrest ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is since it lost the said denomination in good soth I do not read. This

newerth lesse remaineth yet in memory, that the towne of Walden in Essex standing in the limits of the aforesaid countie doth take his name thereof. For in the Celtske tong, whereunto the Saxon or Scottish speech doth not a little participate, huge woods and forrests were called Walas, and likewise their Dynies were named Walie or Waldie, because they frequented the woods, and there made sacrifice among the oaks and thickets. So that if my conjecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforesaid towne taketh denomination of of Wald and end, as if I should say, The end of the wooddie soile; for being once out of that parish, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is so called of Wald and dene: for I haue read it witten in old euidences Wal-dene, with a disphong. And to saie truth, Dene is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as Dune or Don is for an hill or hillie soile. Certes if it be so, then Walden taketh his name of the woodie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first derivation liketh me better, and the highest part of the towne is called also Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word gipping, which signifieth Leaning or hanging, and may herie well be applied thereto, sith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the sides of two hills, whereof the lesser runneth quite through the middle of the same. I might here for further confirmation of these things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may suffice for the use of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that signifieth a woodie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countie, without anie flore of trees, as may be seene in Cotswold, Pothebold, &c. Beside this I could saie more of our forrests, and the aforesaid inclosures also, & therein to proue by the booke of forrest law, that the whole countie of Lancaster hath likewise bene forrest heretofore. Also how William the Bastard made a law, that whosoever did take anie wild beast within the kings forrest should lose an eare; as Henrie the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the second and his pæres at Woodstocke, whereupon great trouble ensued vnder king John and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it shall suffice to haue said so much as is set downe already.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of oblivion, I will giue out those lawes that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (whereof peraduenture some lawiers haue no knowledge) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places imperfect by reason of corruption, and want also of congruities, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored) I will note another breue law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; Ic will that eue one, &c: I will and grant that eue one shall be withoute of such venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne fee or dominion; but eue man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beasts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpon paine to forset so much as a man may forset. Whereto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward surnamed the Confessor; & ratified by the Bastard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order and Latine

Degened.

Gipping, of going by to anie place.

Lelegend, Nunc forre Tringald.

Caldermen.

Ancman.

Wichm.

Hundred law.

Warcot.

Huchebant.

Digang, ordell, Purgatio ignis, triplex ordinis.

nd I find it word for word, and which I would gladly haue turned into English, if it might haue sounded to anie benefit of the brisillfull and vnlearned.

Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.

Hae sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, ut cunctis regni nostri Anglia ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & ut omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

1 Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent saluas suas, debitas consuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei provincia constituti, ad iustitiam distribuedam, una cum pena merita & materijs for-
nestae cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quam Danis per totum regnum meum Anglia, quos quatuor primarios forestae appellandos censemus.

2 Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Lespegend nuncupant, Dani vero yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.

3 In administranda autem iustitia nullatenus volo ut tales se intromittant: mediocresq; tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant.

4 Sub horum iterum quolibet sint duo minorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum seruilia opera subibunt.

5 Si talis minutus seruus fuerit, tam cito quam in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnesq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.

6 Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de nostra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, unum cum sella, alterum sine sella, unum gladium, quinque lanceas, unum cuspidem, unum scutum, & ducentos solidos argenti.

7 Mediocrum quilibet unum equum, unam lanceam, unum scutum, & 60 solidos argenti.

8 Minutorum quilibet, unam lanceam, unam arcubalistam, & 15 solidos argenti.

9 Sint omnes tam primarij, quam mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quicti ab omnibus provincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quae Hundred laghe Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warlcot Angli dicunt, & forincestis querelis.

10 Sint mediocrum & minorum causa, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quam civilium per prouidam sapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicate & decise: primariorum vero enormia si quae fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.

11 Habeant hi quatuor unam regalem potestatem (salua semper nobis nostra praesentia) quaterq; in anno generales forestae demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt dicunt, ubi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, eantque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat secura quinque, & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, nisi ubi nulla veritas nequit aliter inuestigari.

12 Liberalis autem homo. 1. Pegen, modo criminum suum non sit inter maiora, habeat fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. Forathe: si autem non habet, ipsemet iuret, nec par-
donetur ei aliquod iuramentum.

13 Si advena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia ut non possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquae: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longe venienti * sibi ipsi nocet, si aliquod iudicium indicauerint.

14 Quicunq; coram primarios homines meos foresta in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non sit dignus imposterum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam perdidit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos, quos Dani vocant

20 Halsehang, alias Halsehang.

15 Si quis vim aliquam primarijs foresta mea intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscondatur dextra.

16 Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus sit mortis.

17 Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plio emendet secundum pretium sui ipsius, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos.

18 Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres forestae, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem solidis.

19 Si quis mediocrum aliquem cum ira percussit, emendetur prout interfectio fera regalis mihi emendari solet.

20 Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, penas luet secundum modum & genus delicti.

21 Pena & forisfactio non una eademq; erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & serui: noti & ignoti: nec una eademq; erit causarum tum civilium tum criminalium, ferarum forestae, & ferarum regaliu: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immerito numerabatur: viridis vero (fractione chace nostra regalis excepta) ita pusillum & exiguum est, quod vix ea respicit nostra constitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestae reus.

22 Si liber aliquis feram forestae ad cursum impulerit, siue casu, siue praehabita voluntate, ita ut cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si seruus careat corio.

23 Si vero harum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sitque pretij sui reus contra regem.

24 Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per unum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: si vero seruus, pro vilegato habeatur, quem Angli Frenlefsman vocant.

25 Si vero occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis careat libertate, si seruus vita.

26 Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restabunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.

27 Sunt alia (prater feras forestae) bestia, quae

Pegened.

Lespegend.
Nuncloce
Tungald.

Ealdermen.

Tineman.

Michni.

Hundredlaghe.
Warlcot.

Muchehunt.

Ofgangfordell.
Purgatio ignis,
triplex ordinatio.

Pegen.

Forathe.

Halsehang.

Pere & Pite.

Gethbrech.

Ealderman.

Staggon or
Stagge.

Frenlefsman.

Bubali olim in
Anglia.

dum inter septa & sepes foresta continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quam plurima animalia, quae quaquam infra septa foresta viuunt, & oneri & cure mediocrium subiacent foresta, tamen nequaquam censeri possunt, qualia sunt bubali, vaccae, & similia. Vulpes & lupi, nec foresta nec venenis habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio sit regalis chaceae, & mitius emendetur. Aper verò quanquam foresta sit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi est assuetus.

28. Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum foresta nemo manum apponat, quod si quis fecerit reus sit fractionis regalis chaceae.

Ilicies aliquando in Britania
nisi intelligatur de quercu.

29. Si quis verò ilicem aut arborem aliquam, quae victum feris suppeditat sciderit, praeter fractionem regalis chaceae, emendet regi viginti solidis.

30. Volo ut omnis liber homo prohibito suo habeat venerem suae viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chaceae tamen, & deuenient omnes meam, ubicumque eam habere voluerit.

Greihounds.

31. Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli Greihounds appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuisctio eorum facta fuerit coram primario foresta licebit, aut sine genuisctioe dum remoti sunt à limitibus foresta per decem miliaria: quando verò propius venerint, emendet quodlibet militare uno solido. Si verò infra septa foresta reperiat, dominus canis foris faciet & decem solidos regi.

Ueliter
Langeran.

Ramhundert.

32. Veleres verò quos Langeran appellant, quia manifestè constat in ijs nihil esse periculi, cuilibet licebit sine genuisctioe eos custodire. Idem de canibus quos Ramhundert vocant.

Pretium hominis
mediocris.

33. Quodsi casu inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & ubique vagantur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendatur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quodsi intra septa foresta reperiantur, talis exquiratur verus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quod secundum legem Werinorum. 1. Churingorum, est ducentorum solidorum.

Pretium liberi
hominis.

34. Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet secundum pretium hominis liberalis, quod est duodecies solidis centum. Si verò fera regalis mors fuerit, reus sit maximi criminis.

And these are the constitutions of Canutus concerning the forrest, verie barbarouslie translated by those that toke the same in hand. Whobcit as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie sort or tittle.

Of gardens and orchards.

Chap. 19.



After such time as Calis was come from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerse countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to warre with also, and thereupon not onlie left off their former painfullnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort gaue themselves to liue in excess and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongst vs. Such strangers also as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggishnesse, and elpi-

ing that this idleness of ours might rebound to their great profit, forthwith imploted their endeuours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continually from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idleness. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we supposed, by such means from them, we thought it more madnesse to spend either time or cost about the same here at home. And thus we became enemies to our owne welfare, as men that in those daies repored our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exercised both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall desire that mankind hath to esteeme of things farre sought, because they be rare and costlie, and the irksome contempt of things nere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath bene no small waite also in this behalfe amongst vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no value, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, ascribing I wot not what great forces and solemn estimation vnto them, vntill they also haue woren old, after which they haue bene so little regarded, if not more despised amongst vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could set downe manie, & in manie things, but sith my purpose is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it shall suffice that I touch them onelie, and shew our inconstancie in the same, so farre as shall seeme & be convenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by mans hand, for so the case requirerh. Of wine I haue written already elsewhere sufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath bene verie plentifull in this land, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue seene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all, or else verie little to speake of growing in this land: which I impute not vnto the soile, but the negligence of my countriemen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also as grow pearelie out of the ground, of seed, haue bene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in proceesse of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the senenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was little or no vse of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or supposed as food more meet for hogs & sauage beasts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vse is not onelie resumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pomptons, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsneps, carrots, cabbages, nauettes, turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes, but also fed vpon as deintie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouision pearelie for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them aboutantlie. Neither do they now staie with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the derangeses, malthoms, &c. as if nature had ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischievous operation the Lord in some measure hath giuen and provided a remedie.

Hops in time past were plentifull in this land, afterwards also their maintenance did cease, and now being reuiued, there are anie better to be found: where anie greater commoditie to be raised by them: onelie poles are accounted to be their greatest charge. But sith men haue learned of late to sow alpen heles in albyards by themselves, that inconvenience

venience in that time will be redressed. Whadder hath growne abundantlie in this Island, but of long time neglected, and now a little renewed, and offereth it selfe to proue no small benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things else, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gave our selues to idleness, were glad to haue them other. If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how wonderfullie is their beautie increased, not onelie with flowers, which Colmella calleth *Terrena fidera*, *saleng*;

Pingit & in variis terrestria fidera flores,
and varietie of curious and costlie workmanship, but also with rare and medicinale hearbes sought by in the land within these forty yeares: so that in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghills and lasktoes to such as did possesse them. How art also helpeth nature in the daile colouring, doubling and enlarging the proportion of our flowers, it is incredible to report: for so curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these daies, that they presume to doe in manner what they list with nature, and moderate hir course in things as if they were hir superiours. It is a world also to see, how manie strange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are daile brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Caprobane, Canarie Isles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they doe not grow for vs, because that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eye, and their odoriferous saouours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, because they are his good gifts, and created to doe manie helps and seruice. There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these flowers, which now also doe begin to war so well acquainted with our soles, that we may almost accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no lesse regard in like sort to cherish medicinale hearbs fetched out of other regions nearer hand: insomuch that I haue seene in some one garden to the number of thre hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whose names within forty yeeres passed we had no manner knowledge. But herein I find some cause of iust complaint, for that we extoll their vles so farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than such as grow elsewhere, sith (as I said before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits what soeuer is needfull and most conuenient for them that dwell therein. How doe men extoll the vles of Tobacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnance of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground doth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they write. And beside this, our common germander or thistle benet is found & knowne to be so wholesome and of so great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vled accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like manner in sundrie other, as the *salsa parilla*, *Macboacan*, &c. but I forbear so to doe, because I couet to be briefe. And trulie the estimation and credit that we yeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cause wherefore the full knowledge and vse of our owne simples hath bene so long raked by in the imbers. And as this may be verified, so to be one sound conclusion, for the greater number of simples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confusion is found therein, because the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars

are throughlie knowne. And euen so our continuall desire of strange drugs, whereby the physician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no small cause that the vse of our simples here at home doth go to losse, and that we tread those herbes vnder our feet, whose forces if we knew, & could applie them to our necessities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their case becometh. Alas what haue we to doe with such Arabian & Grecian stuffe as is daile brought from those parties, which lie in another climate? And therefore the bodies of such as dwell there, are of another constitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs; but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by skill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more skilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vse forren waies when our owne maie serue the turne is more follie; but to despise our owne and magnifie about measure the vse of them that are sought and brought from farre, is most follie of all: for it fauoureth of ignorance, or at the leastwise of negligence, and therefore worthy of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the most present cures for euerie disease, of their owne nation, there is small regard of compound medicines, & lesse of forren drugs, because they neither know them nor can vse them, but worke wonders euen with their owne simples. With them also the difference of the climate doth shew hir full effect. For whereas they will heale one another in that time with application of one simple, &c. if a Spaniard or Englishman stand in need of their helpe, they are diuised to haue a longer space in their cures, and now and then also to vse some addition of two or thre simples at the most, whose forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, because their exercise is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer sought or heard what vertue was in those that came from other countries. And euen so did Spartus Cato the learned Roman indeno; to deale in his cures of sundrie diseases, wherein he not onelie vled such simples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but also examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt so diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could attaine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of those most learnedlie, as would easilie be seene, if those his bookes were extant. For the space also of 600 yeeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diseases, so that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in those parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crying out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he speaketh after this manner: *Non placent remedia tam longè nascētia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent: si placet etiam superstitionis gratia emantur, quoniam supplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem sine his posse conflare, vel ob id probabimus, ut tanto magis sit tandem pudet.* For my part I doubt not, if the vse of outlandish drugs had not blinded our physicians of England in times passed, but that the vertues of our simples here at home would haue bene far better knowne, and so well vnto vs, as those of India are to the practitioners of those partes, and therevnto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This also will I ad, that euen those which are most common by reason of their plentie, and most vile because of their abundance, are not without some vniuersall and especiall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: sith God in nature hath so disposed his creatures, that the most needfull are the most plentifull, and seruing for such generall diseases as our constitution most commonlie is affected withall.

withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the physicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie endeavour to search out the vse of such simples as our soile doth yeld and bring forth, but also to procure such as grow elswhere, vpon purpose so to acquaint them with our climate, that they in time through some alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, may likewise turne to our benefit and commodity, and be vsed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I may call him the founder of this deuise, is Carolus Clusius, the noble herbarist, whose industrie hath wonderfullie stirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Herbell, and other haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come nere to Clusius, much lesse gone further in the finding and true descriptions of such herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one seuen yeeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, thereof neither our physicians nor apothecaries as yet haue any knowledge. And euen like thanks be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cherishing of such homeborne and forren simples in their gardens, for hereby they shall not onlie be had at hand and preferred, but also their formes made more familiar to be discerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue bene.

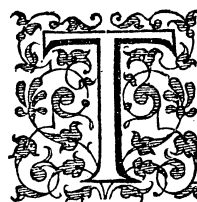
And euen as it fareth with our gardens, so doth it with our orchards, which were neuer furnished with so good fruit, nor with such varietie as at this present. For beside that we haue most delicate apples, plumes, pears, walnuts, filberds, &c. and those of sundrie sorts, planted within forty yeeres passed, in comparison of which most of the old trees are nothing worth: so haue we no lesse store of strange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, cornetrees in noble mens orchards. I haue seene capers, oranges, and lemons, and heard of wild olives growing here, beside other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was neuer better furnished, neither any nation vnder their climate more plentifully indued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant vs grace withall to vse the same to his honour and glorie! and not as instruments and prouocations vnto further exesse and vanitie, wherewith his displeasure may be kindled, least these his benefits doe turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and punishment, which he hath bestowed vpon vs for our consolation and comfort.

We haue in like sort such workemen as are not onelie excellent in grafting the naturall fruits, but also in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one tree bringeth forth sundrie fruits, and one and the same fruit of diuers colours and tastes, dallieng as it were with nature and his course, as if his whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of souer sweet, of sweet yet more delicate, bereauing also some of their kernels, other of their coyes, and finally induing them with the fauour of muske, ambre, or sweet spices at their pleasures. Diuerse also haue written at large of these feuerall practises, and some of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of small fruit to make farre greater, and to remoue or ad superfluous or necessarie moisture to the trees, with other things belonging to their preservation, and with no lesse diligence than our physicians doe commonlie shew vpon our owne diseased bodies, which to me doth seeme right strange. And euen so doe our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they

are strengthened against noisome blasse, and preferred from putrefaction and hinderance, whereby some such as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being perelie taken vp, and either referred in the house, or hauing the rosse pulled from their rootes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in safetie. What choise they make also in their waters, and wherewith some of them doe now and then keepe them moist, it is a world to see, inasmuch that the apothecaries shops may seeme to be needfull also to our gardens and orchards, and that in sundrie wise: naie the kitchen it selfe is so farre from being able to be missed among them, that euen the verie dishwater is not without some vse amongest our finest plants. Whereby and sundrie other circumstances not here to be remembred, I am persuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Hesperides were in times past so greatlie accounted of because of their delicacie: yet if it were possible to haue such an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vnto them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in comparison of those times, wherein they excelled. Plinie and other speake of a rose that had threescore leaues growing vpon one button: but if I should tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I shall not be belieued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit such a one was to be seene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a slip or talon thereof, if he would haue ventured some pounds vpon the growth of the same, which should haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a litle of my garden, which is but small, and the whole Area thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath bene my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie nere three hundred of one sort and other contained therein, no one of them being common or vsuallie to be had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in keeping be so well furnished, what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Stonehouse, Chiswick, Cobham garden, and sundrie other appertaining to diuerse citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I should not seeme to offend them by such my demeanour and dealing?

Of waters generallie.

Chap. 21.



Here is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make lesse report than of our waters. For albeit our soile abound with water in all places, and that in the most ample maner: yet can I not find by some experience that almost any one of our riuers hath such od and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are said to be indued withall. Vitruuius writeth of a well in Babilonia, whose water seemeth as it were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerse be drunke by superfluous taking of the same. The like force is found in amne Liceto, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whose bankes a man shall hardlie misse to find some traeller or other sleeping for drunkenesse, by drinking of that liquor. There also vnto Cyphus are certeine welles, which taste like sharpe vinegar, and therefore

therefore are much esteemed of by such as are sicke
and eail at ease in those parts. At Hieropolis is a
spring of such force (as Strabo saith) that the water
thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choise, doth
colour woth with such a glosse, that the die thereof
contendeth with skarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft
ouercomineth the same. The Cydins in Tarsus of
Cilicia, is of such vertue, that who so batheth him-
selfe therein, shall find great ease of the golow that
runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate
Iles (saith Pomponius the Cosmographer) are two
springs, one of the which bringeth immoderate
laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other sad-
nesse and restraint of that effect, whereby the last is
taken to be a soueraigne medicine against the other,
to the great admiration of such as haue beholdden it.
At Sulis in Persia there is a spring, which maketh
him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to cast
all his teeth: but if he onlie wash his mouth withall,
it maketh them fast, & his mouth to be verie health-
full. So there is a riuer among the Sadarens, wher-
of if a brast drinke, he swiftly casteth haise, haire,
and hoimes, if he haue anie. Also a lake in Assyria,
nere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie mat-
ter to be found, which holdeth such birds as by hap
do light thereon so fast as birdlime, by means wher-
of verie manie do perish and are taken that light
vpon the same: howbeit if anie portion hereof hap-
pen to be set on fire by casualtie or otherwise, it will
never be quenched but by casting on of dust, as Cai-
anus doth report. Another at Halicarnassus cal-
led Salmaris, which is noted to make such men effe-
minate as drinke of the water of the same. Certes
it maie be (saith Strabo) that the water and aire of
a region maie qualifie the courage of some men, but
none can make them effeminate, nor anie other
thing because of such corruption in them, sooner than
superstitions wealth, and inconstancie of liuing and
behaviour, which is a bane vnto all natures, lib. 4.
All which, with manie other not now comming to
memoirie, as the Lethens, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocytus,
&c. haue strange & incredible reports made of them
by the new and ancient writers, the like wherof are
not to be found in England, which I impute wholie
to the blessing of God, who hath ordeined nothing a-
mongst vs in this our temperate region, but that
which is good, wholesome, and most commodious for
our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters
amongst vs, but all wholesome and profitable for the
benefit of the people. Peruerthes as none of them
is to be found without hir sith: so we know by expe-
rience, that diuerse faine alth, some other elme, and
oaken stakes or poles that lie or are throwne into
them into hard stone, in long continuance of time,
which is the strangest thing that I can learne at this
present wherevpon to rest for a certentie. Yet I read
of diuerse welles, wherevnto our old writers ascribe
either wonderfull vertues, or rare courtes, as of one
vpon the shore, beyond the which the sea floweth eue-
rie daie twice a large mile and more; and yet is the
surge of that water alwaies seuen fad from the salt
sea: whereby it should seme that the head of the
spring is moueable. But alas I do not easilie be-
lieue it, more than that which is written of the Li-
kingwan lake in Wales, which is nere to the De-
uerne, and receiveth the flowing sea into hir chanell
as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the
sea goeth awaie by reason of the ebbe, it casteth vp
the water with such violence, that hir banks are o-
uerflowed and drowned, which is an absurd report.
They ad also, that if all the people of the countrie stood
nere to the same, with their faces toward the lake,
in such manner that the dashing of the water might
touch and wet their clothes, they should haue no

power to go from thence, but wading ther-
thence be drawne into that gulfe and perish; whereas
if they turned their backs vnto the same, they should
suffer no such inconuenience though they stood neuer
so nere. Manie other such like toles I could set
downe of other welles and waters of our countrie.
But whie should I write that for other men to read,
whereto I giue no credit my selfe, more than to the
report which Iohannes du Choul doth make in his
description of Pilata lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or
Boccatus of the Scaphigelo in the Appenine hills, or
Felix Malliolus of Pilata lake *In monte fracto* (where-
Iacobus de Voragine bishop of Gene, & Iochimus
Vadianus in Pompon. Melam do also make men-
tion) sith I take them but for fables, & far vnto the
that anie good man should staine his paper with such
frivolous matters as are reported of them, being de-
uised at the first by Satanas the father of lies, for the
holding of the ignorant & credulous in their super-
stitions and errors. Such also is the tale that goeth of
Menefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mer-
curie nere to port Caperta in Rome, wherein such
as went by would dip branches of baie, and sprinkle
the same vpon themselves: and so manie as stood a-
bout them, calling vpon Mercurie, and craning par-
don for their sinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of
force vnto forgiveness and remission of their tres-
passes. And so it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who be-
ing a man neither thinking well of their owne gods
nor liking of the augures) doth write in his first *De*
legibus (except my memoirie faile me) *asperione aque*
labem tolli corpoream, & castimoniam corporis praestari, which
maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it e-
quall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie
be compared. I might further also (if I would) make
relation of diuerse welles, which haue wrought ma-
nie miracles in time of superstition, as S. Butolphs
well in Hadstocke, S. Germans well at Falker-
burne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and
sundry other in other places: but as their vertues
are now found out to be but baits to draw men and
women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places
where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposi-
tion of such as hunted after other gaine, so it shall
suffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will
I ad, that we haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto
our sheepe, though it please Cardan to auouch other-
wise; for our waters are not the causes, but the signes
of their infections when they drinke, as I elsewhere
haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as also that we
haue a spring nere Saffron Walden, and not farre
from the house of the lord Audley, which is of such
force, that it loseth the bodie of him that drinketh
therof in verie gentle maner, and beside that is verie
delectable & pleasant to be taken, as I haue found
by experience. I heare also of two welles nere Lon-
don, of which the one is verie excellent water, the o-
ther will beare no sope, and yet so situat that the one
is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

Of woods and marishes.

Chap. 22.

I should seme by ancient
records, and the testimonie of
summe authors, that the
whole countres of Lhoegres
and Cambria, now England
and Wales, haue sometimes
bene verie well replenished
with great woods & groues,
although at this time the said commoditie be not a
little decayed in both, and in such wise that a man
shall

Great abundance
of woods
sometime in
England.

The description of England.

Shall off ride ten or twentie miles in each of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be nere unto townes, gentlemens houses, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, oaks, hawthornes, or ashes about their dwellings for their defense from the rough winds, and keeping of the stormie weather from annoiance of the same. This scarcitie at the first grew (as it is thought) either by the industrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderstand the like to be done of late by the Spaniards in the west Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compasse thereby to come by ground whereon to sow their graines) or else thorough the couetousnesse of such, as in preferring of pasture for their sheepe and greater cattell, doe make small account of firebote and timber: or finally by the crueltie of the enemies, whereof we haue sundrie examples declared in our histories. Wherbeit were the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the smart of the earth to be so thin, that no trace of anie greatnesse, other than thubs and bushes, is able to grow or prosper long therein for want of sufficient moisture wherewith to feed them with fresh humour, or at the leastwise of mould, to shrowd state byright, and cherish the same in the blossoming winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatnesse, and spread or yeld their rootes downe right into the soile about them: and this either is or may be one other cause, wherefore some places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I must needs confesse that there is good store of great wood or timber here and there, even now in some places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our ancestors haue seene heretofore. When statelie building was lesse in vse. For albeit that there were then greater number of mesuages and mansions almost in euery place; yet were their frames so slight and slender, that one meane dwelling house in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you consider the present charge with the plentie of timber that we bestow vpon them. In times past men were contented to dwell in houses, builded of fallow, willow, plumtree, hardbeame, and elme, so that the vse of oke was in maner dedicated whole vnto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigation: but now all these are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie thorough Persian delicacie crept in among vs altogether of first, which is a sore alteration. In those the courage of the owner was a sufficient defense to keepe the house in safetie, but now the assurance of the timber, double dores, lockes and bolts must defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of cheennes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the godman and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith as then verie few were off acquainted.

As the curiousnesse of these piles I speake not, sith our workemen are growne generallie to such an excellencie of deuise in the frames now made, that they far passe the finest of the old. And such is their husbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the same stuffe which in time past was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vse but the fire, doth now come in the fronts and best part of the worke. Wherby the common saying is likewise in these daies be-

rified in our mansion houses, which earst was said onelie of the timber for ships, that no oke can grow so crooked but it falleth out to some vse, & that necessarie in the nauie. It is a world to see moreover how diuerse men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable being in spending of their goods by that trade, doe daillie imagine new deuises of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and those more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding also of their workes, how they set vp, how they pull downe, how they enlarge, how they re-streine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purses neuer shut, nor their booke of account neuer made perfect.

Destruunt, edificant, mutant quadrata rotunda

saith the poet. So that if a man should well consider of all the od crotchets in such a builders bzaire, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of those affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he should not well be able to deale in anie other. But such commonlie are our workemasters, that they haue beside this being afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little lesse businesse in the commonwealth, or finally no small dealings otherwile incident vnto them, wherby gaine ariseth, and some trouble oft among withall. Which causeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts so well of so manie sundrie men, whereas diuerse other of greater forecast in aparance can seldome thiff well or thieve in anie one of them. But to our purpose.

We haue manie woods, forrests, and parks, which cherish trees abundantly, although in the woodland countries there is almost no hedge that hath not some store of the greatest sort, beside infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and springs, that are mainteined of purpose for the building and provision of such owners as doe possesse the same. Wherobest as euery soile doth not beare all kinds of wood, so there is not anie wood, parkie, hedgerow, groue, or forrest, that is not mixed with diuerse, as oke, ash, hawthorne, birch, beech, hardbeame, bull, foxe, quicke aspe, poplers, wild cherie, and such like, wherof oke hath alwaies the preheminance, as most meet for building and the nauie, wherunto it is reserved. This tree bringeth forth also a profitable kind of mast, whereby such as dwell nere vnto the aforesaid places doe cherish and bring vp innumerable herds of swine. In time of plentie of this mast, our red and fallow deere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common pultrie also if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance doth proue verie pernicious vnto the first, so these eggs which these latter doe bring forth, beside blackenesse in color and bitternesse of tast haue not seldome bene found to breed diuerse diseases vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might ad in like sort the profit insuing by the barkes of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vse in dressing of leather, and which they buie pearcelie in state by the sadame, as I haue oft seene: but it shall not need at this time to enter into anie such discourse, onlie this I will say, that our sole and hyper leathering may haue their due time, and not be hastied on by extraordinary lights, as with ash, barke, &c. Wherby as I grant that it sameth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well done: so if you respect the sadnes thereof, it doth proue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Penetratelesse we haue good lawes for redress of this enormitie, but it cometh to passe in these as in the execution of most penall statutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the same being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie persons, they make a shew of great reformation at the first, & for a little while, till they find that following of suite

Desire of much wealth and ease abateh manhood, & ouerthroweth a manlie courage.

The like haue I seene wher hens doe feed vpon the tender blades of garlike.

in law against the offenders is somewhat too charge-
able and tedious. This therefore perceived, they give
ouer the law, and fall to the admission of gifts and re-
wards to winke at things past, and when they haue
once gone ouer their ground with this kind of til-
lage, then doe they tender licences, and offer large
dispensations vnto him that shall aske the same,
thereby to doe what him listeth in his trade for an
yearelie pension, whereby the byrbour now groweth
to some certeine reuenues, & the tanner to so great li-
bertie that his lether is much worse than before. But
is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifest illu-
sion of the god subiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of
all oke growing in England the parke oke is the best,
and far more spale and byckle than the hedge
oke. And of all in Essex, that growing in Wardfield
parke is the finest for ioiners craft: for oftentimes
haue I seene of their woorkes made of that oke so fine
and faire, as most of the wainescot that is brought hi-
ther out of Danske, for our wainescot is not made in
England. Yet diuerse haue assaied to deale without
okes to that end, but not with so good successe as they
haue hoped, because the aboꝝ twice will not so soon
be remoued and cleane dyawne out, which some at-
tribute to want of time in the salt water. Fewer the-
lesse in building, so well the hedge as the parke oke
go all one waie, and neuer so much hath bene spent
in a hundred years before, as in ten yeare of our
time, for euerie man almost is a builder, and he that
hath bought any small parcell of ground, be it neuer
so little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe
the old house (if anie were there standing) and set vp
a new after his owne deuile. But wherevnto will
this curiolitie come?

Of elme we haue great store in euerie high waie
and elswhere, yet haue I not seene thereof anie to-
gether in woods or forrests, but where they haue bene
first planted and then suffered to spread at their owne
volles. Yet haue I knowen great woods of beech
and basell in manie places, especiallie in Warke-
shire, Drifordshire, and Buckinghamshire, where
they are greatlie cherished, & conuerted to sundrie v-
ses by such as dwell about them. Of all the elms that
euer I saw, those in the south side of Dover court,
in Essex nere Hartwich are the most notable, for they
grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are al-
most apt for nothing else but nauie timber, great or-
dinance, and beetsels: and such thereto is their natu-
rall qualitie, that being vsed in the said behalfe, they
continue longer, and more long than anie the like
trees in whatsoeuer parcell else of this land, without
cypar, making, or cleauing, as I find.

As cometh by euerie where of it selfe, and with
euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great
plentie and no lesse vse of these in our husbandrie, so
are we not without the plane, the bgh, the soze, the
chestnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and such like.
And although that we inioy them not in so great
plentie now in most places, as in times past, or the
other afore remembred: yet haue we sufficient of
them all for our necessarie turnes and vses, especial-
lie of bgh; as may be seene betwixt Kotheram and
Sheffield, and some streds of Kent also, as I haue
bene informed.

The firre, frankincense, and pine, we doe not alto-
gether want, especiallie the firre, whereof we haue
some store in Chatle more in Darbithire, Shrop-
shire, Andernesse, and a mosse nere Manchester, not
far from Leicesters house: although that in time
past not onelie all Lancastershire, but a great part
of the coast betwixen Chesser and the Solme were
well stored. As for the frankincense and pine, they
haue bene planted onelie in colleges and cloisters,
by the cleargie and religious: & therefore, Wherefore

(in mine opinion) we may rather saie that we want
them altogether: for except they grew naturallie,
and not by force, I see no cause why they should be
accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue
also the aspe, whereof our fletcher make their ar-
rowes. The severall kinds of poplars of our turners
haue great vse for bolles, treies, troughs, dishes, &c.
Also the alder, whose barke is not vnprofitable to die
blacke withall, and therefore much vsed by our coun-
trie wiues in colouring their knit hosen. I might
here take occasion to speake of the great sales yere-
lie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath
bin destroyed within these few yeers: but I giue ouer
to trauell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare
affirme, that if woods go so fast to decreaie in the
next hundred yeare of Grace, as they haue done and
are like to doe in this, sometimes for increase of sheep-
walks, and some maintenance of prodigallitie and
pompe (for I haue knowne a well burnished gen-
tleman that hath borne threescore at once in one
paire of galigalcons to shew his strength and braue-
rie) it is to be feared that the fennie bote, brome,
turfte, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies,
hassacks, flags, straw, sedge, reed, rush, and also sea-
cole will be good merchandize euen in the citie of
London, wherevnto some of them euen now haue
gotten readie passage, and taken by their innes in
the greatest merchants parlours. A man would
thinke that our lawes were able inough to make suf-
ficient prouision for the redress of this error: & eno-
mitie likelie to insue. But such is the nature of our
countriemen, that as manie lawes are made, so they
will keepe none; or if they be byged to make answer,
they will rather seeke some crooked construction of
them to the increase of their priuat gaine, than yeld
themselues to be guided by the same for a common
wealth and profit to their countrie. So that in the end
whatsoeuer the law saith we will haue our willes,
whereby the wholesome ordinances of the prince are
contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & counsellors
as it were derided, the common wealth impoveri-
shed, & a few onelie enriched by this peruerse dealing.
Thus manie thousand persons doe suffer hinderance
by this their lewd behauior. Hereby the wholesome
lawes of the prince are oft defrauded, and the god
meaning magistrate in consultation about the com-
mon wealth utterly neglected. I would wish that I
might liue no longer than to see foure things in this
land reformed, that is: the want of discipline in the
church: the couetous dealing of most of our mer-
chants in the preferment of the commodities of o-
ther countreies, and hinderance of their owne: the
holding of faires and markets vpon the Sundaye to be
abolished and referred to the Wednesdayes: and that
euerie man, in whatsoeuer part of the champaine
soile enioyeth foure acres of land, and vponwards, after
that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme,
might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with
oke mast, basell, beech, and sufficient prouision be
made that it may be cherished and kept. But I feare
me that I should then liue too long, and so long, that
I should either be wearie of the world, or the world
of me; and yet they are not such things but they may
easilie be brought to passe.

Certes euerie small occasion in my time is e-
nough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie triffe
sufficieth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto
pasture. As for the taking downe of houses, a small
fine will breake out a great manie. Would to God
we might once take example of the Romans, who in
restraint of superfluous grasing, made an exact li-
mitation, how manie head of cattell ech estate might
keepe, and what numbers of acres should suffice for
that and other purposes. Neither was wood euer
better

This gentle-
man caught
such an heate
with this soze
load that he
was faine to
go to Rome
for physicks,
yet it could
not saue his
life, but he
must needs
die home-
wards.

better cherished of mansion houses maintained, than by their lawes and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of nauigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, p̄erelie to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, least their vnnecessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might proue a p̄iudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stufte for the furniture of their nauie. Certes the like heereof is yet obserued in Venice. Read also I praye you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common nauie, I passe it ouer, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what do I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods? Well, take this then for a small conclusion in woods, that besides some countries are already giuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an heauie report: within these fortie yeeres we shall haue little great timber growing aboue fortie yeeres old; for it is commonlie seene that those yong staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentieth yeeres fall, are vsuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marishes and
fennes.

Marishes and fennie bogges we haue many in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers doe specifye, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yeere, so are a number of them which lie lowe and nere to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach. Yet this I find of manie mores, that in times past they haue bene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may see the triall (beside the rots that are baillie found in the deeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Merioneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of fire hath groben in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marishes with long spits, which they dally here and there by to the berie cronge into the ground. In which practice, (a thing commonlie done in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie firme trees which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blocks, they note the place, and about haruest time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them by, and afterward carieng them home, applie them to their vses. The like doe they in Shropshire with the like, which hath bene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Shalop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the saue to haue lien there since Noies flood: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to grow enen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lancashire and Cambrja was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or querthrowne vpon sundrie occasions, was left lying in some places still on the ground, and in p̄ocesse of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due substance, are now turned into marie plots. Whereby it cometh to passe also, that great plenty of water cometh betwene the new loafe swart and the old hard earth, that being drowen a waie by ditching and dycaues (a thing some doe if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might some leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and advantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincoln was sometime builded by Lud brother

to Cassibelan, who called it Castr Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decayed there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogether about the same. The hilles called the Deke were in like sort named Pennith and Drcott, that is, the wooddie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be seene in those places, let him that hath bene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath bene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marishes, and so far as I can deale with the same.

Of baths and hot welles.

Chap. 23.



So almightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little enriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appereth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Halliwell; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the same of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is nere vnto Warrington, a towne in Darbithire, situate in the high Deke, not passing stricene miles from Manchester, or Markehesterford, and twentieth from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be seene; of which three are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hottest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summerfetshire, so cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fine quartres of running water were added therevnto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the same. Here vpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great speed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it doth more effectualie and commodiouslie than those in Summerfetshire, and infer withall lesse gracious accidents in the restraining of naturall issues, strengthening the assailed members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annolous opilations, and qualifying of sundrie gricfes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so speedilie perceived. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Peltonam, and within certaine miles of Conventrie, the water whereof (as it is thought) proceedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue bene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnplesant nor vnsauorie in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefeest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plenty of water without ante

any notable diminution of the spring is daily carried into sundrie parties of the realme, & drunk by such as haue need to occupie the same. Of the other two, one is reserved for such as be comelie personages and void of lothsome diseases: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clenfed daily as the other is, whereby it becometh the wholesomer. Spanie diseases also are cured in the same, as the palse, dimneste of sight, dulnesse of hearing, but especiallie the collike and the stone, old sores and greene wounds; so that I suppose there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more speedie force in these behalfes, than the vse of this simple liquor is to such as do frequent it. The said water hath a naturall property also following it which is rare, for if a lease, or stick of ash, oke, &c. do fall into the same, within a short space, such stoe of fine sand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reserved, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will seeme to become an hard stone, and much like unto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue seene by experience. At the first entrance it is verie cold, but after a season it warmeth the goer in, casting him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet sustained anie manner of impeachment through the coldnesse of the same. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitsuntide, by a man who had wounded himselfe, & comming by the same water, thought onelie to wash the blood from his hand therewith, and so to go home and seeke for helpe by surgerie: finally finding the paine well allwaged, & the wound faire clenfed, he departed, and mistaking his vsuall medicines, he estones came againe, and so often indeed vnto the said water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practise. By this meanes also he became a counsellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they should trie the vertue of this spring, who finding ease also, gaue out such commendation of the said water, that now at this present their fame is fallie equall, and the resort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beside this, the cures of such diseases as their forces do extend vnto, is much more speedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie also not smallie to be considered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called *Stewton*, a little from saint *Peots*, or (as we pronounce it) saint *Peeds*, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two springs are knowne to be, of which the one is verie sweet and fresh, the other brackish & salt; this is good for scabs and leaperie (as it is said) the other for dimneste of sight. Werie manie also do make their repair vnto them for sundrie diseases, some returning whole, and some nothing at all amended, because their cure is without the reach and working of those waters. Fewer went people so fast from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to these welles, and those nere *Kugbie*, both places being discovered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found also about *Watcliffe* nere London, euen at the same season. But sith rumors are now spread almost of euerie spring, & vaine tales lie about in manner of euerie water, I surcease to speake at all of anie other, till further experience do trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but most of these already mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred also, though confuted by the writers of old time; & yet in procelle of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of sundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enemies, whereby their manifold benefit hath wonderfullie bene misse.

The last place of our baths, is a citie in *Summersetshire*, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be seene and vfed. At the first it was called *Cair Bledub*, and not *Cair Bledune*, as some would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient castell at *Palmeburie*, which the Saxons named *Engleburne*. Ptolomie after ward called it *Therma*, other *Aqua solis*, or *Scamannia*, or *Acmancesser*, but now it hight generallie *Bath* in English, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it selfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerse notable antiquities ingraued in stone, to be seene in the wals thereof; and first of all betwene the south gate and the west, and betwixt the west gate and the north.

The first is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue seene of *Antius the Romane*. The second betwene the south and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of *Hercules*, for he held in each hand a serpent, and so doth this. Thirddie there standeth a man on foot with a sword in his one hand, and a buckler stretched out in the other. There is also a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of *Alcimedon*. There are moreover two naked images, whereof the one embraceth the other, beside sundrie antike heads, with ruffled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine *Romane* letters, but so defaced that no man liuing can read them at this present. There is moreover the image of *Lacoon*, intoned with two serpents, and an other inscription, and all these betwene the south and the west gates, as I haue said before.

Now, betwene the west and north gate are two inscriptions, of which some words are euident to be read, the residue are cleane defaced. There is also the image of a naked man, and a stone in like sort, which hath *Cupidines & Iubricas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image bined and finelie disposed both aboue and beneath. Finally (saying that I saw after ward the image of a naked man grasping a serpent in each hand) there was an inscription of a tome or buriall, wherein these words did plainelie appeare, *Vixit annos xxx*: but so defusedlie written, that letters stood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes I will not saie whether these were set into the places where they now stand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it selfe, and placed afterwards in those wals, in their necessarie reparations.

But howsoever the matter standeth, this is to be gathered by our histories, that *Bladud* first builded that citie there, and peraduenture might also kindle the sulphurous beines, of purpose to burne continuallie there in the honour of *Minerua*: by which occasion the springs therabout did in procelle of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for sundrie kinds of diseases. Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that *Minerua* was the cheefe goddess and gouernesse of these waters, because of the nerenesse of hir temple vnto the same. *Solinus* addeth furthermore, how that in hir said temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer consume into dead sparkles; but so soon as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard stone: all which I take to be nothing else than the effect of the aforesaid fire, of the sulphurous beine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters do come. That these baths or waters are derived from such, the marchantises, which the Grecians call *Pyritis*, per antonomasiam (for being smit with the iron, it yeldeth more sparkes than anie sint or calcedonie, and therefore seemeth to deserue the name: as howe the rest) and besides these other stones mixed with some copper, and daily found vpon the mounte *teins*

Chap. 25.

The Pyritis is found almost in euerie beine of metall in great plenty, diuers sities and colour, and sometime mixed with that metall of whose excrements it consisteth.

teins thereabouts will beare sufficient witness, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner also the father of English physick, and an excellent diuine, supposeth that these springs do draw their forces from sulphur: or if there be any other thing mingled withall, he guesseth that it should be salt peter, because he found an obscure likelihood of the same, euen in the crosse bath. But that they participate with any allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beleue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of the citie, which standeth in a pleasant bottome, intrenched on euery side with great hils, out of the which come so manie springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that euery house is serued with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettal being the more plentiful and lesse of value vnto them, because it is not had far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolved, and their founders, if place did serue therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselves, wherof in the title of this chapter I protested to intreat.

Crosse bath.

There are two springs of water (as Leland saith) in the west south west part of the towne, whereof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the midst thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leppie, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe it is verie temperate and pleasant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand vnder, when raine doth ought annoie them.

Common bath.

The common bath, or as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot, or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compasse within the wall than the other, and with onelie leauen arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is two/thirle called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bone: but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tollerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little street, and ioine to S. Thomas hospitall, so that it may be thought that Reginald bishop of Bath made his house nere vnto these common baths, onelie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

King bath.

The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of the cathedrall church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the bryms thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who being of the gentrie for the most part, do resort thither indifferently, but not in such lasciuious sort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, whereof some write more a great deale than modestie should reueale, and honestie performe. There went a sluice out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vfed for baths, but now I do not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

Colour of the water of the baths. Taste of the water.

As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a deepe blew, and reeketh much after the manner of a seething pot, commonlie yielding somewhat a sulphurous taste, and verie vnpleasant sauer. The water also that runneth from the two small baths, goeth by a dike into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge; but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into

Auon about Bath bydage, where it loseth both force and tast, and is like vnto the rest. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is utterly prohibited, that is to saie, at high noone, and midnight: for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruently, and become so hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or any while susteine their force and vehement working. They purge themselves furthermore from all such filth as the diseased do leaue in each of them, wherfore we do forbear the rash entrance into them at that time: and so much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of any new diseases, depart more greivously affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in deed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes therefore they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the keeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or should leaue) free passage vnto such as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

Fall of the water.

Not good to enter into baths at all seasons.

What cost of late hath bene bestowed vpon these baths by diuerse of the nobilitie, gentrie, commonaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repaired and garnished with sundrie curious peces of workmanship, partly touching their commendation, and partly for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, cleaner kept, & more friendlie prouision made for such pouertie as daile repaireth thither. But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilest they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrees. But where shall a man find any equall regard of poore and rich, though God doth giue these his good gifts frelie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the customs vfed in these baths, what number of physicians daile attend vpon those waters, for no man (especially such as be able to intertaine them) doth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither do vrinke oftentimes of that medicinable liquour: but then I should exceed the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it over to others, hoping that some man yet long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous cleargie Doctor Turner hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I do not know of manie that haue travelled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with any great commendation; much lesse of any that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers that resort vnto the same.

Of antiquities found.

Chap. 24.

HAuing taken some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amiss to deale yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselves, whereby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this land

land made in some cases more manifestly appear. For such was their possession of this Island on this side of the Tine; that they held not one or two, or a few places onely under their subiection, but all the whole countrey from east to west, from the Tine to the British sea, so that there was no regit on void of their gouernance: notwithstanding that untill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his issue, they did permit the successors of Lud and Cinbaline to reigne and rule amongst them, though vnder a certaine tribute, as else where I haue declared. The chiefe cause that bzgeth me to speake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, intending (if euer my Chronologie shall happen to come abroad) to set downe the liuelie portraictures of euery emperor ingrauen in the same: also the faces of Pompeie, Craesus, the seuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerse other, which I haue prouided readie for the purpose, beside the monuments and liuelie images of sundrie philosophers, and kings of this Island since the time of Edward the Confessor: wherof although presentlie I want a few, yet I do not doubt but to obtaine them all, if friendship at the least wile procured for monie shall be able to preuaile. But as it hath done hitherto, so the charges to be employed vpon these brassen or copper images, will hereafter put by the impression of that treatise: whereby it maie come to passe, that long trauell shall sone proue to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to verie small successe. Wherof yet I force not greatly, sith by this means I haue reaped some commoditie vnto my selfe, by searching of the histories, which often minister store of examples readie to be used in my function, as occasion shall moue me. But to proceed with my purpose.

Before the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Britaine, as Caesar confelleth in the first booke of his Commentaries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a report of certaine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they used in his time, in stead likewise of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I saie) to haue the certaine view of any of these, so after the comming of the Romans, they enforced vs to abandon our stone, and receiue such imperiall monies or coines, as for the payment of their legions was daily brought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is easie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Island, as well of gold and siluer, as of copper, brasse, and other mettall, much like Steele, almost of euery emperor. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it still represent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take heed how we yeld our selues to the regiment of strangers. Of the store of these monies, found vpon the Kentish coast, I haue already made mention in the description of Richborough, and chapter of Isles adiacent vnto the British Albion, and there shewed also how simple fishermen haue had plentie of them, and that the conies in making profers and holes to beed in, haue scraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In speaking also of S. Albans, in the chapter of towines and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of these coines haue bene gathered there: wherfore I shall not need here to repeat the same againe. Howbeit this is certaine, that the most part of all these antiquities, to be found within the land, & distant from the shore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and towines decayed, or in inclosed burrowes, where their legions accustomed sometime to winter, as by experience is daily confirmed. What

store hath bene scene of them in the citie of London, which they called Augusta, of the legion that sojourned there, & likewise in Dorke named also Alitric, of the legion Victoria, or Altera Roma (because of the beautie and fine building of the same) I my selfe can partly witnesse, that haue scene, & often had of them, if better testimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colchester, where those of Claudius, Adrian, Traian, Vespasian, and other, are often times plowed by, or found by other means: also of Cantorburie, Andredescheffer (now decayed) Rochester, then called Durobrzeum, Winchester, and diuerse other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie sake I do passe ouer in silence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where most are found in deed, is nere vnto Carleon and Cairgwent in Southwailes, about Kenchesfer, thre miles aboue Hereford, Aldborough, Ancaster, Bzandon, Dodington, where a spurte and peece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eighth his daies, besides much of the said Roman coine, Winchester, Camalest, Lacoche vpon Aunon, and Lincoln, Dorchester, Warwicke, and Chesham, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It seemeth that Ancaster hath bene a great thing, for manie square & colozed pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by such as dig and plow in the fields about the same. And amongst these, one Wresbie or Rosebie, a plowman, did ere by not long since a stone like a trough, covered with another stone, wherein was great foison of the aforesaid coines. The like also was scene not yet fortye yeares agoe about Grantsham. But in king Henrie the eighth his daies, an husbandman had far better lucke at Warleson, two miles from the aforesaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coine, but also an huge brasse pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie frettyed with pearle, and set with all kind of costlie stones: he took by also chaines much like vnto beads of siluer, all which, as being (if a man might ghesse anye certaintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he presented to quene Katharine then lieng at Peterborough, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agoe, though so defaced with mouldiness, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into peeces, much lesse read them by reason of their blindness.

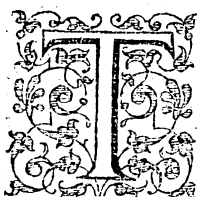
In the beginning of the same kings daies also at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harnessed with pure gold, and a great masse pomell with a crosse hilt for a sword of the same mettall, beside studs and harnesse for spurs, and the huge long spurs of like stuffe, whereof one doctor Kuthall got a part into his hands. The borowes or buries, wherof I spake before, were certaine plots of ground, wherein the Romane souldiers did vse to lie when they kept in the open fields as chosen places, from whence they might haue easie access vnto their aduersaries, if anye outrage were wrought or rebellion moued against them. And as these were the vsual abodes for those able legions that serued daily in the wars, so had they other certaine habitations for the old and forwoone souldiers, whereby diuerse cities grew in time to be replenished with Romane colonies, as Carleon, Colchester, Chesham, and such other, of which Colchester bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddess of Victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth *Aram sempiterna dominationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our British seruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes, they were generallie walled about with stone wals, and so large in compasse that some did containe thirtie, fourtie, thre score, or eightie acres of ground within

within their limits: they had also diuerse gates of
ports vnto each of them, and of these not a few re-
maine to be seene in our time, as one for example not
far from great Cheshford in Essex, néere to the li-
mits of Cambridgeshire, which I haue often viewed,
and wherein the compasse of the verie wall with the
places where the gates stand is easie to be discerned:
the like also is to be seene at a place within two
miles south of Burton, called the Bozow hills. In
these therefore and such like, and likewise at Goults-
burg, now S. Beots, or S. Beeds, and sundrie other
places, especially vpon the those and coasts of
Kent, as Dover, Rie, Romney, &c. is much of
their coine also to be found, and some pences or other
are dallie taken vp, which they call Bozow pence,
Dwarfs monie, Hegg pence, Fetrie groats, Jewes
monie, & by other foolish names not worthy to be re-
membred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Bri-
tons vsed these holds as rescues for their cattell in
the daie and night, when their enemies were abroad;
the like also did the Saxons against the Danes, by
which occasions (and now and then by carieng of
their stones to helpe forward other buildings néere
at hand) manie of them were throwne downe and
defaced, which otherwise might haue continued for a
longer time, and so your honour would saie, if you
should happen to peruse the thickenesse and maner of
building of those said walls and bozowes. It is not
long since a siluer saucer of verie ancient making
was found néere to Saffron Walden, in the open
field among the Sterbrie hills, and eared vp by a
plough, but of such masse greatnesse, that it weighed
better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard repo-
ted. But if I should stand in these things vntill I had
said all that might be spoken of them, both by expe-
rience and testimonie of Leland in his Commenta-
ries of Brittain, and the report of diuerse yet liuing,
I might make a greater chapter than would be ei-
ther conuenient or profitable to the reader: where-
fore so much onelie shall serue the turne for this time
as I haue said already of antiquities found within
our Iland, especially of coine, whereof I purposed
chiefelie to intreat.

Sterbrie a
place where
an armie hath
been.

Of the coines of England.

Chap. 25.



The Saxon coine before the
conquest is in maner utter-
lie vnknotone to me: how-
beit if my coniecture be anie
thing, I suppose that one shyl-
ling of siluer in those daies
did counterpasse our com-
mon ounce, though after-
ward it came to passe that it arosc to twentie pence,
and so continued vntill the time of king Henrie the
eight, who first brought it to thre shillings and foure
pence, & afterward our siluer coine vnto halfe & cop-
per monies, by reason of those incalculable charges,
which diuerse waies oppressed him. And as I gather
such obscure notice of the shilling which is called in
Latine *solidus*, so I read more manifestlie of another
which is the 48 part of a pound, and this also currant
among the Saxons of our Ile, so well in gold as in
siluer, at such time as 240 of their penies made vp
a full pound, siue pence went to the shilling, and
foure shillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my
purpose. After the death of k. Henrie, Edward his
sonne began to restore the aforesaid coine againe vnto
fine siluer: so quene Marie his successeur did con-
tinue his good purpose, notwithstanding that in his
time the Spanishe monie was verie comon in Eng-

Copper mo-
nie.

land, by reason of his marriage with Philip king of
Spaine.

After his decease the ladie Elizabeth his sister,
and now our most gracious quene, souereigne and
princesse, did finish the matter wholie, utterly abolish-
ing the vse of copper and brassen coine, and conuerting
the same into guns and great ordnance, she restored
sundrie coines of fine siluer, as pences of halfe penie
farding, of a penie, of thre halfe pence, pences of two
pence, of thre pence, of foure pence (called the
groat) of six pence vsmallie named the testone, and
shilling of twelue pence, whereon the hath imprinted
his owne image, and emphaticall superscription.
Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which
hath remained since the time of king Edward the
third, or bene coined by such other princes, as haue
reigned since his deceasse, without anie abasing or
diminution of the finesse of that metall. Therof also
we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble,
the Henrie riall, the salut, the angel, and their smal-
ler pences, as halfe or quarters, though the se in my
time are not so common to be seene. I haue also be-
held the souereigne of twentie shillings, and the pence
of thirtie shillings, I haue heard likewise of pences
of fortie shillings, thre pounds, siue pounds, and ten
pounds. But sith there were few of them coined, and
those onelie at the commandement of kings, pease-
lie to bestow where their maiesties thought good in
lien of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not re-
quisite that I should remember them here amongst
our currant monies.

Siluer re-
stored.

Old gold.

The new gold is taken for such as began to be
coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight,
at which time the finesse of the metall began to be
verie much alaid, & is not likelie to be restored for
ought that I can see: and yet is it such as hath bene
coined since by his successors princes of this realme,
in value and goodnesse equal and not inferiour to the
coine and currant gold of other nations, where each
one doth couet chiefelie to gather by our old finer
gold: so that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more
plentifullie seene in France, Italie, and Flanders,
than they be by a great deale within the realme of
England, if you regard the payments which they da-
lie make in those kinds of our coine. Our pences
now currant are of ten shillings, siue shillings, and
two shillings and six pence onelie: and those of sun-
drie stamps and names, as halfe souereigns (equal
in weight with our currant shilling, whereby that
gold is valued at ten times so much siluer) quarters
of souereigns (otherwise called crownes) and halfe
crownes: likewise angels, halfe angels, and quar-
ters of angels, or if there be anie other, in god soch I
know them not, as one scarcelie acquainted with a-
ny siluer at all, much lesse then (God it wot) with any
store of gold.

New gold.

The first currant shilling or siluer pences of twelue
pence stamped within memorie, were coined by k.
Henrie the eight in the twentieth yeare of his reigne,
& those of siue shillings, and of two shillings and six
pence, & the halfe shilling by king Edward the first:
but the old pences aboue remembred vnder the groat
by our high and mightie princesse quene Elizabeth,
the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie,
and farding, in old time the greatest siluer monies
if you respect their denominations onelie, being
more ancient than that I can well discusse of the
time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that
king Edward the first in the eight yeare of his
reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest pences
of siluer roundwise, which before were square, and
wont to beare a double crosse with a cress, in such sort
that the penie might easilie be broken, either into
halfe or quarters: by which first onelie the people
came

came by small monies, as halfe pence and farthings, that otherwise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the single, double, and the double double, the crusadoes, with the long crosse and the short: the portugue, a peece verie solemnelie kept of diuerse, & yet oft times abased with washing, or absolutelie counterfeited: and finally the French and Flemish crownes, onlie currant among vs, so long as they hold weight. But of silver coines, as the soules turnois, whereof ten make a shilling, as the franke doth two shillings, and three franke the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalbers, and such oftentimes brought ouer, but neuertheless exchanged as basion, according to their finenesse and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by such as haue authority.

In old time we had sundrie mints in England, and those commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houses before the conquest, where true dealing was commonlie supposed most of all to dwell: as at Hamseie, S. Edmundsburie, Canturburie, Glasseburie, Peterborow, and such like, sundrie exemplifications of the grants whereof are yet to be seene in writing, especiallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: whereunto it appereth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they trusted themselves best with the oversight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerse of their owne, although they afterward permitted some for small peces of silver vnto sundrie of the houses aforesaid. In my time diuerse mints are suppressed, as Southwarke, Bristow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to saie, the Tower of London, where it is continually holden and perused, but not without great gaine to such as deale withall. There is also coinage of tin holden

pearelie at two severall times, that is to saie, at summer and Michaelmas in the west countie: which at the first hearing I supposed to haue bene of monie of the said mettall, and granted by priuilege from some prince vnto the towne of Hailestone, Trurie, and Lostwithiell. Whowbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing so, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherein he is allowed the ordinarie customes of that mettall: and such blocks of tin as haue passed the hands of his officers, are marked with an especiall stampe, whereby it is knowne that the custome due for the same hath ordinarilie bene answered. It should seme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingstone vpon Thames (sometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vsuallie crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in earing of the ground about that towne in times past, and now of late (besides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue bene ripped up by plowes, and diuerse coines of brasse, silver, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the daies of cardinall Wolseie, one such huge pot was discovered full as it were of new silver latelie coined: another with plates of silver readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of silver and such broken stufte redie (as it should appeere) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this suffice to countenance out my conjecture. Of coines currant before the coming of the Romans I haue elsewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Flanders of Scythia, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Celtsences did barter ware for ware, so the Britons used brasse or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in stead of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Visantines also did, & the Achai (as Homer writeth) who had (saith he) rough peces of brasse and iron in stead of coine, wherewith they purchased their wines.



The contents of the third booke.

- | | | | |
|---|---|----|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | Of cattell kept for profit. | | thereof. |
| 2 | Of wild and tame foules. | 9 | Of quarries of stone for building. |
| 3 | Of fish vsuallie taken vp on our coasts. | 10 | Of sundrie minerals. |
| 4 | Of sauage beasts and vermines. | 11 | Of mettals to be had in our land. |
| 5 | Of hawkes and rauinous foules. | 12 | Of pretious stones. |
| 6 | Of venemous beasts. | 13 | Of salt made in England. |
| 7 | Of our English dogs and their qualities. | 14 | Of our accompt of time and his parts. |
| 8 | Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof. | 15 | Of principall faires and markets. |
| | | 16 | Of our innes and thorowfares. |

Of cattell kept for profit.

Chap. I.



There is no kind of tame cattell vsuallie to be seene in these parts of the world, wherof we haue not some, and that great store in England; as horses, oxen, sheepe, goats, swine, and far surmounting the like in other countries, as may be

prooued with ease. For there are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horses more decent and pleasant in pale, kine more commodious for the pale, sheepe more profitable for wool, swine more wholesome of flesh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with vs in England. But to speke of them peculiarly, I suppose that our kine are so abundant in yeld of milke, wherof we make our butter & cheese, as the like anie where else, and so apt for the plough in diuerse places as either our horses or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they seme to come short of that commoditie which is looked for

Oxen.

Athenæus lib.
10, cap. 3.

Horses.

in other countries, to wit, in that they bring forth most commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines also gotten by a colt (all charges borne) hath bene valued at twentieth shillings yearelie: but now as land is enhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaye more and more, if ground arise to be yet dearer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleasure. I heard of late of a colt in Warwickshire, belonging to Thomas Winer of Studley, which in six yeeres had sixteen calves, that is, foure at once in three caluings and twise twins, which unto manie may seeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oxen are such as the like are not to be found in anye countrie of Europe, both for greatnesse of bodie and sweetnesse of flesh: or else would not the Romanes writers haue preferred them before those of Liguria. In most places our grassiers are now grauen to be so cunning, that if they do but see an ox or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will giue a ghesse at his weight, and how manie scoze or stone of flesh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may line by the sale, and what he may haue for the skin and tallow; which is a point of skill not commonlie practised heretofore. Some such grassiers also are reported to ride with velvet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their absence their wiues will not let to supplie those turnes with no lesse skill than their husbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, sth he though this means can seldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like sort the flesh of our oxen and kine is sold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in yong ware rather by weight, especiallie for the skere and heigher, sth the finer beefe is the lightest, whereas the flesh of buls and old kine, &c. is of sadder substance and therefore much heavier as it lieth in the scale. Their hornes also are knotone to be more faire and large in England than in anye other places, except those which are to be seene among the Præones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our breed generally by nature, yet it is now and then helped also by art. For when they be verie yong, manie grassiers will oftentimes appoint their budding hornes, or tender tips with hornie, which mollifieth the naturall hardnesse of that substance, and thereby maketh them to grow unto a notable greatnesse. Certes, it is not strange in England, to see oxen whose hornes haue the length of a pard or three foot betwene the tips, and they themselves thereto so tall, as the heighth of a man of meane and indifferent stature is scarce equall unto them. Neuertheless it is much to be lamented that our generall breed of cattell is not better looked vnto: for the greatest occupiers weane least store, because they can buie them (as they saie) far better cheape than to raise and bring them vp. In my time a colt hath risen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithstanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring forth more than one calfe a peere, as I heare they do in other countries.

Our horses moreover are high, and although not so commonlie of such huge greatnesse as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easinesse of their pace, it is hard to saie where their like are to be had. Our land doth yeld no asses, and therefore we want the generation also of mules and somers; and therefore the most part of our cariage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either referred for the cart, or appointed to beare such burdens as are convenient for them. Our cart or plough horses (for we vse them indifferently) are commonlie so strong that five or six of them (at the most) will draw three thousand weight of the greatest tale with ease for a long iourneie, although it be not a load of common vse, which consisteth anlie of two thousand, or fif-

tie foot of timber, fortye bushels of wheet salt, or six and thirtie of baie, or five quarters of wheat, experience daily teacheth, and I haue elsewhere remembred. Such as are kept also for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anye hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, whereby it cometh to passe, that when the queenes maiestie doth remove from anye one place to another, there are usuallye 400 carewages, which amount to the summe of 2400 horses, appointed out of the countries adjoining, whereby hir cariage is conueied safelye vnto the appointed place. Whereby also the ancient vse of somers and sumpter horses is in maner utterly relinquished, which causeth the traines of our princes in their progresses to shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations.

Such as serue for the saddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie deere among vs, especially if they be well coloured, lustie limbed, and haue thereto an easie ambling pace. For our countrymen, seeking their ease in euery corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualities, but chieflie in their excellent paces, which besides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horses of our soile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner sitting on their backs: it is moreover verie pleasant and delectable in his eares, in that the noise of their well proportioned pace doth yeld comfortable sound as he traueleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceit vnto anye where than among our horsekeepers, horsecofers, and hollers: for such is the subtil knauerie of a great sort of them (without exception of anye of them be it spoken which deale for priuat gaines) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceived by some false trickes or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horses and colts is bought and sold, and whereunto such as haue need resort yearelie to buie and make their necessarie provision of them, as Hippon, Newmarket, Wolfpit, Harbottle, and diuerse other. But as most buyers are verie diligent to bring great store of these vnto those places; so manie of them are too slow in abusing such as buie them. For they haue a custome to make them loke faire to the eye, when they come within two daies iourneie of the market, to drine them till they sweate, & for the space of eight or twelue houres, which being done they turne them all over the backs into some water, where they stand for a season, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make sale of their infected ware, and such as by this meanes do fall into manie diseases and maladies. Of such outlandish horses as are daily brought ouer vnto vs I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish colt, and Scottish nag, because that further speech of them cometh not within the compasse of this treatise, and for whose breed and maintenance (especially of the greatest sort) King Henrie the eight erected a noble studderie and for a time had verie good successe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of bassard races, whereby his good purpose came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the best horses in England, and written of the manner of their production: would to God his compasse of ground were like to that of Bella in Syria, wherein the king of that nation had usuallye a studderie of 30000 mares and 300 stallions, as Strabo doth remember lib. 16. But to leaue this, let vs see what may be said of these.

Our sheepe are verie excellent, sth for sweetnesse of

Geldings.

Sheepe for
out horses

of flesh they passe all other. And so much are our
woolles to be preferred before those of Spilecia and o-
ther places, that if Jason had knowne the value of
them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he
would neuer haue gone to Colchis, to loke for anie
there. For as Dionysius Alexandrinus saith in his
De situ orbis, it may by spinning be made comparable
to the spiders web. What soles then are our countri-
men, in that they seeke to bereue themselves of this
commoditie, by practising dastlie how to transfer the
same to other nations, in carteng ouer their rams
& ewes to byrd & increase among them? The first ex-
ample hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth,
who not vnderstanding the botome of the sute of sun-
drye traitorous merchants, that sought a present
gaue with the perpetuall hinderance of their coun-
trie, licenced them to carie ower certeine numbers of
them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few
shipped veris manie: a thing commonlie practised in
other commodites also, whereby the prince and hir
land are not seldome times defrauded. But such is
our nature, and so blind are we in deed, that we see no
inconuenience before we seele it: and for a present
gaue we regard not what damage may insue to our
posteritie. Hereto some other man would ad also the
desire that we haue to benefit other countries, and
to impedy our owne. And it is so sure as God liueth,
that euerie trifle which cometh from beyond the
sea, though it be not worth thre pence, is more este-
med than a continuall commoditie at home with vs,
which far excēdeth that value. In time past the vse of
this commoditie consisted (for the most part) in cloth
and woolfeds: but now by meanes of strangers suc-
coured hre from domesticall persecution, the same
hath bene imployed vnto sundrye other vses, as moc-
kados, bates, bellures, grograines, &c: whereby the
makers haue reaped no small commoditie. It is
furthemore to be noted, for the low countries of
Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithstan-
ding the sharpnesse of our lawes to the contrarie)
doth yet confirme it: that although our rams & ewes
thens do go thither from vs neuer so well headed ac-
cording to their kind: yet after they haue remained
there a while, they cast there their heads, and from
thenceforth they remaine polled without any hornes
at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cherished
in England, than standeth well with the commoditie
of the commons, or prosperitie of diuerse totones,
whereof some are wholie conuerted to their feeding:
yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their flæce, such ne-
cessitie in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the ma-
nuring of barren soile with their dung and pisse, that
their superfluous numbers are the better borne with-
all. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I
speake not of our great shepemaisters of whom some
one man hath 20000) but hath more or lesse of this
cattell feeding on his fallowes and short grounds,
which yeld the finer flæce, as Virgil (following Var-
ro) well espiad Georg. 3. where he saith:

*Si tibi lanicium cura primum aspera filus,
Lappaque tridulque abint fuge pabula lata.*

Nevertheless the shepe of our countrie are often
troubled with the rot (as are our swine with the mea-
sels though neuer so generallie) and manie men are
now and then great losers by the same: but after the
calamitie is ouer, if they can recover and keepe their
new flocks sound for: seauen prayes together, the for-
mer losse will easilie be recompensed with double
commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are
hurtfull to our shepe, howbeit this is but his coniec-
ture: for we know that our shepe are infected by go-
ing to the water, and take the same as a sure and cer-
teine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their
liuers and lights being alreadie distempred through

excessive heat, which infecteth them the rather to seeke
vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the
maine, wherin a man shall generallie find more fine
and wholesome water than in England, and therefore
it is impossible that our shepe should decaie by ta-
sting of the same. Wherefore the hinderance by rot is
rather to be ascribed to the vnseasonableness & moi-
sture of the weather in summer, also their licking in
of mildewes, godsamire, rotuie fogs, & ranke grasse,
full of superfluous iuice: but speciallie (I saie) to ouer
moist wether, whereby the continuall raine pearling
into their hollow felles, soketh forthwith into their
flesh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being also
infected their first shew of sicknesse is their desire to
drinke, so that our waters are not vnto them *Causa*
agritudinis, but *signum morbi*, what so euer Cardan doe
mainteine to the contrarie. There are (& peraduen-
ture no small babes) which are growne to be so good
husbands, that they can make account of cuerie ten
kine to be clærelie worth twentie pounds in comon
and indifferent yeares, if the milke of five shepe be
dailie added to the same. But as I wrote not how
true this surmise is, because it is no part of my trade,
so I am sure hereof, that some housewives can and
do ad dailie a lesse proportion of ewes milke vnto the
cheese of so manie kine, whereby their cheese doth the
longer abide moist, and eateth more byickle and mel-
low than otherwise it would.

Goats we haue plenty, and of sundry colours *Goats.*
in the west parts of England: especiallie in and to-
wards Wales, and amongst the rochie hilles, by
whome the owners doe reape no small advantage:
some also are cherished elsewhere in diuerse steads
for the benefit of such as are diseased with sundrye
maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, cheese,
and bodies of their yong kids are iudged verie possi-
table, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and
nære. Certes I find among the writers, that the
milke of a goat is next in estimation to that of the
woman, for that it helpeth the stomach, remoueth op-
pilations and stoppings of the liuer, and loseth the
bellie. Some place also next vnto it the milke of the
ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can
shew no reason, onelie this I know, that ewes milke
is fullome, sweet, and such in tast, as except such as are
bied vnto it no man will gladlye yeld to liue and feed
withall.

As for swine, there is no place that hath greater *Swine.*
store, nor more wholesome in eating, than are these
here in England, which neuerthe lesse doe neuer anie
good till they come to the table. Of these some we eat
greene for porke, and other dyed vp into bakhon to
haue it of more continuance. Hard we make some
though verie little, because it is chargeable: neither
haue we such vse thereof as is to be seene in France
and other countries, sith we doe either bake our meat
with sweet suet of beefe or mutton, and bast all our
meat with sweet or salt butter, or suffer the fattest to
bast it selfe by leisure. In champaigne countries they
are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to at-
tend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth
them togither by his noise and crie, and leadeth them
forth to feed abroad in the fields. In some places al-
so women doe scotze and wet their cloths with their
dung, as other doe with hemlocks and netles: but
such is the sauor of the cloths touched withall, that I
cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than
such as are scotwed with the refuse sope, than the
which (in mine opinion) there is none more unkindlie
sauor.

Of our tame bozes we make bratone, which is a *Boze.*
kind of meat not vsuallie knowne to strangers (as
I take it) otherwile would not the worst Rufflers
and French cokes, at the losse of Calis (where they
found

Sheepe with-
out hoznes.

found great store of this provision almost in euery house) haue attempted with ridiculous successe to roast, bake, broyle, & frye the same for their masters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreover, how a noble man of England, not long since, did send ouer an hoghead of brawnne readie solued to a catholike gentleman of France, who supposing it to be fish, reserved it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he so well liked of the provision it selfe, that he wrote ouer verie earnestlie & with offer of great recompense for more of the same fish against the yeare ensuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue bene flesh, he would not haue touched it (I dare saie) for a thousand crownes without the popes dispensation. A friend of mine also dwelling sometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Jewes at his table, did set brawnne before them, whereas they did eat verie earnestlie, supposing it to be a kind of fish not common in those parties: but when the godman of the house brought in the head in pastime among them, to shew what they had eaten, they rose from the table, bled them home in haile, ech of them procuring himselfe to vomit, some by oyle, and some by other meanes, till (as they supposed) they had clenched their stomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great peece of seruice at the table, from Nouember untill Februarie be ended; but chiefe in the Christmasse time. With the same also we begin our dinners ech daie after other: and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of maluesete, bassard, or muscadell, is vsuallie dronke after it, where either of them are contentlie to be had: otherwisse the meaner sort content themselues with their owne drinke, which at that season is generallie verie strong, and stronger indeed than in all the yeare beside. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame boze, set vp for the purpose by the space of a whole yeare or two, especiallie in gentlemens houses (for the husbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vse above thre or foure moneths, or halfe a yeare at the most) in which time he is dieted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneaste coat, till his fat be hardened sufficientlie for their purpose: afterward he is killed, scalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawnne made, the rest is nothing so fat, and therefore it beareth the name of sowle onellie, and is commonlie reserved for the seruing man and hind, except it please the owner to haue anie part therof baked, which are then handled of custome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are first brawnne with lard, and then sodden; being sodden they are solued in claret wine and vineger a certeine space, and afterward baked in pasties, and eaten of manie in stead of the wild boze, and trulie it is verie good meat: the peckles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be brawnne with lard if you will, and thereby proue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawnne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawnne, the shoulders are named shilds, onellie the ribs retein the former denomination, so that these aforesaid peeces deserue the name of brawnne: the bowels of the beest are commonlie cast awaie because of their ranknesse; and so were likewise his stones; till a foolish fantasie got hold of late amongst some delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dresse them also with great cost for a deintie dish, and bzing them to the boord as a seruice among other of like sort, though not without note of their desire to the prouocation of fleshlie lust, which by this their fond curiositie is not a little reuealed. When the boze is thus cut out, ech peece is wrapped vp, either with bulrushes, or

Brawnne of
the boze.

Baked hog.

peeles, tape, inkle, or such like, and then sodden in a lead or caldron together, till they be so tender that a man may thrust a bused rush or soft straw cleane through the fat: which being done, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to cole: afterward putting it into close vessels, they poure either good small ale or bare mingled with verinice and salt thereto till it be couered, and so let it lie (now and then altering and changing the sousing drinke least it should wax soure) till occasion serue to spend it out of the waie. Some vse to make brawnne of great barrow hogs, and seeth them, and solue the whole, as they do that of the boze; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more easie of digestion. But of brawnne thus much; and so much may seeme sufficient.

Of wild and tame foules.

Chap. 2.

Under requirereth that I speake somewhat of the foules also of England, which I may easilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas such is my small skill in foules, that to say the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation under the sunne, which hath already in the time of the yeare more plentie of wild foule than we, for so manie kinds as our land doth bzing forth, and much more would haue, if those of the higher soile might be spared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of conuious foulers, which set onlie for the pot & purse. Certes this enozmitie bred great trouble in King Johns daies, inso much that going in progresse about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to solace himself, or exercise his falcons. Wherefore being at Bissfow in the Christmas insuing, he restrained all maner of hauking or taking of wild foule throughout England for a season, whereby the land within few yeares was thoroughlie replenished againe. But what stand I upon this impertinent discourse? Of such therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame swan, the bussard, the heron, curlew, snipe, wildgoose, wind or dotterell, bzant, lark, plouer of both sorts, lapwing, teal, wiggeon, mallard, theldrake, houeler, pewee, seamew, barnacle, quaille (who onellie with man are subiect to the falling sicknesse) the notte, the oilet or olife, the dunbird, woodcocke, partridge and feasant, besides diuerse other, whose names to me are bitterlie vnknowne; and much more the taste of their flesh, wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as these serue not at all seasons, so in their severall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentry should seeme at anie time furnisht. But of all these the production of none is more marvellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whose place of generation we haue sought oft times so farre as the Orichades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the same nether home, and not onellie vpon the coasts of Ireland, but euen in our owne rincts. If I should say how either these or some such other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie serueth, and the circumstances do minister occasion), in the Thames mouth, I do not thinke that manie will beleue me: yet such a thing hath there bene seene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a short tender shrub standing nere vnto the thore, from whence the

their time came, they fell downe, either into the salt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and perished, as Pena the french herbarian hath also noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue seene here by experience, I haue already so touched in the chapter of Islands, that it should be but time spent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the description of Span or Spanaw for more of these barnacles, as also in the eleventh chapter of the description of Scotland, & I do not doubt but you shall in some respect be satisfied in the generation of these foules. As for egrets, palupers, and such like, they are daily brought vnto vs from beyond the sea, as if all the foule of our countrie could not suffice to satisfie our delicate appetites.

Our tame foule are such (for the most part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, geese, ducks, peacocks of Inde, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reason of their multitudes, and number of houses daily erected for their increase (which the barbares of the countrie call in scoone almehouses, and dens of thieues, and such like) whereof there is great plenty in euery farmers yard. They are kept there also to be sold either for ready monie in the open markets, or else to be spent at home in good companie amongst their neighbors without reprehension or fines. Neither are we so miserable in England (a thing onlie granted vnto vs by the especiall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or sup with a quarter of a hen, or to make so great a repast with a cocks combe, as they do in some other countries: but if occasion serue, the whole carcasses of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and such like doo oft go to worcke, beside beafe, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euery feast are taken for necessarie dishes amongst the communitie of England.

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practise brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indish peacocks is a neuer deuise: and certeinlie not used amisse, sith the rankenesse of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the strong taste of the flesh in sundrie wise amended. If I should say that ganders grow also to be gelded, I suppose that some will laugh me to scoone, neither haue I tasted at anie time of such a foule so serued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be used in the countrie, where their geese are diuened to the field like herds of cattell by a gosheerd, a toie also no lesse to be marvelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, so is it strange to me to see or heare of geese to be led to the field like sheepe: yet so it is, & their gosheerd carrieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth abroad in the morning to gather his gossings together, the noise whereof commeth no sooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and hasten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the house be stirring, it is ridiculous to see how they will peep vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this sort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept so much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold further more an opinion, that in ouer ranke soiles their dong doth so qualifie the batallenesse of the soile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and sundrie other diseases, although some of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules produced by the industrie of man, as betwene theasant cocke and donghill hen, or betwene theasant and the ringdow, the

peacocke and the turkie hen, the partridge and the pheasant: but sith I haue no more knowledge of these, than what I haue gotten by mine care, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan speaking of the second sort, doth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewise intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauenens, crows, pikes, choughes, rookes, kites, tales, ringtailes, starlings, woodspikes, woodnawes, rauenens, &c: but sith they abound in all countries, though peraduenture most of all in England (by reason of our negligence) I shall not need to spend anie time in the rehearsal of them. Neither are our crows and choughes cherished of purpose to catch by the wormes that breed in our soiles (as Polydor supposeth) sith there are no vplandish towne but haue (or should haue) nets of their owne in store to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewise made for their utter destruction, as also the spoile of other rauenous fowls hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whose valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuise brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the destruction of their white crows, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them also for the rotage out of their wild beastes, sauing that they spare their greatest beares, especiallie the white, whose skins are by custome & priuilege reserved to couer those planners whereupon their priests do stand at Masse, least he should take some vnkind cold in such a long peece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he shall haue pardon inough for that so religious an act, to last if he will till doomes day do approach; and manie thousands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnklike to be true, than that these noisome creatures are nourished amongst vs to deuoure our wormes, which do not abound much more in England than elsewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that some looke for a discourse also of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thrushes, blackebirds, manises, ruddocks, redstarts or dunocks, larkes, linnets, kingsfishers, buntings, turtles white or gracie, linets, bulfinches, goldfinches, walthailes, cheriecrackers, yellowhammers, selfares, &c: but I should then spend more time vpon them than is convenient. Neither will I speake of our coslie and curious antiques daily made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obseruation of their natures: but I cease also to go anie further in these things, hauing (as I thinke) said inough already of these that I haue named.

Offish vsuallie taken vpon

our coasts.

Cap. 3.

I haue in my description of waters, as occasion hath serued, intreated of the names of some of the seuerall fishes which are commonlie to be found in our riuers. Neuer thelesse as euery water hath a sundrie mixture, and therefore is not storied with euery kind: so there is almost no house, euery of the meanest bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reseruatiou of water vnstoried with some of them, as with tench, carpe, bream, roch, dace, eels, or such like as will liue and breed together. Certes it is not possible for me to deliuer the names of all such kinds of fishes

El.ij.

as

as our rivers are found to beare: yet least I should seeme inturious to the reader, in not deliuering so manie of them as haue bene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to set them downe as they do come to mind. Besides the salmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middelt of September to the middelt of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greatest rivers, as their yong stoe are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midsummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, polwt, chenin, pike, god-
 geon, smelt, perch, meenan, chymper, crenises, lam-
 pries, and such like, whose preservation is prouided
 for by verie sharpe lawes, not onelie in our rivers,
 but also in plathes of lakes and ponds, which other-
 wise would bring small profit to the owners, and do
 much harme by continuall maintenance of idle per-
 sons, who would spend their whole times vpon their
 banks, not coueting to labour with their handes, nor
 follow anie good trade. Of all these there are none
 more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in
 the same water, than the pike and eele, which com-
 monlie deuoure such fish of frile and spatone as they
 may get and come by. Neuerthelesse, the pike is
 friend vnto the tench, as to his leach & surgeon. For
 when the fishmonger hath opened his side and laid
 out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better
 utterance of his ware, and can not make him away
 at that present, he laies the same againe into the
 proper place, and sowing by the wound, he restoreth
 him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer cease
 to sucke and lick his greued place, till they haue re-
 stored him to health, and made him ready to come a-
 gaine to the stall, when his turne shall come about. I
 might here make report how the pike, carpe, and
 some other of our river fishes are sold by inches of
 cleane fish, from the eyes or gilles to the crotch of the
 taitles, but it is needlesse: also how the pike as he a-
 geth, receiueth diuerse names, as from a frile to a
 gilthead, from a gilthead to a pod, from a pod to a lacke,
 from a lacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike,
 and last of all to a lute; also that a salmon is the first
 yeare a grauellin, and commonlie so big as an her-
 ring, the second a salmon peale, the third a pug, and
 the fourth a salmon: but this is in like sort vnneces-
 sarie.

I might finally tell you, how that in fennie ri-
 uers sides if you cut a turffe, and laie it with the
 graile downe wards, vpon the earth, in such sort as
 the water may touch it as it passeth by, you shall
 haue a brood of eeles, it would seeme a wonder; and yet
 it is beleued with no lesse assurance of some, than
 that an horse hath laid in a pale full of the like water
 will in short time stirre and become a liuing crea-
 ture. But sith the certaintie of these things is rather
 proued by few than the certaintie of them knowne
 vnto manie, I let it passe at this time. Neuerthe-
 lesse this is generallie obserued in the maintenance
 of frile so well in rivers as in ponds, that in the time
 of spatone we vse to throw in faggots made of wil-
 low and sallow, and now and then of bushes for want
 of the other, whereby such spatone as falleth into the
 same is preserved and kept from the pike, perch, eele
 and other fish, of which the carpe also will feed vpon
 his owne, and thereby hinder the stoe and increase
 of proper kind. Some vse in enerie fitt or season
 yere to laie their great ponds drie for all the sum-
 mer time, to the end they may gather graile, and a
 thin wart for the fish to feed vpon; and afterwards
 stoe them with breeders, after the water be let of
 new againe into them: finally, when they haue
 spatoned, they draw out the breeders, leauing not
 about foure or five behind, euen in the greatest ponds,
 by meanes whereof the rest do prosper the better: and
 this obseruation is most bled in carpe and beame;

as for perch (a delicate fish) it prospereth euerie
 where, I meane so well in ponds as rivers, and also
 in mores and pittes, as I do know by experience,
 though their bottoms be but clae. More would I
 write of our fleshy fish, if anie more were needfull;
 wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto such of the salt
 water as are taken vpon our coasts. As our foules
 therefore haue their seasons, so likewise haue all our
 sorts of sea fish: whereby it cometh to passe that
 none, or at the leastwise verie few of them are to be
 had at all times. Neuerthelesse, the seas that inui-
 ron our coasts, are of all other most plentifull: for
 as by reason of their depth they are a great succour,
 so our low shores minister great plentie of food vnto
 the fish that come thereto, no place being void or bar-
 ren, either through want of food for them, or the fallies
 of filthy rivers, which naturallie annoie them. In
 December therefore and Januarie we commonlie
 abound in herring and red fish, as rochet, and gur-
 nard. In Februarie and March we feed on plaice,
 trotots, turbot, muskles, &c. In Aprill and Maie,
 with makrell, and cockles. In June and Iulie, with
 conger. In August and September, with haddocke
 and herring: and the two moneths insuing with the
 same, as also thornbacke and reigh of all sorts; all
 which are the most vsuall, and therewith our com-
 mon sort are best of all refreshed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted
 neither with the seasons, nor yet with the fish it selfe:
 and therefore if I should take vpon me to describe or
 speake of either of them absolutelie, I should enter-
 pise more than I am able to performe, and go in
 hand with a greater matter than I can well bring
 about. It shall suffice therefore to declare what sorts
 of fishes I haue most often sene, to the end I may
 not altogether passe ouer this chapter without the re-
 herfall of something, although the whole summe of
 that which I haue to saie be nothing indeed, if the
 performance of a full discourse hereof be anie thing
 hardlie required.

Of fishes therefore as I find foue sorts, the flat,
 the round, the long, the legged and shelled: so the
 flat are diuided into the smooth, scaled and tailed.
 Of the first are the plaice, the but, the turbot, birt,
 stoke or sea flounder, dorreie, dab, &c. Of the second
 the soles, &c. Of the third, our chaits, maidens, king-
 sons, slath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be
 for the most part either dried and carried into other
 countries, or sodden, sowled, & eaten here at home,
 whilst the lesser be fried or buttered; some after they
 be taken as prouision not to be kept long for feare of
 putrifaction. Under the round kinds are common-
 lie comprehended lumps, an bgle fish to sight, and
 yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindly dressed:
 the whiting (an old waiter or seruitor in the court) the
 rochet, sea beame, pirl, hake, sea trotot, gurnard,
 haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, sprat, and such like.
 And these are they whereof I haue best knowledge,
 and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our
 coasts. Under this kind also are all the great fish
 contained, as the scale, the dolphin, the porpoise, the
 shirlepole, whale, and whatsoeuer is round of bodie
 be it neuer so great and huge. Of the long sort are
 congers, eels, garefish, and such other of that forme.
 Finally, of the legged kind we haue not manie, nei-
 ther haue I sene anie more of this sort than the Po-
 lypus called in English the lobstar, crabs, or creuis,
 and the crab. As for the little crabs they are not
 taken in the sea, but plentifullie in our fresh rivers
 in banks, and vnder stones, where they keepe them-
 selues in most secret maner; and oft by likenesse of
 colour with the stones among which they lie deceiue
 euen the skillfull takers of them, except they vse
 great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maison
 rustique,

Flat fish.

Round fish.

Long fish.

Legged fish.

Wolles.

Tribute of
swolles skins

rustique, doubted whether these lobsters be fish or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and these also not to be eaten, for that they be strong and verie hard of digestion. But herof let other determine further.

I might here speake of sundrie other fishes now and then taken also vpon our coasts: but sith my mind is onelie to touch either all such as are vsuallie gotten, or so manie of them onelie as I can well rehearse vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbear the further intreatie of them. As touching the shellie sort, we haue plentie of oysters, whose valure in old time for their sweetnesse was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32. cap. 6. preferre the Cypriene before them) and these we haue in like maner of diuerse quantities, and no lesse varietie also of our muskles and cockles. We haue in like sort no small store of great whelkes, scalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the sea coast in their severall seasons. And albeit our oysters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yere, that is to saie, Aprill, Iune, Iulie, and August, which are void of the letter R: yet in some places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our sea fish, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuersitie of kinds: yet so much haue I yielded to do, hoping hereafter to saie somewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it shall please God that I may liue and haue leasure once againe to peruse this treatise, and so make by a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now see is verie slenderlie attempted and begun.

Of sauage beasts and vermines.

Chap. 4.

IT is none of the least blessings wherewith God hath inued this Iland, that it is void of noisome beasts, as lions, beares, tigers, pards, wolves, & such like, by means wherof our countrymen may trauell in safetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the most part abroad in the field without anie herdsman or keeper.

This is charnelie spoken of the south and south-west parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this side of the Tued, may safelie boast of our securitie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots do the like in euerie point within their kingdome, sith they haue greuous wolves and cruell fores, beside some other of like disposition continuallie conuersant among them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no small damage vnto the inhabitants of those quarters. The happie and fortunate want of these beasts in England is vniuersallie ascribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleared and cleared rid of them, charged the conquered Welshmen (who were then pestered with these rauinous creatures aboue measure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of wolves skinned, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of thize hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & pursue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles do report. Some there be which write how Lladwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of thize hundred wolves, whose carcases being brought into Lhoegres, were

buried at Wolspit in Cambridgeshire, and that by means thereof within the compasse and terme of foure yeares, none of those noisome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time also we read not that anie wolfe hath bene sene here that hath bene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue bene diuerse brought ouer from beyond the seas for greedinesse of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gasing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to see them bring strange beasts in their eyes, and sildome knowne (as I haue said) in England.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and those with maines of no lesse force than they of Mauritania were sometimes reported to be; but how and when they were destroyed as yet I do not read. They had in like sort no lesse plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by pursue either on horsebacke or foot in armor; notwithstanding that manie times they were dangerouslie assailed by them. But both these sauage creatures are now not heard of, or at the least wolfe the later scarfelie known in the south parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, other wise the generation of those & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of set purpose replenish the countrie with them for his pleasure and pastime in hunting, I can in no wise beleue.

Of fores we haue some but no great store, and also badgers in our sandie & light grounds, where woods, firres, brome, and plentie of shrubs are to shroud them in, when they be from their borowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwise in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we sildom heare of anie, because the moisture and toughnesse of the soile is such, as will not suffer them to braw and make their borowes deepe. Certes if I may frelie saie what I thinke, I suppose that these two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preserved by gentlemen to hunt and haue pastime withall at their otone pleasures, than otherwise suffered to liue, as not able to be destroyed because of their great numbers. For such is the scantie of them here in England, in comparison of the plentie that is to be sene in other countries, and so earnestlie are the inhabitants bent to root them out, that except it had bene to beare thus with the recreations of their superiours in this behalfe, it could not otherwise haue bene chosen, but that they should haue bene vtterlie destroyed by manie yeares agoe.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the mintuer, the weasell, skote, fulmart, squerrill, fitchew, and such like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muscula*: also of the otter, and likewise of the beuer, whose hinder feet and taile onlie are supposed to be fish. Certes the taile of this beast is like vnto a thin whetstone, as the bodie vnto a monstrous rat: the beast also it selfe is of such force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth also the stillest riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flocks vnto the woods at hand, where they gather sticks wherewith to build their nesses, wherein their bodie lie die aboue the water, although they so prouide most commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the same. It is also reported that their said tailes are a delicate dish, and their bones of such medicinable force, that (as

Fores.
Badgers.

Beuers.

Wolves.

tribute of
wolves skinned.

Verro-

The description of England.

as our rivers are found to beate: yet least I should seeme injurious to the reader, in not deliuering so manie of them as haue bene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to set them downe as they do come to mind. Besides the salmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middelt of September to the middelt of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greatest rivers, as their yong store are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midsummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, polut, cheuin, pike, godgeon, smelt, perch, minnan, shrimps, creuises, lampreies, and such like, whose preservation is provided for by verie sharpe lawes, not onelie in our rivers, but also in lakes and ponds, which otherwise would bring small profit to the owners, and do much harme by continuall maintenance of idle persons, who would spend their whole times vpon their banks, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all these there are none more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the same water, than the pike and eele, which commonlie deuoure such fish as frye and spawne as they may get and come by. Neuerthelesse, the pike is freind vnto the tench, as to his leach & surgeon. For when the fishmonger hath opened his side and laid out his riuert and fat vnto the buier, for the better utterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that present, he laiesth the same againe into the proper place, and soluing vp the wound, he restoreth him to the pond where tendes are, who neuer cease to sucke and lick his greened place, till they haue restored him to health, and made him ready to come againe to the stall, when his turne shall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and some other of our riuier fishes are sold by inches of cleane fish, from the eyes or gillies to the crotch of the talle, but it is needlesse: also how the pike as he ageeth, receiveth diuerse names, as from a frye to a gillthead, from a gillthead to a pod, from a pod to a sacke, from a sacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and last of all to a lute; also that a salmon is the first pearce a grauellin, and commonlie so big as an herring, the second a salmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a salmon: but this is in like sort vnnecessarie.

I might finally tell you, how that in fennie rivers sides if you cut a turffe, and laie it with the grasse downewards, vpon the earth, in such sort as the water may touch it as it passeth by, you shall haue a brood of eels, it would seeme a wonder; and yet it is blessed with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time stirre and become a liuing creature. But sith the certaintie of these things is rather proued by few than the certaintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it passe at this time. Neuerthelesse this is generallie obserued in the maintenance of frye so well in rivers as in ponds, that in the time of spawne we vse to throw in faggots made of willow and fallow, and now and then of bulshes for want of the other, whereby such spawne as falleth into the same is preserved and kept from the pike, perch, eele and other fish, of which the carpe also will feed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the store and increas of proper kind. Some vse in enerie fitt or seauenty piers to laie their great ponds drie for all the summer time, to the end they may gather grasse, and a thin smart for the fish to feed vpon; and afterwards store them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finally, when they haue spawned, they dray out the breeders, leauing not about foure or five behind, euen in the greatest ponds, by meanes whereof the rest do prosper the better: and this obseruation is most used in carpe and bream;

as for perch (a delicate fish) it prospereth euerie where, I meane so well in ponds as rivers, and also in moles and pittes, as I do know by experience, though their bottoms be but clau. Where would I write of our fleshy fish, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto such of the salt water as are taken vpon our coasts. As our foules therefore haue their seasons, so likewise haue all our sorts of sea fish: whereby it cometh to passe that none, or at the leastwise verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuerthelesse, the seas that inuiron our coasts, are of all other most plentifull: for as by reason of their depth they are a great succour, so our low shores minister great plenty of food vnto the fish that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the fallies of filthy rivers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Ianuarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fish, as rochet, and gurnard. In february and March we feed on plaice, trolots, turbut, muskles, &c. In Aprill and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Iulie, with conger. In August and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths insuing with the same, as also thornbacke and reigh of all sorts; all which are the most vsuall, and therewith our common sort are best of all refreshed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the seasons, nor yet with the fish it selfe: and therefore if I should take vpon me to describe or speake of either of them absolutelie, I should enterpryse more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It shall suffice therefore to declare what sorts of fishes I haue most often sene, to the end I may not altogether passe ouer this chapter without the rehearsal of something, although the whole summe of that which I haue to saie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full discourse hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fishes therefore as I find foue sorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and shelled: so the flat are diuided into the smoth, scaled and tailed. Of the first are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or sea flounder, dozreie, dab, &c. Of the second the soles, &c. Of the third, our chaits, maidens, kings, slath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the most part either dried and carried into other countries, or sodden, sowled, & eaten here at home, whilest the lesser be fried or buttered; some after they be taken as prouision not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Under the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps, an bglie fish to sight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindly dressed: the whiting (an old waite or seruitor in the court) the rochet, sea bream, pirlle, hake, sea trolot, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, sprat, and such like. And these are they whereof I haue best knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coasts. Under this kind also are all the great fish contained, as the seale, the dolphin, the porpoise, the shirlepole, whale, and whatsoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer so great and huge. Of the long sort are congers, eels, garefish, and such other of that forme. Finally, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I sene anie more of this sort than the Polypus called in English the lobster, crabs, & creuises, and the crab. As for the little crabs they are not taken in the sea, but plentifully in our fresh rivers in banks, and vnder stones, where they keepe themselves in most secret maner; and oft by likeness of colour with the stones among which they lie, because euen the skilfull takers of them, except they vse great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maison rustique,

Flat fish.

Round fish.

Long fish.

Legged fish.

Wolves.

Tribute of
Wolves slung.

rustique, doubted whether these lobsters be fish or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and these also not to be eaten, for that they be strong and verie hard of digestion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here speake of sundrie other fishes now and then taken also upon our coasts: but sith my mind is onelie to touch either all such as are vsuallie gotten, or so manie of them onelie as I can well rehearse upon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbear the further intreatie of them. As touching the shellie sort, we haue plentie of oysters, whose valure in old time for their sweetnesse was not vnknewne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cypreene before them) and these we haue in like maner of diuerse quantities, and no lesse varietie also of our muskles and cockles. We haue in like sort no small store of great ubelkes, scalops and periwinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the sea coast in their seuerall seasons. And albeit our oysters are generallie forborne in the four hot moneths of the yere, that is to saie, Aprill, Iune, Iulie, and August, which are void of the letter R: yet in some places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our sea fish, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuersitie of kinds: yet so much haue I praied to do, hoping hereafter to saie somewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it shall please God that I may liue and haue leasure once againe to peruse this treatise, and so make by a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now see is verie slenderlie attempted and begun.

Of sauage beasts and vermines.

Chap. 4.

IT is none of the least blessings wherewith God hath inued this Iland, that it is void of noisome beasts, as lions, beares, tigers, pards, wolues, & such like, by means wherof our countrimen may trauell in safetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the most part abroad in the field without anie herdsman or keeper.

This is chieslie spoken of the south and southwest parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this side of the Tweed, may safelie boast of our securitie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots do the like in euerie point within their kingdome, sith they haue greuous wolues and cruell fores, beside some other of like disposition continuallie conuerfant among them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no small damage vnto the inhabitants of those quarters. The happie and fortunate want of these beasts in England is vniuersallie ascribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleansed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welshmen (who were then pestered with these rauinous creatures aboue measure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of wolues skinner, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & pursue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles do report. Some there be which write how Ladwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred wolues, whose carcases being brought into Lhoegres, were

buried at Wolspit in Cambrigeshire, and that by means thereof within the compasse and terme of foure yeares, none of those noisome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time also we read not that anie wolfe hath bene seene here that hath bene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: hotobcit there haue bene diuerse brought ouer from beyond the seas for greedinesse of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gasing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to see them bring strange beasts in their eyes, and sildome knowne (as I haue said) in England.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and those with maines of no lesse force than they of Pauritania were sometimes reported to be; but how and when they were destroyed as yet I do not read. They had in like sort no lesse plentie of wild and cruell bulls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by pursue either on horsebacke or sot in armor; notwithstanding that manie times they were dangeronlie assailed by them. But both these sauage creatures are now not heard of, or at the least wise the later scardelis known in the south parts. Hotobcit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwile the generation of those & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, whoe anie man would of set purpose replenish the countrie with them for his pleasure and pastime in hunting, I can in no wise beleue.

Of fores we haue some but no great store, and also badgers in our sandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, brome, and plentie of shrubs are to shewd them in, when they be from their boxrotes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwile in claie, which we call the clegtie mould, we sildom heare of anie, because the moisture and toughnesse of the soile is such, as will not suffer them to digge and make their boxrotes deepe. Certes if I may frelie saie what I thinke, I suppose that these two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preferred by gentlemen to hunt and haue pastime withall at their owne pleasures, than otherwise suffered to liue, as not able to be destroyed because of their great numbers. For such is the scantie of them here in England, in comparison of the plentie that is to be seene in other countries, and so earnestlie are the inhabitants bent to rot them out, that except it had bene to beare thns with the recreations of their superiours in this behalfe, it could not otherwise haue bene chosen, but that they should haue bene vtterlie destroyed by manie yeares agoe.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the mintuer, the weasell, stoie, fulmart, squirrell, sitchev, and such like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muscula*: also of the otter, and likewise of the beuer, whose hinder feet and taile onlie are supposed to be fish. Certes the taile of this beast is like vnto a thin whetstone, as the bodie vnto a monstrous rat: the beast also it selfe is of such force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a double billet in a night; it loueth also the stillest riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flocks vnto the woods at hand, where they gather sticks wherewith to build their nesses, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they so prouide most commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the same. It is also reported that their said tailes are a delicate dish, and their bones of such medicinable force, that (as

Fores.
Badgers,

Beuers.

Wolues.

tribute of
wolues skinner.

Verro-

Vertomannus saith) soute men smelling vnto them each after other did blad at the nose through their attractive force, proceeding from a vehement sauour wherewith they are indued: there is greatest plentie of them in Persia, cheslie about Balascham, from whence they and their dyed robes are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without some forgerie by such as prouide them. And of all these here remembred, as the first sorts are plentiful in cuerie wood and hedgerow: so these latter, especiallie the oiter (for to saie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Telfie in Wales) is not wanting to seeke in manie, but most streams and riuers of this Ile: but it shall suffice in this sort to haue named them as I doe finally the martern, a beast of the chase, although for number I wo:llie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the lesse.

Marterns.

Other pernicious beasts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow deere, whose colours are off garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and store of conies amongst the hurtfull sort. Which although that of themselves they are not offensive at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therefore iustlie reprobued of many: as are in like sort our huge flocks of shepe, whereon the greatest part of our soile is employed almost in euerie place, and yet our mutton, wool, and selles neuer the better cheape. The pong males which our fallow deere doe bring forth, are commonlie named according to their severall ages: for the first yere it is a sawne, the second a pucket, the third a screll, the fourth a soare, the fift a bucke of the first head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be five yers old: and from henceforth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yers is not so certeine, but that the best woodman may now and then be deceived in that account: for in some grounds a bucke of the first head will be so well headed as another in a high roltie soile will be in the fourth. It is also much to be marvelled at, that whereas they doe yerelie metw and cast their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they doe griffe or metw. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red deere, I find that the pong male is called in the first yere a calfe, in the second a broket, the third a spaike, the fourth a flagon or flag, the fift a great stag, the sirt an hart, and so forth vnto his death. And with him in degre of venerie are accounted the hare, boze, and wolfe. The fallow deere as bucks and does, are nourished in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except some gentleman or other (for his pleasure) doe make an inclosure for them. Of these also the stag is accounted for the most noble game, the fallow deere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent store; and last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that kelie beast is mother to all the forms, blasse, and artificiall deuises that hunters doe vse. All which (notwithstanding our custome) are pastimes more meet for ladies and gentlewomen to exercise (whatsoeuer Franciscus Patritius saith to the contrarye in his institution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whose hunting shoulde practise their armes in tastling of their manhood, and dealing with such beasts as estones will turne againe, and offer them the hardest rather than their horses feet, which manie times may carrie them with dishonour from the field. Surclie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times past, as it may yet appere by the histories of their times, especiallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the boze, and the beare, but most

Staggs.

willingle lions, because of the honorable estimation of that beast; insomuch that at one time he caused an od or chosen lion (for force and beantie) to be let forth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much businesse, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beast. Wherevnto be side that which we read of the vsuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, wolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the first of England, who disdainig (as he termed them) to follow or pursue cowards, cherished of set purpose sundrie kinds of wild beasts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodstocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard stone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with some one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raise vpon him: but cheslie he loued to hunt the lion and the boze, which are both verie dangerous exercises, especiallie that with the lion, except some policie be found wherewith to trouble his eyesight in anie manner of wise. For though the boze be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his flesh and skin against the trees, to sharpen his teeth, and desfile himselfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the sport somewhat more easie, especiallie where two stand so nere together, that the one (if need be) may helpe and be a succour to the other. Neither would he cease for all this to follow his pastime, either on horsebacke or on foot, as occasion serued, much like the ponger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bozes and bulles to haue bene about Blackheie nere Spanchester, whither the said prince would now and then resort also for his solace in that behalfe, as also to come by those excellent falcons then bred thereabouts, but now they are gone, especiallie the bulles, as I haue said already.

King Henrie the sirt in his beginning thought it a mere scofferie to pursue ante fallow deere with hounds or greihounds, but supposed himselfe alwaies to haue done a sufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and so killed them with his hands in the vppshot of that exercise and end of his recreation. Certes herein he resembled Polydorus, of whom it is written, how he ran so swifflie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleasure, which I can hardly beleue: and therefore much lesse that one Lidas did run so lightlie and swifflie after like game, that as he passed ouer the sand, he left not so much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like sort with the hart (as I doe read) but this I thinke was verie long agoe, when men were farre higher and swifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willingle that the hunting of the red deere is a right princelie pastime. In diuerse foren countries they cause their red and fallow deere to draw the plough, as we doe our oxen and horses. In some places also they milke their hinds as we doe here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrensis to haue bene seene and used in Wales, where he did eat chese made of hinds milke, at such time as Baldwine archbishop of Cantuarburie preached the crosse there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemen house, whose wife of purpose kept a deerie of the same. As for the plowing with byes (which I suppose to be vnkellie) because they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alikes a thing commonlie used in the east countries, here is no place to speake of it, since we want these kind of beasts, neither is it my purpose to intreat at large of other things than are to be seene in England. Wherefore I will omit to saie anie more of wild and savage beasts at this time, thinking my selfe to haue spoken already sufficientlie

Hinds haue doe us milke

insufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

Of hawkes and rauenuous foules.

Chap. 5.

I Can not make (as yet) anie full report how manie sort of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of those that are vsuallie had among vs are disclosed with in this land, I thinke it more easie and lesse difficult to set downe. First of all therefore that we haue the eagle, common experience doth euidentlie confirme, and diuerse of our rockes whereon they breed, if speach did serue, could well declare the same. But the most excellent aerie of all is not much from Chester, at a castell called Dinas Bryn, sometime builded by Brennus, as our wyters do remember. Certes this castell is no great thing, but yet a pile sometime verie strong and inaccessible for enemies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It standeth vpon an hard rocke, in the side whereof an eagle breedeth euerie yeare. This also is notable in the ouerthrow of hir nest (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither must be sure of two large baskets, and so provide to be let downe thereto, that he may sit in the one and be covered with the other: for otherwise the eagle would kill him, and teare the flesh from his bones with hir sharpe talons though his apparell were neuer so good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whether the word eagle and erne do thew anie difference of sere, I meane betwene the male and female, so we haue great store of them. And nere to the places where they breed, the commons complaine of great harme to be done by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kid vnto their neasts, therewith to feed their yong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuersitie of kind betwene the eagle and the erne, till I perceived that our nation used the word erne in most places for the eagle. We haue also the lanner and the lanneret: the terrell and the gosehawke: the musket and the sparhawke: the facke and the hobbie: and smallie some (though verie few) marlions. And these are all the hawkes that I do heare as yet to be bred within this land. Howbeit as these are not wanting to vs, so are they not verie plentiful: wherefore such as delite in hawking do make their chiefe purueiance & prouision for the same out of Dancke, Germanie, and the Eastcountreies, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at excellent prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are sold for almost right naught, and vsuallie brought to the markets as chickens, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we do the aforesaid foules) almost of euerie man. It is said that the sparhawke preyeth not vpon the foule in the morning that the taketh oter euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one felie foule, doth let it go to make some thiff for it selfe. But hereof as I stand in some doubt, so this I find among the wyters to be the noting, that the sparhawke is enemie to yong children, as is also the ape; but of the pecocke he is maruellouslie afraid so appalled, that all courage & stomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the sight thereof. But to proceed with the rest. Of other rauenuous birds we haue also verie great plentie, as the buzzard, the kite, the ringtaile, donkete, & such

as often annoie our countreie dames by spoiling of their yong breeds of chickens, duckes and gollings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crows haue learned also the waie: and so much are our rauens giuen to this kind of spoile, that some idle and curious heads of set purpose haue manned, reclaimed, and vfed them in stead of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some do imagine that the rauen should be the vulture, and I was almost persuaded in times past to beleue the same: but finding of late a description of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a second kind of eagle, I frelie surcease to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a sort the shape, colour, and quanttie of an eagle, so are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their sides under their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherevnto also their gorge or a part of their breast under their thyotes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which posture there is no member of the rauens (who is also verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie resemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie under the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygar, gus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occasion to intreat further. I haue sene the carrion crows so cunning also by their owne industrie of late, that they haue used to soare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & suddenlie comming downe haue caught a small fish in their feet & gone awaite withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this present the aforesaid riuer is not without some of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue also ospreyes which breed with vs in parks and woods, whereby the keepers of the same do reape in breeding time no small commoditie: for so soon almost as the yong are hatched, they tie them to the butt ends or ground ends of sundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, do neuer cease to bring fish vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is such as is well fed, or not of the worst sort. It hath not bene my hap hitherto to see anie of these foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another resembling a gosse therewith to swim; but whether it be so or not so, I refer the further search and triall thereof vnto some other. This neuertheless is certeine that both a liue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deablie terror to such fish as come within the wind of it. There is no cause wherefore I should describe the comorant amongst hawkes, of which some be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Cle, where they are taken for the night rauens, except I should call him a water hawke. But sith such dealing is not convenient, let vs now see what may be said of our venemous woymes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countreie.

Of venemous beasts.

Chap. 6.

I If I should go about to make anie long discourse of venemous beasts or woymes bred in England, I should attempt more than occasion it selfe would readilie offer, sith we haue verie few woymes; but no beasts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. First of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon tongue called an after) which

*Galenus de
Theriaca ad
Pisonem,
*Plin. lib. 10,
cap. 62.

Adder or
viper.

See Aristotle,
Animalium
lib. 5. cap. vi-
timo, & Theo-
phrast lib. 7.
cap. 13.

Snakes.

Sol. cap. 40.
Plin. lib. 37.
cap. 11.

Codges,
Frogs.

Some men do not rashly take to be the viper. Cer-
tes if it be so, then is it not the viper author of the
death of his parents, as some histories affirme; and
thereto Encelius a late writer in his *De re metallica*,
lib. 3. cap. 28. where he maketh mention of a the adder
which he saw in Sals, whose wombe (as he saith) was
eaten out after a like fashion. his young ones lieng
by his in the sunne shine, as if they had bene earth
worms. Heerthelesse as he nameth them *Piperas*,
so he calleth the male *Echis*, and the female *Echidna*,
concluding in the end that *Echis* is the same serpent
which his countrymen to this daie call Ein atter, as
I haue also noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie.
For my part I am perswaded that the slaughter of
their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies
(although I doubt not but that nature hath right
well provided to inhibit their superfluous increase
by some meanes or other) and so much the rather am
I led hereto, for that I gather by Nicander, that
of all venomous worms the viper onelie bringeth
out his young alive, and therefore is called in Latine
Pipera quasi vivipara: but of his owne death he doth
not (to my remembrance) saie any thing. It is testi-
fied also by other in other words, & to the like sense,
that *Echis id est vipera sola ex serpentibus non ouas sed ani-
malia parit*. And it may well be, for I remember that
I haue read in Philostratus *De vita Appollonij*, how he
saw a viper licking his young. I did see an adder once
my selfe that laie (as I thought) sleeping on a moule-
hill, out of whose mouth came eleuen young adders
of twelue or thirtene inches in length a peece, which
played to and fro in the grasse one with another, till
some of them espied me. So sone therefore as they
saw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their
dani, whome I killed, and then found each of them
shrowded in a distinct cell or pannicle in his bellie,
much like unto a soft white tellie, which maketh me
to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper in-
deed. The colour of their skin is for the most part like
rustie iron or iron graie: but such as be verie old re-
semble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit,
in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they cast
their old skins (whereby as it is thought their age re-
neweth) so their stinging bringeth death without pre-
sent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceasing
to swell, neither the venom to worke till the skin of
the one breake, and the other ascend upward to the
hart, where it finisheth the naturall effect, except the
bitte of dragons (in Latine called *Dracunculus minor*)
be speedilie ministred and dronke in strong ale, or else
some other medicine taken of like force, that may
counterualle and ouercome the venom of the same.
The length of them is most commonlie two foot and
somewhat more, but seldome doth it extend unto two
foot six inches, except it be in some rare and monste-
rous one: whereas our snakes are much longer; and
sone sometimes to surmount a yard, or thre foot, al-
though their poison be nothing so grievous and dead-
lie as the others. Our adders lie in winter under
stones, as Aristotle also saith of the viper Lib. 8. cap.
15. and in holes of the earth, rotten stubs of trees,
and amongst the dead leaues: but in the heat of the
summer they come abroad, and lie either round on
heapes, or at length upon some hillocke; or elswhere
in the grasse. They are found onelie in our woodland
countries and highest grounds, where sometimes
(though seldome) a speckled stone called *Echites*, in
dutch Ein atter stein, is gotten out of their dried car-
cases, which diuers report to be good against their poi-
son. As for our snakes, which in Latine are proper-
lie named *Angues*, they commonlie are scene in
moyses, fens, some wals, and low bottoms.

And as we haue great store of todes where adders
commonlie are found, so do frogs abound where

snakes do keepe their residence. We haue also the
slowworm, which is blacke and gratefull of colour, and
somewhat shorter than an adder. I was at the killing
once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that the
was not so called of anie want of nimble motion,
but rather of the contrarie. Heerthelesse we haue a
blind worme to be found under logs in woods, and
timber that hath lien long in a place, which some also
do call (and upon better ground) by the name of slow
worms, and they are knowen easilie by their more or
lesse varietie of striped colours, dialwen long waies
from their heads, their whole bodies little exceeding a
foot in length, & yet is there venem deable. This al-
so is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fen-
nie countries, other kinds of serpents are found of
greater quantitie than either our adder or our snake:
but as these are not ordinarie and oft to be scene, so
I meane not to intreat of them among our com-
mon annoyances. Neither haue we the scorpion, a
plague of God sent not long since into Italie, and
whose poison (as Apollodorus saith) is white, neither
the tarantula or Scopilitane spider, whose poison
bringeth death, except muske be at hand. Wherefore I
suppose our countrie to be the more happie (I meane
in part) for that it is void of these two grievous an-
noyances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

We haue also effs, both of the land and water, and
likewise the nelsonie swiffs, whereof to saie anie
more it should be but losse of time, sith they are well
knowne; and no region to my knowledge found to
be void of manie of them. As for flies (sith it shall
not be amisse a little to touch them also) we haue
none that can do hurt or hinderance naturallie un-
to anie: for whether they be cut waisted, or whole bo-
died, they are void of poison and all venomous incli-
nation. The cut or girt waisted (for so I Englishly the
word *Insecta*) are the hornets, waspes, bees, and such
like, wherof we haue great store, and of which an o-
pinion is conceiued, that the first do breed of the cor-
ruption of dead horses, the second of peares and ap-
ples corrupted, and the last of kine and oxen: which
may be true, especiallie the first and latter in some
parts of the beast, and not their whole substances, as
also in the second, sith we haue neuer waspes, but
when our fruit beginneth to wax ripe. In deed Vir-
gil and others speake of a generation of bees, by kil-
ling or smothering of a busied bullocke or calfe,
and laking his bowels or his flesh wrapped vp in
his hide in a close house for a certaine season; but
how true it is hitherto I haue not tried. Yet sure I
am of this, that no one-living creature corruptedly
without the production of another, as we may see by
our selues, whose flesh doth alter into lice, and also in
sheepe for excessive numbers of flesh flies, if they be
suffered to lie unburied or threaten by the dogs and
swine, who often and baggage preuent such needlesse
generations.

As concerning bees, I thinke it good to remember,
that whereas some ancient writers affirme it to be a
commoditie wanting in our Island, it is now found
to be nothing so. In old time peradventure we had
none indreed, but in my daies there is such plentie
of them in maner euerie where, that in some opulently
townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred
hives of them, although the said hives are not so
huge as those of the east countrie, but far lesse, as
not able to containe above one bushell of come, or
five pecks at the most. Plinie (a man that of set pur-
pose belitteth to write of wonders) speaking of honye
noteth that in the north regions the hives in his time
were of such quantitie, that some one combe contei-
ned eight foot in length, & yet (as it should seeme) he
speketh not of the greatest: for in Podolia, which is
now subiect to the king of Poland, their hives are so
great,

Slowworm.

Scorpis.

Effs.

Flies.

Cutwaisted,
whole bodied
hornets,
waspes.

great and combs so abundant, that huge boxes o-
uerturning and falling into them, are drowned in
the honie, before they can recover & find the meanes
to come out.

Our honie also is taken and reputed to be the best,
because it is harder, better wrought, and clentier bet-
telled vp, than that which cometh from beyond the
sea, where they stampe and streine their combs, bees,
and pong blowings altogether into the stusse, as I
haue bene informed. In vse also of medicine our
physicians and apothecaries elcheto the forren, espe-
ciallie that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reason of a
benemous qualitie naturallie planted in the same,
as some write, and chole the home made: not onelie
by reason of our soile, which hath no lesse plentie of
wild thyme growing therein than in Sicilia, & about
Athens, and maketh the best stusse; as also for that it
bredeth being gotten in harvest time lesse choler, and
which is oftentimes (as I haue sene by experience) so
white as sugar, and coyned as if it were salt. Our
bees are made commonlie of rie straw, and wadded
about with bumble quarters: but some make the
same of twicker, and cast them ouer with clate. Wee
cherish none in trees, but set our bees somewhere
on the warmest side of the house, prouiding that they
may stand drie and without danger both of the moule
and moth. This furthermore is to be noted, that wher-
as in vessels of oile, that which is nereest the top is
counted the finest, and of wine that in the middest: so
of honie the best which is heauiest and moistest is al-
waies next the bottome, and euermore casteth and
drieth his dregs backward toward the berie top, con-
trarie to the nature of other liquid substances, whose
gronds and laze do generallie settle downewards.
And thus much as by the waie of our bees and Eng-
lish honie.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and
such venemous creatures of the same kind, to be a-
bundantlie found in other countries, we heare not
of them: yet haue we beetles, horseflies, turdbings or
doxres (called in Latine *scarabaei*) the locust or the graf-
hopper (which to me do seeme to be one thing, as I
will anon declare) and such like, whereof let other in-
treat that make an exercise in catching of flies, but a
far greater sport in offering them to spiders. As did
Domitian sometime, and another prince yet liuing,
who delited so much to see the sollie combats betwixt
a stout flie and an old spider, that diuerse men haue
had great rewards giuen them for their painfull pro-
uision of flies made onelie for this purpose. Some
parasittes also in the time of the aforesaid emperour,
(when they were disposed to laugh at his follie, and
yet would seeme in appearance to gratifie his fanta-
sticall head with some shew of dutifull demenour)
could deuise to set their lord on twoke, by letting a
fleshy flie prauillie into his chamber, which he forthwith
would egerlie haue hunted (all other businesse set a-
part) and neuer ceased till he had caught hir into his
fingers: whereupon arose the prouerbe, *Nemusca qui-*
dem, uttered first by Vibius Priscus, who being asked
whether anie bodie was with Domitian, answered,
Nemusca quidem, wherby he noted his follie. There are
some cocklescombs here and there in England, lear-
ning it abroad as men transregionate, which make
account also of this pastime, as of a notable matter,
telling that a fight is sene betwene them, if either
of them be lustie and couragious in his kind. One
also hath made a booke of the spider and the flie, where-
in he dealeth so profoundlie, and beyond all measure
of skill, that neither he himselfe that made it, neither
anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning
therof. But if those sollie fellows in stead of the straw
that they thrust into the flies tale (a great iniurie no
doubt to such a noble champion) would bestow the

cost to set a soles cap vpon their owne heads: then
might they with more securitie and lesse repchra-
tion behold these notable battels.

Now as concerning the locust, I am led by di-
uerse of my countrie, who (as they say) were either in
Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when those
nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flie,
and affirme verie constantlie, that they saw none o-
ther creature than the grasshopper, during the time of
that annoyance, which was said to come to them from
the Aethiopes. In most of our translations also of the
bible, the word *Locusta* is Englished a grasshopper, and
therevnto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane
food, otherwise John the Baptist would neuer haue
liued with them in the wilderness. In Barbarie,
Aunidia, and sundrie other places of Affrica, as they
haue bene, so are they eaten to this daie powdered in
barel, and therefore the people of those parts are cal-
led *Acedophagi*: neuertheless they shorten the life of
the eaters by the production at the last of an irksome
and filthy disease. In India they are three foot long, in
Ethiopia much shorter, but in England seldome a-
bove an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*,
he hath some likelihood, but not verie great, with the
grasshopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in
as an vmpier in this case. Finalle Marthiolus, and
so manie as describe the locust, do set downe none o-
ther forme than that of our grasshopper, which maketh
me so much the more to rest vpon my former imagi-
nation, which is, that the locust and grasshopper are
one.

See Diodorus
Siculus.

Of our English dogs and their qualities.

Chap. 7.



There is no country that male
(as I take it) compare with
ours, in number, excellencie,
and diuersitie of dogs. And
therefore if Polycrates of Sa-
mia were now alieue, he would
not send to Epyro for such
merchandize: but to his fur-
ther cost prouide them out of Britaine, as an orna-
ment to his countrie, and peece of husbandrie for his
common wealth, which he furnished of set purpose
with Apollonian and Laconian dogs, as he did the
same also with sheepe out of Attica and Aphetum,
goats from Epyro and Parus, swine out of Sicilia,
and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the lear-
ned doctor Caius in his Latine treatise vnto Celsus
De canibus Anglicis, bringeth them all into three sorts:
that is, the gentle kind seruing for game: the home-
lie kind apt for sundrie vses: and the currtish kind
meet for many toies. For my part I can say no more
of them than he hath done already. Wherefore I will
here set downe onelie a summe of that which he hath
written of their names and natures, with the addi-
tion of an example or two now latelie had in experi-
ence, wherby the courages of our mastiffes shall yet
more largelie appeare. As for those of other countries
I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to re-
port out of Plinie, that dogs were sometime killed in
sacrifice, and sometime their whelps eaten as a de-
licate dish, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be
disposed to read of them, let him resort to Plinie lib.
8. cap. 40. who (among other wonders) telleth of an
armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of
the Caramantes out of captiuitie, matogre the resi-
stance of his aduersaries: also to Cardan, lib. 10.
De animalibus, Aristotle, &c: who write maruels of
them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who

who is not afraid to compare some of them for greatness with oren, and some also for smallness unto the little field mouse. Neither do I find anie far witer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who saith that the Galles did sometime buy vp all our mastiffes, to serue in the forwarde of their battels, wherein they resembled the Colophonians, Castabalenfes of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie also speaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The first sort therefore he diuideth either into such as rowle the beast, and continue the chase, or springeth the bird, and bewateth his flight by pursue. And as these are commonlie called spaniels, so the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight sorts, of which the first sort excelleth in perfect smelling, the second in quicke eysing, the third in swiftnesse and quickenesse, the fourth in smelling and nimbleness, &c: and the last in subtiltie and deceitfulness. These (saith Strabo) are most apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie because of their skill in hunting, but also for that they know their owne and the names of their fellows most exactlie. For if the hunter see anie one to followe skilfullie, and with likelihood of good successe, he biddeth the rest to bark and followe such a dog, and they eftsoones obete so some as they heare his name. The first kind of these are also commonlie called harriers, whose game is the fox, the hare, the wolfe (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat, lopstark, weasel, conie, &c: the second hight a terrier, and it hunteth the badger and grate onelie: the third a bloudhound, whose office is to followe the fierce, and now and then to pursue a sheepe or beast by his dyke foot: the fourth hight a galehound, who hunteth by the rie: the fifth a greihound, cherished for his strength, swiftnesse, and stature, commended by Bratius in his *De venatione*, and not vnto membered by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but aboute all other those of Britaine, where he saith:

magna spectandi mole Britannii;
also by Nemesianus, libro *Cyngeticon*, where he saith:

Diuisa Britannia mitrit
Peloces nostrisq; orbis venatibus apros,

of which sort also some be smooth, of sundrie colours, and some shagge haired: the first a liemer, that excelleth in smelling and swift running: the seventh a tumbler: and the eight a sheepe, whose offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft so skilfull, that few men would thinke so mischievous a wit to remaine in such sillie creatures. Having made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chase and hunting, he commeth next to such as serue the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh also two sorts. One that findeth his game on the land, another that putteth vp such foule as keepeth in the water: and of these this is commonlie most vsuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he doth shew at large. Of the first he saith, that they haue no peculiar names assigned to them severallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or serue, for which consideration some be named dogs for the sea-fant, some for the falcon, and some for the partrich. Wherewith, the common name for all is spaniell (saith he) and thereupon alludeth, as if these kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like sort we haue of water spaniels in their kind. The third sort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the spaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the sittinghound, and those are called *Melivi*, of the Island *Malta*, from whence they were brought hither. These are little and prettie, proper and fine, and sought out far and nere to satisfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and

wanton womens willes; instruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treasure of time, to bewitch their minds from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupt concupiscences with vaine disport, a sillie poze shift to shun their irksome tolenes. These Sybarittall puppies, the smaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleasure also they prouoke, as meet playfellows for minding mistresses to beare in their bosoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to succour with sleepe in bed, and nourish with meat at board, to lie in their laps, and like the lips as they lie (like young *Phanates*) in their wagons and coaches. And good reason it should be so, for courtesies with fineness hath no fellowship, but feartness with neatness hath neighbourhead enough. That plausible prouerbe therefore verities sometime upon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his sow better than his sonne, may well be applied to some of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are deputed of all possibilitie of reason, than they do in children that are capable of wisdom and iudgement. Yea, they oft feed them of the best, where the poze mans child at their dozes can hardlie come by the worst. But the former abuse peradventure reigneth where there hath bene long want of issue, else where barrenness is the best blossome of beautie: or finally, where poze mens children for want of their owne issue are not ready to be had. It is thought of some that it is verie wholesome for a weake stomach to beare such a dog in the bosome, as it is for him that hath the palse to keele the dailie smell and saour of a fox. But how true this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it shall suffice for Doctor Caius to haue said thus much of spaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either shepherds curs, or mastiffes. The first are so common, that it needeth me not to speake of them. Their vse also is so well knowne in keeping the heard together (either when they graze or go before the shepheard) that it should be but in vaine to spend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind, and go in hand with the mastiffe, tie dog, or banddog, so called because manie of them are tied vp in chaines and strong bonds, in the date time, for doing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, stubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (and therefore but of little swiftnesse) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Corrican cur. Our Englishmen to the intent that these dogs may be more cruell and fierce, assist nature with some art, vse and custome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, stout and bold: yet will they increase these their stomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other such like cruell and bloudie beasts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the same purpose) without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wrestling with a man (having for the safeguard of his life either a pike staffe, club, sword, pike coat) whereby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto strangers. The Caspians made so much account sometime of such great dogs, that euerie able man would nourish sundrie of them in his house of set purpose, to the end they should denoure their carcases after their deaths, thinking the dogs belies to be the most honourable sepulchers. The common people also followed the same rate, and therefore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to denoure them after their deaths: by means whereof these beasts became the more eger, and with great difficultie

some bark
no bite not.

some bite
no bark not.

Homelie kind
of dogs.

Tie dogs.

difficultie after a while restrained from falling upon the living. But whether am I digressed? In returning therefore to our owne, I saie that of mastiffes, some barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, some do both barke and bite, but the cruellest do either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are moze to be feared than anie of the other. They take also their name of the word mase and these (or master these if you will) because they often sound and put such persons to their shifts in townes and villages, and are the principall causes of their apprehension and taking. The force which is in them surmounteth all belaeve, and the salt hold which they take with their teeth exceedeth all credit: for three of them against a beare, foure against a lion are sufficient to trie mastries with them. King Henrie the seauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all such cures to be hanged, because they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is their king and souereigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as some saie, because he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne presence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, saying that it was not meet for anie subject to offer such wrong unto his lord and superiour, wherein he had a further meaning. But if king Henrie the seauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue done to one English mastiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe first an huge beare, then a pard, and last of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one daie, when the lord Buckhurst was ambassador unto him, and whereof if I should write the circumstances, that is, how he took his aduantage being let lose unto them, and finally drave them into such exceeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I should take much paines, and yet reape but small credit: wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much thereof. Some of our mastiffes will rage onelie in the night, some are to be tied by both daie and night. Such also as are suffered to go lose about the house and pard, are so gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaie with them at their pleasures. Diuerse of them likewise are of such gelousie ouer their maister and whosener of his household, that if a stranger do imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame mischance if their furie be not prevented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king sometime of Bithinia, who seeing Consigne the quene to imbrace and kisse hir husband as they walked together in a garden, did teare hir all to peeces, mauer his resistance, and the present aid of such as attended on them. Some of them mozeouer will suffer a stranger to come in and walke about the house or yard where him listeth, without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put forth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they sic vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither those that were of my house to be touched in his presence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue assaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or else plucke downe their clothes to saue them from the stripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith and lone towards their maisters than horses; as may appeare euery by the confidence that Malinissa reposed in them, in so much that mistrusting his household seruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treasons and conspiracies, euen by their barking and biting, no;

of lesse force than the Apollonian race, brought from Cyto into some countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the brazen dog that Vulcan made, and gaue to Iupiter, who also deliuered the same to Europa, the to Phocis, and Phocis to Cephalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither vnequall in carefulnesse to the mastiffe of Alexander and Theseus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maister long time from slaughter, till at the last he was remoued by policie, and the tyrant killed sleeping: the storie goeth thus. These the wife of the said Theseus and hir three brethren conspired the death of hir husband, who fearing the dog onelie, she found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another house hard by, whilst they should execute their purpose. Penethtelisse, when they came to the bed where he laie sleeping, they wared faint harted, till she did put them in choise, either that they should dispatch him at once, or else that she hir selfe would wake hir husband, and giue him warning of his enemies, or at the least wile bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared most of all: and therefore quicklie dispatched him.

The last sort of dogs consisteth of the currish kind meet for manie toies: of which the whippet or prick-eared curre is one. Some men call them warners, because they are good for nothing else but to barke and giue warning when anie bodie doth stirre or lie in wait about the house in the night season. Certes it is vnpossible to describe these curs in anie order, because they haue no anie one kind proper vnto themselves, but are a confused companie mixt of all the rest. The second sort of them are called turne spits, whose office is not vnknowne to anie. And as these are onelie reserued for this purpose, so in manie places our mastiffes (beside the vse which tinkers haue of them in carieng their heauie budgets) are made to drabe water in great wheeles out of deepe wells, going much like vnto those which are framed for our turne spits, as is to be seene at Rolison, where this feat is often practised. Besides these also we haue sholts or curs dailie brought out of Ireland, and much made of among vs, because of their saluinenesse and quarrelling. Howeouer they bite verie sore, and loue candles exceedingly, as do the men and women of their countrie: but I may saie no moze of them, because they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for pastimes sake, that when a great man of those parts came of late into one of our ships which went thither for fish, to see the forme and fashion of the same, his wife apparelled in fine sables, abiding on the decke whilst hir husband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, espied a pound or two of candles hanging at the mast, and being loth to stand there idle alone, she fell to and eat them by euerie one, supposing hir selfe to haue bene at a solie banquet, and shewing verie pleasant gesture when hir husband came by againe vnto hir.

The last kind of toisich curs are named dancers, and those being of a mongrell sort also, are taught & exercised to danse in measure at the muscull sound of an instrument, as at the lust stroke of a drum, sweet accent of the citharne, and pleasant harmonie of the harpe, shewing manie trickes by the gesture of their bodies: as to stand bolt upright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their talles in their teeth, to saue and beg for meat, to take a mans cap from his head, and sundrie such properties, which they learne of their idle rogish masters whose instruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motleie, and coloured short waisted iackets are for the like bagabunds, who seeke no bet-

ter living, than that which they may get by fond pasture and idleness. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betwene a bitch and a wolfe, and called *Lysa*: a thing verie often seene in France saith Franciscus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie their fault bitches often in woods, that they might be loined by tigers: also betwene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as we bitterlie want the first sort, except they be brought vnto vs: so it happeneth sometime, that the other two are ingendered and seene at home amongst vs. But all the rest heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglie and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor intractable in hand, than that which is begotten betwene the beare and the bandog. For whatsoeuer he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner teare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither wolfe, beare, nor lion, and therefore may well be compared with those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (& procreated as it is thought betwene a mastiffe and male tiger, as be those also of Hyrcania): or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft seene betwene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I said) betwene these wolves and dogs, whereof let this suffice: sith the further tractation of them doth not concerne my purpose, more than the confutation of Cardans talke, *De sub. lib. 10.* who saith, that after manie generations, dogs do become wolves, and contrariwise, which if it were true, than could not England be without manie wolves: but nature hath set a difference betwene them, not onlie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bones, wherefore it is impossible that his assertion can be found.

Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof.

Chap. 8.



As the saffron of England, which Platina reckneth among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia; whereof Solinus speaketh, neither to any that cometh from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Timolus, Italie, Aetolia, Sicilia, or Licia, in swetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that grows about Saffron Walden, sometime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Essex, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Gloucester shire and those westerne parts, which some thinke to be better than that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by six pence or twelue pence most commonlie in the pound. The root of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent chestnut, & yet it is not clouded as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance *Inter bulbosa*, as *Orcus*, *hyacinthus orientalis*, and *Statyrion*. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogether so bricke as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe flourisheth the root is litle & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small roots die, so that when the time doth come to take them vp, they haue no roots at all, but so continue vntill September

that they do grow againe: and before the chine be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if sheepe or neat may come to them on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were harte or stuble, some also will worot for them in verie eger maner. The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as grasse, which come by alwaies in October after the floures be gathered and gone, pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our fues. Sometimes our cattell will feed vpon the same; neuertheless, if it be bitten whilst it is greene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to keepe it from such annoiance vntill it begin to wither, and then also will the cattell sonest tast thereof: for vntill that time the iulce thereof is bitter. In euerie floure we find commonlie three chins, and three yel lowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twisted floures I speake not; yet is it found, that two floures grow together, which bring forth five chins, so that alwaies there is an od chine and od yelow, though three or foure floures should come out of one root. The whole herbe is named in Greke *Crocus*, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) *Castor*, *Cynomorphos*, or *Hercules blod*: yet in the Arabian speech, (from whence we borrow the name which we giue therunto) I find that it is called *Zahafaran*, as Rembert doth beare witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called *Crocus* was this (as the poets feigne) speciallie those from whence Galen hath borrowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke *De medicamentis secundum loca*, where he writeth after this maner (although I take *Crocus* to be the first that used this commodity.) A certaine yong gentleman called *Crocus* went to plate at coits in the field with Mercurie, and being heedlesse of himselfe, Mercuries coit happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogether, to the great discomfort of his friends. Finally, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people seeing the colour of the chine as it stood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adiudged it to come of the blod of *Crocus*, and therefore they gaue it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c: differ very much from Ouids *Metamorphos. 4.* who writeth also thereof. Indeed the chine, while it remaineth whole & vntwisted, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vse, it yeldeth a yelow tincture. But what haue we to do with fables?

The heads of saffron are raised in Iulie, either with plough, raising, or tined hooke; and being scottered from their rosse or filth, and severed from such heads as are ingendered of them since the last setting, they are interred againe in Iulie and August by ranks or rowes, and being couered with moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth litle fillets and small roots like vnto a scallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and grasse that groweth vpon the same remoued, to the intent that nothing may annoie the floure when as his time doth come to rise.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the floure beginneth to appeere of a whitish blew, felle or flie colour, and in the end shewing it selfe in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the Leucotion of Theophrast, saying that it is longer, and hath in the middest thereof three chins verie red and pleasant to behold. These floures are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them to welke or flitter. And the chins being picked from the floures, these are throwne into the dung-hill,

Occasional the name.

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Parus.

Cathartes

See Recd.

downhill; the other dried upon little kelles covered with streined canvasse upon a soft fire: whereby, and by the weight that is laied upon them, they are dried and pressed into cakes, and then bagged up for the benefit of their owners. In good yeeres we gather foure scoze or an hundred pounds of wet saffron of an acre, which being dried doth yeld twentie pounds of drie and moze. Whereby, and with the price of saffron is commonlie about twentie shillings in monie, or not so little, it is easie to see what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the letter, which indeed are great, but yet not so great as he shall be thereby a loser, if he be a nie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre doth cost 13 shillings foure pence before the saffron be set, the clodding sixtene pence, the taking of euerie load of stones from the same foure pence, the raising of euerie quarter of heads six pence, and so much for clensing of them, besides the rent of ten shillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of dung which is worth six pence the load to be laied on the first yeere, for the setting thre and twentie shillings and foure pence, for the paring five shillings, six pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie set, and paie ten pounds for the same, yet shall he susteine no damage, if warme weather and open season do happen at the gathering. This also is to be noted, that euerie acre asketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten fot in breadth. And after thre yeeres that ground will ferue well, and without compell for barleie by the space of eightene or twentie yeeres togither, as experience doth confirme. The heads also of euerie acre at the raising will store an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great advantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies togither. But the best saffron is gathered at the first; at which time foure pounds of wet saffron will go verie nere to make one of drie; but in the midst of five pounds of the one will make but one of the other, because the chue waxeth smaller, as fir at the last will do no moze but yeld one of the dyed, by reason of the chue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres also the same ground may be set with saffron againe. And in lieu of a conclusion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads coming out of a good ground will prosper best in a lighter soile; and contrariwise: which is one note that our crokers do carefullie observe.

Rising.

The heads are raised euerie thirde yeere about vs, to wit, after Midsummer, when the rolle cometh drie from the heads; and commonlie in the first yeere after they be set they yeld verie little increase: yet that which then cometh is counted the finest and greatest chue, & best for medicine, and called saffron Du hort. The next crop is much greater; but the thirde excedeth, and then they raise againe about Walden and in Cambridge shire. In this period of time also the heads are said to childe, that is, to yeld out of some parts of them diuerse other headlets, whereby it hath bene sene, that some one head hath bene increased (though with his owne detriment) to thre, or foure, or five, or six, which augmentation is the onlie cause whereby they are sold so good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowen foure bulshels or a come of them to be valued much above two shillings eight pence, except in some odd yeeres that they arise to eight or ten shillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great store of winters water hath rotted the most of them as they stood within the ground, or heat in summer parched and burnt them up.

In Dorsetholke and Suffolke they raise but once

in seven yeeres: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridge shire and about Walden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuffe. Some craftie lackes vse to mix it with scraped hazell or with the floure of Sonchus, which cometh somewhat nere indeed to the huse of our good saffron (if it be late gathered) but it is some belwaid both by the depth of the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plentie of saffron about twentie yeeres passed, that some of the townesmen of Walden gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and sent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whilst the rest, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed upon them (as wishing rather moze scarcitie thereof because of the keeping up of the price) in most contemptuous manner murmured against him, saying that he did bite saffron therewith to choake the market. But as they shewed themselves no lesse than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, so the Lord considered their unthankfulnesse, & gaue them euere since such scarcitie, as the greatest murmurers haue now the least store; and most of them are either twome out of occupieng, or remaine scarce able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decayed about Saffron Walden since the said time, untill now of late within these two yeeres, that men began againe to plant and renew the same, because of the great commoditie. But to proceed. When the heads be raised and taken up, they will remaine sixtene or twentie daies out of the earth or moze: yea peradventure a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by saint James tide, or verie shortly after. For as if they be taken up before Midsummer, or beginning of Iulie, the heads will shrinke like a rotted warden: so after August they will war drie, become unfruitfull, and decate. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried some of them to London with me; and notwithstanding that they haue remained there vnset by the space of fortnie daies and moze: yet some of them haue brought forth two or thre floures a peere, and some floures thre or five chines, to the great admiration of such as haue gathered the same, and not bene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers of saffron men do vse an obseruation a little before the coming up of the floure, and sometime in the taking up at Midsummer tide, by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and scarcitie of this commoditie to come. For if they see as it were many small hairie beines of saffron to be in the midst of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeere. And to saie truth, at the cleaning of ech head, a man shall discern the saffron by the colour, and see where abouts the chue will issue out of the root. Warme darke nights, sweet dewes, fat grounds (chaste the chalkie) and mistie mornings are verie good for saffron; but frost and cold do kill and keepe backe the floure, or else shrinke up the chue. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of English saffron, which is hot in the second and drie in the first degre, and most plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yeere wherein ewes twin most. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, so I am otherwise sure, that there is no moze deceit vsed in anie trade than in saffron. For in the making they will grease the papers on the kell with a little candle grease, to make the wet saffron haue so good a colour as the best: afterwards also they will sprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both these are belwaid, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a silver spone, or by the softnesse thereof betwene the fore finger and the thumb; or thirde, by

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the

the colour thereof in age : for if you late it by farre worse saffron of other countries, the colour will be worse the forgerie by the swartnesse of the chule, which otherwise would excell it, and thereunto being sound, remaine crispe, bickie, and drie : and finally, if it be holden nere the face, will strike a certeine biting heat vpon the skin and eyes, whereby it is ad- iudged god and merchant ware indeed among the skillfull crokers.

Now if it please you to heare of anie of the ver- tues thereof, I will note these insuing at the request of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatsoeuer benefit I listed. Therefore our saffron (beside the manifold vse that it hath in the kitchen and pastrie, also in our cakes at bydals, and thank- givings of women) is verie profitably mingled with those medicins which we take for the diseases of the breast, of the lungs, of the liver, and of the bladder : it is good also for the stomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the same and maketh good digesti- on : being sodden also in wine, it not onelie keepeth a man from drunkennesse, but incorageth also unto proccation of issue. If you drinke it in sweet wine, it enlargeth the breath, and is good for those that are troubled with the tickle and shortnesse of the wind : mingled with the milke of a woman, and laid vpon the eyes, it skateth such humors as descend into the same, and taketh awate the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them : it killeth moths if it be so- ued in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in presses amongst tapisserie or apparell : also it is verie profit- able laid vnto all inflammations, painefull apost- humes, and the Syngles ; and doth no small ease vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with such medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares : it is of great vse also in ripening of botches and all swellings proceeding of raw humors. If it shall please you to drinke the root thereof with maluesie, it will maruellouslie pro- uoke urine, dissolve and expell grauell, and yeld no small ease to them that make their water by drop- meales. Finally, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one shilling nine pence halfe pence, is deablie poison ; as Dioscorides doth affirme : and dronke in wine (saith Platina) lib. 3. cap. 12. *De honesta voluptate*, doth haue on dron- kennesse, which is verie true. And I haue knowne some, that by eating onelie of bread more than of custome streined with saffron, haue become like drunken men, yet otherwise well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this also, if a man do but open and ranfacke a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants do when they buie it of the crokers, it will strike such an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they shall be giddie and sicke (I meane for two or three houres space) their noses and eyes in like sort will yeld such plentie of rheumatike water, that they shall be the better for it long after, especiallie their eyesight, which is wonderfullie clarified by this meanes : howbeit some merchants not liking of this thyslike, muffle themselves as women do when they ride, and put on spectacles set in leather, which doth in some measure (but not for altogether) put by the force thereof. There groweth some saffron in ma- nie places of Almaine, and also about Vienna in Austria, which later is taken for the best that spring- eth in those quarters. In stead of this some do vse the Carthamus, called amongst vs bastard saffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in any wise comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this suf- fice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hills, and in all the vale

of the White horse so well as in Walden and Cam- bridgehire, if they were careful of it. I heare of some also to be cherished already in Gloucestershire, and certeine other places westward. But of the finenesse and tincture of the chule, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countrymen had bene heretofore (or were now) more careful of this commoditie ! then would it no doubt haue pro- ued more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or wooll. But alas ! so idle are we, and heretofore so much giuen to ease, by reason of the smalnesse of our rents, that few men regard to search out which are their best commodites. But if landlords hold on to raise the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and scratch out their rent from vnder euerie clod that may be turned aside. The greatest mart for saffron is at Aquila in Abuzo, where they haue an especiall weight for the same of ten pounds lesse in the hun- dred than that of Florens and Luke : but how it a- greeth with ours it shall appere hereafter.

Of quarries of stone for building.

Chap. 9.



Quarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our stone to build withall, & of these as we haue great plentie in England, so are they of diuerse sorts, and those verie profitable for sundrie necessarie vses. In times past the vse of stone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houses, princely pala- ces, bishops manours, and holds onlie : but now that scrupulous obseruation is altogether infringed, and building with stone so commonlie taken vp, that a- mongst noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are supposed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and least continuance of all. It farre passeth my cunning to set downe how manie sorts of stone for building are to be found in Eng- land, but much further to call each of them by their proper names. Howbeit, such is the curiositie of our countrymen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath so blessed our realme in most plentifull maner, with such and so manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longest continuance, yet we as lothsome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, do com- monlie leaue these naturall gifts to mould and cin- der in the ground, and take vp an artificall brikke, in burning thereof a great part of the wood of this land is daily consumed and spent, to the no small decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that perishe off for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in mistaking of our owne commo- dities at home, and desiring those of other countries abroad, most esteemed the cane stone that is brought hither out of Normandie : and manie even in these our daies following the same beine, do couet in their works almost to vse none other. Howbeit experience on the one side, and our skillfull masons on the other (whose iudgement is nothing inferiour to those of o- ther countries) do affirme, that in the north and south parts of England, and certeine other places, there are some quarries, which for hardnesse and beautie are equall to the outlandish greet. This maie also be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greatest part of the square stone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the beine of white free stone, slate, and more stone, which is be- tware

twene Pentowen, and the blacke head in Cozne-
wall, for verie fine stufte. Other doe speake much of
the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Milberie,
and paining stone of Warbecke. For toph stone, not
a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dulleie, diuerse
milkie not of the veines of hard stone that are at
Driford, and Burford. One praiseth the free stone at
Hanchester, & Westburie in Gloucestershire; another
the quarries of the like in Richmond. The third liketh
well of the hard stone in Cle hill in Shropshire; the
fourth of that of Thorotobridge, Welden, and Ter-
rinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries
inow, and good inough in England, sufficient for vs
to build withall, if the peeuish contempt of our owne
commodities, and delectations to enrich other coun-
tries, did not catch such foolish hold vpon vs. It is al-
so verified (as anie other wate) that all nations haue
rather need of England, than England of anie other.
And this I thinke may suffice for the substance of our
woorks. Now if you haue regard to their ornature,
how manie mines of sundrie kinds of course & fine
marble are there to be had in England: But chiefie
one in Staffordshire, an other nere to the Icke, the
third at Charnock, the fourth at Eglestone, which is of
the lord Chandois the first at Eglestone, which is of
blacke marble, spotted with graie or white spots, the
first not farre from Durham. Of white marble also
we haue stoe, and so faire as the Parcellian of Pa-
ris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all,
or the most excellent? sith these which I haue named
alredie are not altogether of the best, nor searcelie of
anie value in comparison of those, whose places of
growth are utterly vnknewe vnto me, and where-
of the blacke marble spotted with greene is none of
the vilest sort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pau-
ment of the lower part of the quire of Paules in
London, and also in Westminster, where some pee-
ces thereof are yet to be seene and marked, if anie
will looke for them. If marble will not serue, then
haue we the finest alabaster that maie elsewhere be
had, as about saint Pauls of Wales; also nere to
Beau manour, which is about foure or fise miles
from Leicester, & taken to be the best, although there
are diuerse other quarries hereof beyond the Trent,
as in Dorsetshire, &c. and fullie so good as that, whose
names at this time are out of my remembrance.
What should I talke of the plaister of Arholme (for
of that which they dig out of the earth in sundrie pla-
ces of Lincolne and Darbithires, wherewith they
blanch their houses in stead of lime, I speake not)
certes it is a fine kind of alabaster. But sith it is sold
commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge
it to be but vile and course. For my part I cannot
skill of stone, yet in my opinion it is not without
great vse for plaister of paris, and such is the mine
of it, that the stones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an
other like planks or tables, and vnder the same is
an exceeding hard stone verie profitable for building,
as hath often times bene proued. This is also to be
marked further of our plaister white and graie, that
not contented with the same, as God by the quarrie
doth send and peld it forth, we haue now deuised to
cast it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what
forme and fashion we list, euen as alabaster it selfe:
and with such stufte sundrie houses in Dorsetshire are
furnished of late. But of what continuance this de-
uise is like to proue, the time to come shall easilie be-
traine. In the meane time sir Wale Surcher knight
hath put the deuise in practise, and affirmeth that sir
mcr in sir moneths shall trauell in that trade to see
greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in sir
peares could before this trick was inuented.

If neither alabaster nor marble doth suffice, we
haue the toughest stone, called in Latine *Lydium lapis*, this

ning as glasse, either to match in sockets with our
pillers of alabaster, or contrariwise: or if it please the
workeman to ioint pillers of alabaster or touch with
sockets of brasse, pewter, or copper, we want not al-
so these mettals, so that I thinke no nation can haue
more excellent & greater diuersitie of stufte for bul-
ding, than we maie haue in England, if our selues
could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that
not our own but other mens do most of all delite vs; &
for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth,
corne, tin, and woollens, for halfe pence cockhorses for
children, dogs of war or of chase, two pennie tabers,
leaden swordes, painted feathers, getwags for soles,
dogtricks for disards, hawkeshoods, and such like
trumperie, whereby we reape last mockage and re-
proch in other countries. I might remember here
our pits for millstones, that are to be had in diuerse
places of our countrie, as in Anglesie, Kent, also at
Queene hope of blew græt, of no lesse value than the
Colaine, yea than the French stones: our grinde-
stones for hardware men. Our whetstones are no
lesse laudable than those of Creta & Macedonia,
albeit we vse no oile with them, as they did in those
parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Part-
ians vsed to do: whereas they that growe in Cili-
cia must haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or
else they make no edge. These also are diuided either
into the hard græt, as the common that thornakers
vse, or the soft græt called bones, to be had among the
barbars, and those either blacke or white, and the rub
or byickle stone which husbandmen doe occupie in the
whetting of their sithes.

In like maner state of sundrie colours is euerie
where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke,
the shalder and the peble. Wherewith for all this we
must fetch them still from farre, as did the Hull men
their stones out of Ireland, wherewith they paved
their towne for want of the like in England: or as
sir Thomas Cresham did, when he bought the stones
in Flanders, wherewith he paved the Burse. But as
he will answer peraduenture, that he bargained for
the whole mould and substance of his workmanship
in Flanders: so the Hullanders or Hull men will
saie, how that stockish is light lading, and therefore
they did ballast their vessels with these Ireland
stones, to keepe them from turning ouer in their so
tedious a voyage. And thus much byiesie of our quar-
ries of stone for building, wherein oftentimes the
workemen haue found strange things inclosed, I
meane liuelie creatures shut vp in the hard stones,
and liuing there without respiration or breathing, as
frogs, todes, &c. whereof you shall read more in the
chronologie following: also in Caius Langius, Wil-
liam of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amster-
dam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib.
19. cap. 9. *De rebus metallicis*, and Goropius in Nilosco-
pio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime also they find pretious
stones (though seldome) and some of them perfectlie
squared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond,
found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which
was so perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in
the world had consulted about the performance of that
workmanship. I know that these reports vnto some
will seeme incredible, and therefore I stand the lon-
ger vpon them; neuer thelesse omitting to speake par-
ticulalie of such things as happen amongst vs, and
rather seeking to confirme the same by the like in o-
ther countries, I will deliuer a few more examples,
whereby the truth hereof shall so much the better ap-
peare. For in the middelt of a stone not long since
found at Chitis, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there
was seene *Caput panisci* inclosed therein, very perfectlie
formed as the beholders doe remember. How come
the grains of gold to be so fast inclosed in the stones
that

that are & haue bene found in the Spanishe Batte: But this is most marvellous, that a most delectable and sweet oile, comparable to the finest balme, or oile of spike in smell, was found naturallie included in a stone, which could not otherwise be broken but with a smiths hammer. Goropius doth tell of a peatch perfeatlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then committed into hard stone, vpon the top of a crag. Aristotle and Theophrast speake of fishes digged out of the earth, farre from the sea in Grece, which Seneca also confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Spartins time, a serpent was found fast inclosed in a rocke, as the kerfell is within the nut, so that no aile could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of stone at Auignon, wherein a man had bene buried: which so filled the roome, and laie so close from aire, that all men wondered how it was possible for the same to liue and continue so long time there. Finally I my selfe haue seene stones opened, and within them the substances of corrupted woines like vnto adders (but far shorter) whose crests and twinkles of bodie appeared also therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the stones by art and industrie of man. Wherefore to affirme that as well liuing creatures, as precious stones, gold, &c. are now and then found in our quarries, shall not hereafter be a thing so incredible as manie talking philosophers, void of all experience, doe affirme, and wilfullie mainteine against such as hold the contrarie.

Of sundrie minerals.

Chap. 10.

With how great benefitts this Island of ours hath bene indured from the beginning: I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confesse, and yeeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the same. For we are blessed euery waie, & there is no temporall commoditie necessarie to be had or trauced by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in most abundant maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen, if we could see to vse it, & be thankful for the same. But alas (as I said in the chapter precedent) we loue to enrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one trifling toie not worth the carriage, coming (as the proverbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea is more worth with vs, than a right good iewel, easie to be had at home. They haue also the call to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they see that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be so that they haue also the like in their owne countries) they will suddenlie abase the same to so low a price, that our gainc not being worthie our trauell, and the same commoditie with lesse cost readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it causeth vs to giue ouer our indenours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obtaine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cause wherefore our commodities are oft so little esteemed of. Some of them can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case of a fox for an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once war wisser, and each one indenour that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in his old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie bought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and

bested abroad, while our clothworkers here doe starue and beg their bread, and for lacke of daile practise utterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science! But to my purpose.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke siluer, antimoine, sulphur, blacke lead, and oymment red and yellow. We haue also the finest alum (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a subject hath bene of late egregiously abused, and even almost with barbarous incontinencie of no lesse force against fire, if it were used in our partetings than that of Lupa, which onlie was in use sometime amongst the Asians & Romans, & wherof Sylla had such trust that when he meant to haue burned a towre of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Spithiodates, he could by no means set it on fire in a long time, because it was washed ouer with alum, as were also the gates of the temple of Ierusalem with like effect, and perceived when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the same. Beside this we haue also the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the sulphurous gleebe called bitumen in old time for morter, and pyrites or sulphur which is now called gunpowder: the chylcolle, copers, and minerall stone, wherof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and colour most excellent of all other, so are they digged out of the maine land, and in sundrie places far distant from the shore. Certes the westerne part of the land hath in times past greatlie abounded with these and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are washed awaye by the violence of the sea, which hath deuoured the greatest part of Cornewall and Deuonshire on either side: and it doth appere yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betwene the Syllan Isles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to speke of scarcelie a bowe or dyane of one sadam water betwene them, if so much, as by those euidences appereth, and are yet to be seene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Isles. But to proceed.

Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Island, as may suffice for all the realme of England: and so must they doe hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherished than it is at this present. And to saie the truth, notwithstanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greatest trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchen and hall, as may appere already in most cities and townes that lie about the coast, where they haue but little other felwell, except it be turffe and hallocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of these into Sussex and Southhampton shire, for want whereof the smiths doe worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Beside our colemines we haue pits in like sort of white plaster, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitants doe compest their soile, and which doth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue saltpeter for our ordinance, and salt soda for our glasse, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Shorthie as I wene hard by Cobington, and sometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is so fine to make moulds for goldsmiths and casters of mettall, that a load of it was worth fiewe shillings thirtie yeares agoe: none such againe they saie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankfull to God for these and other his benefitts bestowed

The lord
Shouen.

Gold
Silu

is shewed vpon vs, whereby he sheweth himselfe a lo-
ving and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrarie-
wise returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obe-
dience, nothing but wickednesse, auarice, more con-
tempt of his will, pride, excessse, atheisme, and no lesse
than Jewish ingratitude.

Of mettals to be had in our

land.

Chap. 11.



Al mettals receive their be-
ginning of quicksiluer and
sulphur, which are as mother
and father to them. And such
is the purpose of nature in
their generations: that the
tendeth alwaies to the pro-
creation of gold, neuer the-
lesse the Aldome reacheth vnto that his end, bicause
of the vnequall mixture and proportion of these two
in the substance ingendered, whereby impediment
and corruption is induced, which as it is more or lesse,
doth shew it selfe in the metall that is produced.
first of all therefore the substance of sulphur and
quicksiluer being mixed in due proportion, after long
and temperate digestion in the bowels of the earth,
groweth ingrossed and thicken, becommeth gold, which
Engelius doth call the summe and right veire of na-
ture; but if it swaue but a little (saith he) in the com-
mixture and other circumstances, then doth it pro-
duce either the daughter, not so noble a child as gold
his brother, which among mettall is waxlike called
the chiefe. Contrariwise, the substances of the
aforesaid parents mixed without proportion, and lesse
digested and steept in the entrails of the earth, where-
by the radicall moisture becommeth combustible
and not of force to indure heat and hammer, doth
either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were
the first mettals knowne in time past vnto antiqui-
tie, although that in these daies there are diuerse o-
ther, whereof neither they nor our alchymists had
euer anye knowledge. Of these therefore which are re-
puted among the third sort, we here in England haue
our parts, and as I call them to mind, so will I in-
treat of them, and with such breuitie as may serue
the turne, and yet not altogether omit to saie some-
what of gold and siluer also, bicause I find by good ex-
perience how it was not said of old time without
great reason, that all countries haue neede of Brit-
taine, and Britaine it selfe of none. For truelie if a
man regard such necessities as nature onelie requi-
reth, there is no nation vnder the sunne, that can saie
so much as ours: for we do want none that are con-
uenient for vs. Therefore if it be a benefit to haue
anye gold at all, we are not void of some, neither like-
wise of siluer: whatsoeuer Cicero affirmeth to the
contrarie, lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16. in whose time they
were not found, *Britannici belli exitus* (saith he) *expecta-*
tur, constat enim aditus insula esse munito: mirificis mobilibus;
etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse
villum in illa insula, neque vllam spem praeda, nisi ex mancipijs,
ex quibus nullo puro re litteris aut musicis eruditos expectare.
And albeit that we haue no such abundance of these
(as some other countries doe yield) yet haue my rich
countreimen those inough of both in their purses,
where in time past they were wont to haue least, bi-
cause the garnishing of our churches, tabernacles,
images, harnises and apparell of the preests consumed
the greater part, as experience hath confirmed.

Of late my countreimen haue found out I wot
not what voiage into the west Indies, from whence
they haue brought some gold, whereby our countrie

is enriched: but of all that euer aduentured into those
parts, none haue sped better than sir Francis Drake
whose successe 1582 hath far passed euen his owne
expectation. One John Frobisher in like maner at-
tempting to seeke out a shorter cut by the northerlie
regions into the peaceable sea and kingdome of Ca-
thaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the
waite, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared,
and so much that some letted not to giue out for cer-
teintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence,
wherevnto he builded the temple. This golden shew
made him so desirous also of like successe, that he
left off his former voyage, & returned home to bring
newes of such things as he had seene. But when after
another voyage it was found to be but drossie, he gaue
ouer both the enterprises, and now keepeth home
without anye desire at all to seeke vnto farre coun-
tries. In truth, such was the plentie of ore there seene
and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue
furnished all the world with abundance of that met-
tall; the voyage also was short and performed in foure
or five moneths, which was a notable encourage-
ment. But to proceed.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his
time to be carried vnto Marilis from hence, as Dio-
dorus also confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs,
the one in Cornewall, Denonshire (& else where in
in the north) the other in Darbshire, Wlledale, and
sundry places of this Iland; whereby my countrie-
men doe reape no small commoditie, but especiallie
our pewterers, who in time past imploied the vse of
pewter onelie vpon dishes, pots, and a few other tri-
fles for seruice here at home, whereas now they are
growne vnto such exquisite cunning, that they can
in maner imitate by infusion anye forme or fashion
of cup, dish, salt, botle, or goblet, which is made by
goldsmiths craft, though they be neuer so curious,
exquisite, and artificiallie forged. Such furniture of
household of this metall, as we commonlie call by
the name of vessel, is sold vsuallie by the garnish,
which doth containe twelue platters, twelue dishes,
twelue saucers, and those are either of siluer fashion,
or else with brode or narrow bords, and bought by
the pound, which is now valued at six or seven pence,
or peraduenture at eight pence. Of porringers, pots,
and other like I speake not, albeit that in the making
of all these things there is such exquisite diligence
vied, I meane for the mixture of the metall and true
making of this commoditie (by reason of sharpe
lawes provided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be
found in any other trade. I haue bene also informed
that it consisteth of a composition, which hath thirtie
pounds of kettle brasse to a thousand pounds of tin,
wherevnto they ad thre or foure pounds of tinglasse:
but as too much of this doth make the stuffe brittle,
so the more the brasse be, the better is the pewter, and
more profitable vnto him that doth buye and purchase
the same. But to proceed.

In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good
flat English pewter of an ordinarie making (I saie
flat, bicause dishes and platters in my time begin to
be made depe like basons, and are indeed more con-
uenient both for satwe, both, and keeping the meat
warmer) is esteemed almost so pretious, as the like
number of vessels that are made of fine siluer, and
in maner no lesse desired amongst the great estates,
whose workmen are nothing so skilfull in that trade
as ours, neither their metall so good, nor plentie so
great, as we haue here in England. The Romans
made excellent looking glasses of our English tin,
holbeit our workmen were not then so exquisite in
that feat as the Bollandiens: wherefore the wrought
mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of
merchandize, and verie highlie were those glasses
esteemed

Gold,
Siluer.

esteemed of till silver came generallic in place, which in the end brought the tin into such contempt, that in manner euerie dishwasher refused to looke in other than silver glasses for the attiring of his head. Howbeit the making of silver glasses had bene in vse before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Pariteles deuised them in the young time of Pompeie, which was before the coming of Caesar into this Island.

There were mines of lead sometimes also in Wales, which endured so long till the people had consumed all their wood by melting of the same (as they did also at Comeristwith six miles from Straddeur) and I suppose that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he speaketh) was to be found in those parts, in the seauententh of his thirtieth fourth booke: also he affirmeth that it laie in the verie swart of the earth, and daile gotten in such plentie, that the Romans made a restraint of the carriage thereof to Rome, limiting how much should pearcell be wrought and transported ouer the sea. And here by the waie it is worthy to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling nere Comeristwith (as Leland saith) had made so tame, that it would daile sit and follow him to his worke and other places where soeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome of vallie, where the first mine was knowne to be, did laie his purse and girdle by him, as men commonlie do that adresse themselves to applie their businesse earnestlie, and he himselfe also had vsed from time to time before. The crow likewise was verie busie flittering about him, and so much molested him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to twing off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be short, in the end the crow haustilie caught by his girdle and purse, and made a waie withall so far as his wings could carrie him. Hereupon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to lose peraduenture all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, cursing and menacing that he should lose his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the means whereby his life was saued, for he had not bene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellows. If I should take vpon me to discourse and search out the cause of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I should peraduenture set my selfe further into the biers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I persuaded, that the crow was Gods instrument herein, whereby the life of this poore labourer was preserved. It was done also in another order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept by a shoemaker of Dutch land in his shop or stoue: who seeing the same to sit vpon the pearch among his shone, verie beautilie and droulie, said vnto the bird: What allecth my lacke, why art thou sad and pensue? The crow hearing his master speake after this sort vnto him, answered (or else the diuell with in him) out of the psalter: *Cogitavi dies antiquos & aternos in mente habui*. But whither am I digressed, from lead vnto crows, & from crows vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to retorne vnto our mettals, and resume the tractation of such things as I had earst in hand.

Iron.

Iron is found in manie places, as in Sussex, Kent, Weredale, Wendip, Walsall, as also in Shropshire, but chaele in the woods betwixt Weluos and Willocke or Wichevie nere Manchester, and elswhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerse do bring forth so fine and good stiffe, as anie that cometh from beyond the sea, beside the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would so accept it, or bestow a little more cost in the refining of it. It is also of

such toughnesse, that it yeeldeth to the making of clarricoord wire in some places of the realme. Neuertheless, it was better cheape with vs when strangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vse it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to shut out foreigners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expence and waste of wood, as doth the making of our pots and table vessel of glasse, wherein is much losse sith it is so quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) easie to be made tougher, if our alchymists could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whose mixture would induce a metallcall toughnesse vnto it, whereby it should abide the hammer.

Copper is latelie not found, but rather restored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue bene heretofore gotten in our Island; howbeit as strangers haue most commonly the gouernance of our mines, so they hitherto make small gaines of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit doth verie hardlie counteruaile the charges, whereat wise men do not a little marvell, considering the abundance which that mine doth seeme to offer, and as it were at hand. I stand our countreymen noteth sundrie great likelihoods of naturall copper mines to be enwards, as betwene Dudman and Trewaroth in the sea cliffes, beside other places, where diuerse are noted here and there in sundrie places of this booke already, and therefore it shall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchafite, I speake not of it, sith it is not incident to my purpose. In Dorsetshire also a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

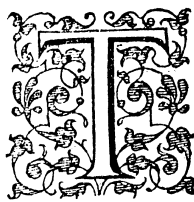
As for our Steele, it is not so good for edge-toles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often sold for the other, and like tale vsed in both, that is to saie, thirtie gads to the sheffe, and twelue sheffes to the burden. Our alchymie is artificiall, and thereof our spowes and some salts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with some, albeit in truth it be much subiect to corruption, putrification, more heauie and soule to handle than our pewter; yet some ignorant persons asseme it to be a metall more naturall, and the verie same which Encelius calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wisemute, mithan, & counterfeite, adding, that where it groweth, silver can not be farre off. Neuertheless it is knowne to be a mixture of brasse, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vsed in pewter. But alas I am persuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchymists of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof do seeme to come out of their forge. For the common sort indeed do call it alchymie, an vnholme mettall (God wot) and worthy to be banished and dzinen out of the land. And thus I conclude with this discourse, as hauing no more to saie of the mettals of my countrie, except I should talke of brasse, bell mettall, and such as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I

can not but saie that there is some brasse found also in England, but so small is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be esteemed or accounted of.

Of

Of pretious stones.

Chap. 12.



Great writers remember few other stones of estimation to be found in this Island than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates*: whereunto furthermoze they ascribe sundrie properties, as usuallie practised here in times past, whereof none of our writers doe make any mention at all. Howbeit whatsoeuer it hath pleased a number of strangers (upon false surmise) to write of the vices of this our countrie, about the fall of the virginite of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof against the time of their bestowing in marriage: certeine it is that euen to this date there is some plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbistyre and about Warwicke, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundrie trifling toies are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing so fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dailie from the maine. But as these men are drownded with the common error conceived of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like stones bred about Luke and all other countries wheresoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus also writing of the same among other of estimation, saith thus:

*Nascitur in Lycia lapis & prope gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium secunda Britannia mittit,
Lucidus & niger est, leui & leuissimus idem,
Ficinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, reslinguitur unctus oluo.*

The Germane writers confound it with amber as if it were a kind thereof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, so I read that it taketh name of *Gagas* a citie and riuer in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull manner, as Dioscorides saith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforesaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vse of it in drining awaie of serpents by the onellie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperor of that name glazed the church withall that standeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light should enter thereby. The writers also diuide this stone into fve kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another streaked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerse colours, among which some are like drops of blood (but those come out of Inde) and the fift shining blacke as antie rauens feather.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the first stones of this Ile, whereof antie foren account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renoume: in so much that the onellie desire of them caused Caesar to aduenture hither, after he had seene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a taberd which he offered vp in Rome to Venus, where it hong long after as a rich and notable oblation and testimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in these our daies, and thereto of diuerse colours, in no lesse numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now so much desired bicause of their smalnesse, and also for other causes, but especiallye with churchofwoke, as copes, vestments, albes,

tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and such trash, are worthilie abolished; upon which our countymeen superstitiously bestowed no small quantities of the in. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops miters, bookes and other pontificall vestures, but were either thoughtlie fretted, or notable garnished with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewise speaking of pearles, commendeth them after this manner:

Gignit & insignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus also Lib. 23, in ipso fine, speaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie those of Persia before them, which to me dooth seeme vnequallie done. But as the British geat or orient pearle were in old time esteemed aboue those of other countries; so time hath since the conquest of the Romans reuealed manie other: insomuch that at this season there are found in England the Aetites (in English called the earnestone, but for earnest some pronounce eagle) and the hematite or bloodstone, and these beie pure and excellent: also the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the chrysell, and those other which we call calaminares and speculares, besides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to sight, is yet much softer (as most are that are found & bred toward the north) than those that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue also upon our coast the white corall, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the sea in the albe, nere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioscorides treateth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like sort sundrie other stones dailie found in cliftes and rocks (beside the load stone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof such as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or else doe make but small account, being seduced by outlandish lapidaries, whereof the most part discourage vs from the searching and seeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more free utterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongst such as haue no skill.

I haue heard that the best triall of a stone is to late it on the naille of the thombe, and so to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, especiallye toward the naille, then is it not sound, but rather to be taken for an artificiall peece of practise. If this be true it is an experiment worthie the noting. Cardan also hath it in his *De subtilitate*, if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who saith, that a cup of iuie will hold no wine at all. I haue made some vessels of the same wood, which refuse no kind of liquo, and therefore I suppose that there is no such Antipathia betwene wine and our iuie, as some of our reading philosophers (without all manner of practise) will seeme to infer amongst vs: and yet I denie not but the iuie of Græce or Italie may haue such a propertie; but why should not the iuie then of France somewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter soile than ours is? For as Baptista porta saith, it holdeth not also in the French iuie, wherefore I can not beleue that it hath antie such qualitye at all as Cato ascribeth vnto it. What should I say more of stones? Trulie I can not tell, sith I haue said what I may alreadye, and peradventure more than I thinke necessarie: and that causeth me to passe ouer those that are now & then taken out of our oysters, todes, muskels, snailles and adders, and likewise such as are found vpon sundrie hills in Gloucestershire, which haue naturallie such sundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as passe all humane possibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer so skillfull

Geat.

Leon.
Chalchom:
ble.

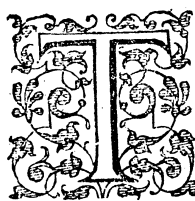
Triall of a
stone.

Lib. 7.

skillfull and cunning, also those that are found in the
heads of our perches and carps much desired of such
as haue the stone, & yet of themselves are no stones
but rather shels or gristles, which in time consume to
nothing. This yet will I ad, that if those which are
found in mussels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the
generation of pearls) be good pearle in deed, I haue
at sundrie times gathered more than an ounce of
them, of which diuerse haue holes already entered by
nature, some of them not much inferiour to great
pearl in quantitie, and thereto of sundrie colours,
as it happeneth amongst such as are brought from
the easterlie coast to Saffron Walden in Lent, when
for want of flesh, stale stinking fish and welked mus-
hels are thought to be good meat; for other fish is too
deere amongst vs when law doth bind vs to vse it.
See more for the generation of pearls in the descrip-
tion of Scotland, for there you shall be further infor-
med out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called or-
ient, because of the clerenesse, which resembleth the
colour of the clere aitre before the rising of the sun.
They are also sought for in the later end of August, a
little before which time the sweetnesse of the dew is
most conuenient for that kind of fish, which doth in-
gender and conceiue them, whose forme is flat, and
much like vnto a lempet. The further north also that
they be found the brighter is their colour, & their sub-
stances of better baluare, as lapidaries doe giue out.

Of salt made in England.

Chap. 13.



Here are in England certain
welles where salt is made,
whereof Leland hath writtten
abundantie in his commenta-
ries of Britaine, and whose
words onlie I will set downe
in English as he wrote them,
because he seemeth to haue had
diligent consideration of the same, without adding
anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where
necessitie doth inforce me for the more aid of the
reader, in the vnderstanding of his mind. Directing
therefore his iourne from Worcester in his pere-
grination and laborious trauell ouer England, he
saith thus: From Worcester I road to the Welch
by inclosed soile, hauing metlie good corne ground,
sufficient wood and good pasture, about a fiftie miles off,
Welch standeth somewhat in a ballie or low ground,
bestowt two small hills on the left riue (for so he cal-
leth the banke of euerie broke through out all his
English treatises) of a pretie riuer which not far be-
neath the Welch is called Salope broke. The beautie
of the towne in maner standeth in one street, yet be
there manie lanes in the towne besides. There is al-
so a meane church in the maine street, and once in
the weeke an indifferent round market. The towne
of it selfe is somewhat soile and durtie when anie
raine falleth by reason of much cariage through the
streets, which are verie ill paved or rather not paved
at all. The great aduancement also hereof is by ma-
king of salt. And though the commoditie thereof be
singular great, yet the burgesses be poore general-
lie, because gentlemen haue for the most part got-
ten the great gaine of it into their hands, whilist
the poore burgesses yeld vnto all the labour. There
are at this present time thre hundred salters, and
thre salt springs in the towne of Welch, whereof the
prinsepall is within a butthot of the right riue (or
banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and
this spring is double so profitable in pelding of salt

A common
plague in all
things of anie
great commo-
dities, for one
beatech the
bush but an-

liquor, as both the other. Some saie (or rather satle) other catch-
that this salt spring did faile in the time of Richard cth the bur-
de la Welch bishop of Chichester, and that afterwards as Soc map in
by his intercession it was restored to the profit of the in batfowling.
old course (such is the superstition of the people) in re-
membrance whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale
which the Welch men and salters did beare vnto Ri-
chard de la Welch their countreman, they vied of late
times on his date (which commeth once in the yeare)
to hang this salt spring or well about with tapistrie,
and to haue sundrie games, drinkings, and solistie re-
uels at it. But to proceed. There be a great number
of salt cotes about this well, wherein the salt water
is sodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of
pure white salt. The other two salt springs be on the
left side of the riuer a pretie waie lower than the first,
and (as I found) at the verie end of the towne. At
these also be diuerse fornaces to make salt, but the
profit and plentie of these two are nothing compara-
ble to the gaine that riseth by the greatest. I asked of
a salter how manie fornaces they had at all the thre
springs, and he numbred them to eightene score, that
is, thre hundred and fiftie, saing howeuer one of
them paled yearelie six shillings and eight pence to
the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties
giuen vnto them for thre hundred fornaces or more,
and thereupon they giue a fee farme (or Vectigal) of
one hundred pounds yearelie. Certes the pension is
as it was, but the number of fornaces is now in-
creased to foure hundred. There was of late sear-
made for another salt spring thereabouts, by the
meanes of one Pelopont a gentleman dwelling at
the Welch, and the place where it was appareth, as
doth also the wood and timber which was set about it,
to keepe by the earth from falling into the same. But
this pit was not since occupied, whether it were for
lacke of plentie of the salt spring, or for letting or hin-
dering of the profit of the other thre. We thinke that
if wood and sale of salt would serue, they might dig
and find more salt springs about the Welch than thre,
but there is somewhat else in the wind. For I heard
that of late yeares a salt spring was found in an o-
ther quarter of Worcestershire, but it grew to be
without anie vse, sith the Welch men haue such a pri-
uilege, that they alone in those quarters shall haue
the making of salt. The pits be so set about with gut-
ters, that the salt water is easilie turned to euerie
mans house, and at Pantwich verie manie troughs
go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of such as dwell
on the other side of the same. They seth also their
salt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the salt
some in cates of twicker, through which the water
draineth, and the salt remaineth. There be also two or
thre but verie little salt springs at Dertwich, in a
low bottome, where salt is sometime made.

Of late also a mile from Cumbremere abbate a
peece of an hill did sinke, and in the same pit rose a
spring of salt water, where the abbat began to make
salt; but the men of the citie compounded with the
abbat & consent that there should be none made there,
whereby the pit was suffered to go to losse. And al-
though it yelded salt water still of it selfe, yet it was
spoiled at the last and filled by with filth. The Welch
men vse the comoditie of their salt springs in drab-
ing and decoting the water of them onlie by six mo-
neths in the yeare, that is, from Midsummer to
Christmas, as (I gesse) to mainteine the price of salt,
or for sauing of wood, which I thinke to be their prin-
cipall reason. For making of salt is a great and no-
table destruction of wood, and shall be greater hereaf-
ter, except some prouision be made for the better in-
crease of firing. The lacke of wood also is already
perceiued in places nere the Welch, for whereas
they vied to hute and take the ir wood nere vnto their
occupi

30 miles
doe continue
harme.

occupiengs, those wanted spzings are now decayed, and they be enforced to seeke their wood so far as Worcester towne, and all the parts about Wrenthegraue, Alchirch, and Alcester. I asked a salter how much wood he supposed pearellie to be spent at these fornares: and he answered that by estimation there was consumed about six thousand load, and it was round pole wood for the most, which is easie to be clef, and handsonelie risen in peeces. The people that are about the fornares are verie ill coloured, and the rust rate of euerie fornares is to make foure loads of salt pearellie, and to euerie load goeth siue or six quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornares men make more in one fornares than foure loads, it is (as it is said) imploied to their owne auaille. And thus much hath Leland left in memoie of our white salt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making also of baie salt in some part of our countie. But sith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie salt can not be framed in anie order, because my memoie will not serue to shew the true maner and the place. It shall suffice therfore to haue giuen such notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aswell the baie as white are wrought and made in England, and more white also vpon the west coast toward Scotland, in Essex and else where, out of the salt water betwene Witte and Coker mouth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. If inallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall salt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with such mettals as are growing here in England.

Of our accompt of time & hir parts.

Chap. 14.



A Libra is As or Asis to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in standard measure: so in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie consisting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greatest of the least, and least of the greatest, whereby we keepe our reckoning: for of the houre (to saie the truth) the most ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrewes had anie vse; sith they reckoned by watches: and whereof also Censorinus cap. 19. sheweth a reason wherefore they were neglected. For my part I do not see anie great difference vsed in the obseruation of time & hir parts, betwene our owne & any other foren nation, wherefore I shall not need to stand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein shall appeere vnto all men, I will set downe some short rehearfall thereof, and that in so brieue manner as vnto me is possible. As for our astronomically practises, I meane not to meddle with them, sith their course is vniuersally obserued ouer all. Our common order therfore is to begin at the minut, which containeth part of an houre, as at the smallest part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithstanding that in most places they descend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from whence they proceed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentieth part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which doth begin at midnight, and is obserued continually by clockes, dialles, and astronomical instruments of all sorts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of waie is so great here in England, as no place else (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not speake of the cost bestowed vpon them in perle and stone,

neither of the valure of mettall, whereof they haue bene made, as gold, silver, &c: and almost no abbeie or religious house without some of them. This onelic shall suffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in these things, so in our time pompe and excesse spendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to shew their quantities, differences, and diuisions, into the greater and the lesser, (whereof the later containeth one vnequall houre, or the rising of halfe a signe, the other of a whole signe, which is in two houres space, whereof Marke seemeth to speake cap. 15 c 25, as the rest of the euangelists (yea and he also ibid. vers. 33) do of the other, Matth. 27 c 45 Luke 23 c 44, John 19 b 14) it should be but in vaine. In like sort, whereas the elder Egyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Atheniens, and Jews begin their daie at the sun set ouer night; the Persians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Moribergians, at the sun rising (each of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) also the elder Atheniens, Arabians, Dutchmen, Timbers, Petrarians, and Astronomers at high none, and so reckon from none to none: we after Hipparchus and the latter Egyptians, or to speake more properly, imitating the Roman maner vsed in the church there of long time, chose the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto middaye ensuing, and other twelue againe vnto the afore said point, according to these verses;

*Mane diem Græci gens incipit astræsequentes
In medio lucis Iudeis vespere sancta,
Inchoat ecclesia media sua tempora nocte.*

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make so farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the sun is by, and night when the sun leaueth our horizon. Otherwise also we diuide it into two parts, that is to saie, fore none and after none, not regarding the ruddie, shining, burning and warming seasons (of three vnequall houres a peece, which others seeme to diuide into spring time, summer, autumn, and winter, in like curious manner) and whereof I read these verses:

*Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,
Hæc rubet, hæc splendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.*

Indeed our physicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no lesse learning no doubt than the best of foren countries, if we could so conceiue of them. And herein they concur also with those of other nations, who for distinction in regiment of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night in such wise as these verses do import, and are indeed a generall rule which each of them doth follow:

*Tres lucis primas, noctis tres sanguinis imas,
Pis cholerae medias lucis sex vendicat horas.
Datque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas sex noctis phlegmatis horas.*

Dr. Rhin, as Tansteter hath giuen them forth in his prelections:

*A nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis,
Est dominus sanguis, sex inde sequentibus horis
Est dominans cholera, dum lucis nona sit hora
Post niger humid inest donec sit tertia noctis,
Post hæc phlegma venit, donec sit nona quietis.*

In English thus in effect:

Three houres yer sun doo rise,
and so manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the swaie,
Euen so to nine at night,
swart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;
six houres ech one I saie.

Night.

In like sort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darknight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wher as the Latins diuide the same into 7 parts, as *Vesper* or *Vesperugo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil bleseth the word *Hesper* the evening, which is immediatlie after the setting of the sun. *Crepusculum* the twilight (which some call *Prima fax*, because men begin then to light candles) when it is betwene daie and night, light and darkenesse, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium* the still of the night, when ech one is laid to rest. *Intempeslum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sleepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum sine aurora*, the ruddie, orange, golden or shining colour, scene immediatlie before the rising of the sun, and is opposite to the evening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight.

watches.

Other there are which do reckon by watches, diuiding the night after sun setting into foure equall parts. Of which the first beginneth at euening called the first watch, and continueth by three unequall houres, and so forth vntill the end of the ninth houre, wher at the fourth watch entresth, which is called the morning watch, because it concurrith partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the rising of the sun.

Houre.

As for the originall of the word *houre*, it is verie ancient; but yet not so old as that of the watch, wher of we shall read abundantlie in the scriptures, which was deuised first among souldiours for their better safeguard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like wherof is almost vsed among our seafaring men, which they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time with great heed and some solemnitie. Hereinto the word *Hora* among the Grecians signified so well the foure quarters of the yere, as the foure and twentieth part of the daie, and limits of anie forme: But what stand I vpon these things to let my purpose staie: So proceed therefore.

wake.

Of naturall daies is the weeke compacted, which consisteth of seauen of them, the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar sort either king or working, because it is either the fairest or foulest of the seauen: albeit that I cannot ghesse of anie reason whie they should so imagine. The first of these entresth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that we rest vpon the sundaie, which is the seauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Jews begin their weeke vpon our saturday at the setting of the sun: and the Turks in these daies with the saturday, whereby it commeth to passe, that as the Jews make our last daie the first of their weeke, so the Turks make the Jewish sabbath the beginning of their *Hebdoma*: because *Spahomet* their prophet (as they saie) was bozne and dead vpon the fridaie, and so he was indeed, except their *Alharon* deceiue them. The Jews do reckon their daies by their distance from their sabbath, so that the first daie of their weeke is the first daie of the sabbath, and so forth vnto the sixt. The Latins and Egyptians accepted their daies after the seauen planets, choosing the same for the denominator of the daie, that entresth his regiment with the first one, quall houre of the same after the sun be risen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholly retained with vs, so the vse of the same is not yet altogether abolished, as may appere by our sunday, mondaie, and saturday. The rest were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut sometime their prince, called the second day of the week *Theutisdach*, the third *Woden*, *Thun*, *Thor*, or *Edon*, or *Wodensdach*. Also of *Thor* they named the fourth day *Thorsdach*, and of

Frea wife to *Woden* the fifth was called *Freadach*. Albeit there are (and not amisse as I thinke) that suppose them to meane by *Thor*, Jupiter, by *Woden*, *Mercurie*, by *Frea* (or *Frigga* as Saxo calleth hir) *Venus*, and finally by *Theut*, *Mars*: which if it be so, then it is an easie matter to find out the german *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercurie*, and *Jupiter*, wherof you may read moze hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that *Frea* albeit that Saxo giueth hir scant a good report, for that she loued one of hir husbands men better than himselfe, had seauen sonnes by *Woden*; the first, father to *Merca*, of whome descended those that were afterwards kings of Kent. *Fethelgeta* was the second, and of him came the kings of *Merca*. *Baldia* the third, father to the kings of the west Saxons. *Weldagus* the fourth, parent to the kings of *Wenicia* or *Northumberland*. *Wlegodach* the fifth, author of the kings of *Deira*. Caesar the first race of the east Angle race, & *Malcad* originall burgeant of the kings of *Essex*. As for the kings of *Sussex*, although they were of the same people, yet were they not of the same streine, as our old monuments do expresse. But to proceed.

As certeine of our daies suffered this alteration by the Saxons, so in our churches we retained for a long time the number of daies or series from the sabbath, after the manner of the Jews, I meane vntill the seruice after the Romane vse was abolished, which custome was first receiued (as some thinke) by pope *Syluester*, though other saie by *Constantine*; albeit another sort do affirme, that *Syluester* caused the sundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the rest.

In like manner of weekes our moneths are made, which are so called of the mone, each one containing eight and twentie daies, or foure weekes, without anie further curiositie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the mone, as the Jews, Grecians, or Romans did at the first; or as the Turks, Arabians and Persians do now: neither anie parcell thereof by the said planet, as in some part of the west Indies, where they haue neither weeke, moneth, nor yere, but onlie a generall account of hundreds and thousands of mones. Wherefore if we saie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure weeks onelie, and not of hir vsuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minutes. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuertheless in places and sates is nothing at all allowed of, sixth the mone maketh hir full revolution in eight and twentie daies or foure weeks, that is, vnto the place where she left the sun: notwithstanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that signe wherin she before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a moze or lesse number of these moneths for whole yeares: and that of these some accounted but three, as the *Archadians* did foure, the *Acarnians* six, and the *Aegyptians* but one for a whole yeare, which causeth them to make such a large account of their antiquitie and originall. But forsomuch as we are not troubled with anie such disorder, it shall suffice that I haue generallie said of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender.

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the course of the mone, and their enterances were uncerteine, as were also the changes of that planet: whereby it came to passe, that the daie of the change was the first of the moneth, howsoeuer it fell out. But after *Iulius Caesar* had once corrected the same, the seuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, but

Fria.

Moneth.

Triumthi in Antartico.

but also the old order in the diuision of their parts continued still vnaltered: so that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vse of the same be but small, and their order retained onelie in our calendars, for the better vnderstanding of such times, as the historiographers and old authors doe remember. The reckoning also of each of these goeth (as you see) after a preposterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwise, as by perusal of the same you shall more easilie perceiue.

The daies also of the change of the moneth of the mone, are called *Calende*, which in time of paganism were consecrated to Juno, and sacrifice made to that goddess on the same. On these daies also, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewise the morrow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were also diuerse other, and those either by reason of some notable ouerthrow or mishap that befell vnto the Romans vpon those daies, or in respect of some superstitious imagination conceived of euill successe likelie to fall out vpon the same. Of some they were called *Dies Aegyptiaci*. Whereby it appeareth that this pœuist estimation of these daies came from that nation. And as we doe note our holie and festiuall daies with red letters in our calendars, so did the Romans their principall feasts & circle of the mone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or consularie tables. This also is more to be added, that if anie good successe happened afterward vpon such day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would solemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and therein they not a little reioiced.

The word *Calende* (in Græke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Cale*, to call: for vpon the first day of euerie moneth, the priest used to call the people of the citie and countrie together in Calabzila, for so the place was called where they met, and shew them by a custome how manie daies were from the said calends to the nones, & what feasts were to be celebrated betwene that and the next change. Their order is retrograde, because that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the mone past the full, they reckoned by the daies to come untill the next change, as seuentene daies, Arctene daies, fourtene daies, &c: as the Grækes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vse of calends. The verie day therefore of the change is called *Calende*, dedicated to Juno, who thereof was also called *Calendaria*. At the first also the fasts or feast daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the priests (as I said) vpon this daie, till Flauius Scriba caused them to be written & published in their common calendars, contrarie to the will and meaning of the Senat, for the ease and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not about foure or five in euerie moneth: and so long as the nones lasted, so long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nona quasi Nundina*. In them also were neither holie daies more than is at this present (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no sacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his business, and kept his market, reckoning the first day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or first daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nona*, of the word *Non*, quia in ysaem di non coluntur. For as Ouid saith, *Nonarum tutela deo caret*, or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other because *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I suppose rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddess far yonger than the name

of *Nona*) took her name of the nones, whereon it was a custome among the Romans, *Lustrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere*, as they did with their maid children vpon the eighth: but howsoeuer this be, sure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherein the people bought, sold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing else.

The ides are so named of the Hethuscan word, *Iduare*, to diuide: and before that Cesar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middlest. But afterward when he had added certaine daies thereto, thereby to make it agree to the yeere of the sunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, because he would not alter the celebration of their vsuall feasts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they short of the middlest, sometime by two or three daies. In these therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leisure to packe vp and conueie their merchandise, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides do the calends follow, but in a decreasing order (as I noted) as the mone doth in light when she is past the full. But herein lieth all the mystery, if you can say so manie daies before the next change or new mone, as the number there expressed doth betoken, as for 16 calends so manie daies before the next conjunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred). Of these calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find these verses insuing:

*Ianus & Augustus denas nouemq; Decembris,
Iunius Aprilis September & ipse Nouember
Ter senas retinent, Februus bis octo calendas,
Iulius October Mars Maim epta decemq;.*

In English thus.

December Iune and August month
full nineteene calends haue,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twise nine they doe desire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue,
October Maie and Iulie hot
but seuentene doe require.

In like manner do the nones and ides.

*Sex Maim nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.
To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
six nones I hight,
The rest but foure, and as for ides
they keepe still eight.*

Again touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

*Iunius, Aprilis, Septemq; Nouemq; tricenos,
Pnum plus reliqui, Februus tenet octo vicenos;
At si bis sextus fuerit superadditur vnus.
Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the rest thirtie and one,
but in the leape you must ad one.*

Our yeare is counted after the course of the sunne, and although the church hath some vse of that of the mone for obseruation of certaine moueable feasts, yet it is reducible to that of the sunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chiefe had in vse. Wherein onelie I find a scruple, that the beginning thereof is not vni forme and certaine, for most of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calendars the first of Januarie; so that with vs Christ is borne before he be conceived. Our sundrie officers also haue sundrie entrances into their charges of custome, which breedeth great confusion, whereas if all these might be referred to one originall (and that to be the first of Januarie) I do not thinke but that there would be more certaintie,

The description of England.

certainie, and lesse trouble for our historiographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yere. In old time the Atheniens began their yere with the change of the moone that fell nearest to the entrance of the sunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter solstice, or his going into the goat, the Iewes in ciuill case at the latter equinoctiall, and in ecclesiasticall with the first. They of Calcute begin their yere somewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, sith they first consult with their wisards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be most happie (as the yere goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Olorius doth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue solemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of tre with a pencill, in stead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere also in September: but sith we seeke herein but for the custome of our countrie onelie, it shall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or first of Januarie, and from the middest of the night which is *lines* betwene that and the last of December, whereof this maie suffice. I might speake of the Cynike yere also in this place (for the ease of our English readers) sometime in vse amongst the Egyptians, which containeth 1460 common yeaeres, whose beginning is alwaies reckoned from the rising of the lesser dog. The first vse thereof entered the selfe yere wherein the Olimpiads were restored. And forsomuch as this nation hath no vse of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeaeres, they added an whole yere of intercalation, because there are 365 leape yers in the period, so that 1460 Julian yers do containe 1461 after the Egyptians account, whereby the common yere is found to be lesse than ours. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the leape yere is somewhat too much by certeine minutes, which in 115 yeaeres amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in so manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wish that the same yere wherein the said intercalation fruite found out should be ouerpasse, might be obserued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and souereigne princeesse now reigning amongst vs.

I might here saie somewhat also of the yrlme and his alteration, which is risen higher by five daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Caesar: and in seauen thousand yeaeres some witter would grow to an error of an whole, if the world should last so long. But forsomuch as in some calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euerie change, it shall suffice to saie no more thereof. The pope also hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the same that it was or should haue bene at the councell of Nice. Notwithstanding as he hath abolished the vse of the golden number, so hath he continued the exact, applieng it vnto such generall vse, as doth now serue both the turnes, whose reformation had also per this time bene admitted into England, if it had not proceeded from him, against whom and all whose ordinances we haue so faithfully stood and set our hands.

Certes the next omission is to be performed if all princes would agree thereto in the leape yere that shall be about the yere of Grace 1668: if it shall please God that the world may last so long, and then may our calender also stand without anie alteration as it doth already. By this also it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be supplied from the creation, wherein the first equinoctiall is sene higher toward the beginning of March than Caesars calender now extant doth yield vnto by seauen daies. For as

in Caesars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Scadius also noteth) either vpon or about the sixteenth or seauententh of March, albeit the manifest apperance thereof was not found vntill the five and twentieth of that moneth in their dialls or by eyesight: so at the beginning of the world the said entrance of the sunne into the ram, must needs fall out to be about the twentieth or one & twentieth of Aprill, as the calender now standeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Above the yere we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie generall names with them, except you will affirme the world age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeaeres, and signifieth in English so much as *Seculum* or *Æuum* doth in Latine; neither is it needfull to remember that some of my countrymen do reckon their times not by yeaeres but by summers and winters, which is vertie common among vs. Wherefore to shut vp this chapter withall, you shall haue a table of the names of the daies of the weeke, after the old Saxon and Scottish maner, which I haue borrowed from amongst our ancient writers, as I haue perused their volumes.

The present names.

Monday.	Frídaie.
Tuesday.	Saturdaie.
Wednesday.	Sunday, or the
Thursday.	Lords daie.

The old Saxon names.

Monendeg.	Frigeſdeg.
Tueſdeg.	Saterdeg.
Wodnesdeg.	Sunnan-
Thunresdeg.	deg.

The Scottish vsage.

Diu Luna.	Diu Friach.
Diu Mart.	Diu Satur.
Diu Yach.	Diu Se-
Diu Ethamon.	roll.

Of our principall faires and markets.

Chap. 15.

I haue heretofore said sufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of faires and markets; and now to performe my promise there made, I set downe here so manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obseruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impossible for me to come by all, sith there is almost no towne in England, but hath one or more such marts holden yearelie in the same, although some of them (I must needs confesse) be scarce comparable to those faire, and little else bought or sold in them more than good drinke, pies, and some pedlerie trash: wherefore if there were no losse if diuerse of them were abolished. Yetther do I see wherevnto this number of paltrie faires tendeth, so much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other businesse set apart) must needs repaite vnto them, whereby they often spend not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbath in great vanitie and riot. But such hath bene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now abolished, and a further insight into things growne into the minds of magistrates, these old er-

roys may be considered of, and so farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be dishonored, nor the common wealth of our countie anie thing diminished. In the meane time, take this table here insuing in stead of a calender of the greatest, sith that I cannot, or at the least wisse care not to come by the names of the lesse, whose knowledge cannot be so profitable to them that be farre off, as they are off prejudiciall to such as dwell nere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pssengers that resort vnto the same.

Faires in Ianuarie.

The first day being Twelfe day at Batsburie, the five and twentieth being saint Pattes day, at Bilsow, at Grauesend, at Churchingford, at Pothalerton in Wokeshyre, where is kept a faire euery wednesday from Christmasse vntill June.

Faires in Februarie.

The first day at Bromele. The second at Lin, at Bath, at Spaldstone, at Bickleworth, at Budsowth. The fourteenth at Feuertham. On Ashwednesday at Lichfield, at Lamtworth, at Koston, at Excester, at Abington, at Cicester. The foure and twentieth at Penke vpon Thames, at Tetnesburie.

Faires in March.

On the twelfth day, at Stamford, Sapeford, and at Sudburie. The thirtieth day at Wile, at the Mount, at Bodmin in Cornewall. The fift sunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Saltsburie. On monday before our ladies day in Lent, at Wilsbich, at Rendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmesunday euen, at Pumfret. On palmesunday, at Worcester. The twentieth day at Durham. On our ladies day in Lent at Pothampton, at Palden, at great Chart, at Petwellsell. And all the ladies daies at Huntington. And at Saffron Walden on midlent Sunday.

Faires in April.

The fift day at Wallingford. The seuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleworth, at Belinsworth. On monday after, at Cuesham in Worcestershire. On tuesday in Easter weeke at Pothstet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third sunday after Easter, at Lough. The two and twentieth at Stabford. On saint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipswich, at Lamtworth, at Ampthill, at Hunningham, at Gilsford, at saint Bombes in Cornewall. On saint Parkes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Essex. The six and twentieth at Lenderden in Kent.

Faires in Maie.

On Paie daie at Rippon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Wessrie in Wales, at Lersfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leicester, at Gensford, at Spaldstone, at Bicklehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton, at Stokeneie land. The third at Bramyard, at Henningham, at Elstow, Waltham, Holfcrosse, and Hedningham castell. The seuenth at Wuerleie, at Petoton, at Orford. On Ascension day at Petwellsell, at Perne, at Wimechame, at saint Edes, at Wilsbich, at Elstow, Waltham, Holfcrosse, at Stabford, at Chappell frith. On Whitson euen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitsunday, at Kitchell, at Gribbie, and euery wednesday forty night at Kington vpon Thames, at Katesdale, at Kirbistephin in Westmerland. On monday in

Whitsuntweke, at Darlington, at Excester, at Bradford, at Kigate, at Burton, at Shalford, at Whitechurch, at Cockermonth, at Applebie, at Bickleworth, at Stokerclare. On tuesday in Whitsonweke, at Lelwe, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Domesburke, at Perith, at long Gilsford. On wednesday in Whitsonweke, at Sudbarre, at Kaston. On Trinitie Sunday at Rendall, and at Kowell. On Thursday after Trinitie Sunday, at Bzelsote, at Stapford, at Kaston, at Petbarie, at Copenetre, at saint Edes, at Wilsbich, at Kasse. The ninth at Kasse, at Wilsbich. The twentieth seuenth day, at Kaston. The twentieth ninth at Crambroke. On monday in Rogation weeke at Kech, and Sunday after Ascension day, at Kaston.

Faires in Iune.

The ninth day at Spaldstone. The xi, at Dington, at Petbarie, at Wardfield, at Parfield, at Holt. The twentieth at Spaldstone. The twentieth thre at Kaston, at saint Albans. The twentieth fourth day, at Potham, at Bedell, at Strackstoeke, at saint Anna, at Wakefield, at Colchester, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beside Cambridge, at Wollerhampton, at Crambroke, at Gloucester, at Lincoln, at Peterborough, at Windsor, at Harstone, at Lancaster, at Westchester, at Halifax, at Althorne. The twentieth seuenth, at Folkestone. The twentieth eight, at Hetcorne, at saint Bombes. The twentieth ninth, at Woburn, at Parleborough, at Holfeworth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Kempster, at Sudburie, at Gargrainge, at Bromele.

Faires in Iulie.

The second at Congreton, at Ashton vnder line. The Sunday after the third of Iulie, at Kaston. The eleuenth at Hartneie, and at Lid. The fiftenth, at Pichbacke. The seuententh, at Winchcombe. The twentieth, at Urbridge, at Catebsie, at Bolton. The twentieth two, at Parleborough, at Winchester, at Colchester, at Tetburie, at Coling, at Pealdon, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Pothwich in Cheshire, at Cheswike, at Battelfield, at Bickleworth. The twentieth fift, at Bilsow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipswich, at Pothampton, at Wodele in Staffordshire, at saint James beside London, at Kading, at Cress in the Ile, at Walden, at Hrenhall, at Baldocke, at Lough, at Palmesburie, at Bromele, at Chichester, at Liverpool, at Altermam, at Kauenglasse in the north. The twentieth first, at Tiptrie. The twentieth seuenth at Canturburie, at Potham, at Kichmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell frith.

Faires in August.

The first day at Excester, at Feuertham, at Dunstable, at saint Edes, at Bedford, at Potham church, at Wilsbich, at Poth, at Kummie, at Petoton, at Peland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth at Waltham, at Harsted, at Blackemoze, at Humberford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Crolleie, at Seddell, at new Brainford. The xv, at Cambridge, at Dunmow, at Caerlell, at Pethon in Andall, at Wakefield on the two ladies daies, and vpon the Sunday after the fiftenth day of August, at Hauerhall, On Bartholomey day, at London, at Beggars bush beside Kite, at Kenelburie, at Sudburie, at Kite, at Pantwich, at Pagets, at Bromele, at Pothalerton, at Douer. On the Sunday after

after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentieth
seuenth, and at Ashford.

Faires in September.

The first day at S. Giles at the Bush. The eight
day at Wolspit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge,
in Southwarke at London, at Sntbe, at Retolur,
at Gishourgh both the lade daies, at Partneie. The
three lade daies at Blackeborne, at Gishorne in
Poykeshire, at Chalton, at Walshe. On Holmwe
day, at Richmond in Poykeshire, at Walshe a horse
faire, at Penhad, at Walshe, at Walshe, at
Wotton under hedge, at Walshe, at Walshe,
field, at Denbigh in Wales. On Saint Mathies day,
at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Crodon, at Hol-
den in Holdernes, at Saint Edmundsburie, at Pal-
ton, at Saint Iues, at Shrewesburie, at Laneham,
at Witnall, at Sittingbourne, at Wainettie, at Wal-
doche, at Batharthe hill beside Gilsford, at Douer, at
Castric. The twentieth ninth day being Michaelmas
day, at Canturburie, at Spalton a noble horse faire,
at Lancaster, at Blackeborne, at Walshe, at
Cokerimouth, at Ashborne, at Walshe, at Walden
an horse faire, at Walshe hill, at Peterburie, and at
Leicester.

Faires in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The first day at saint
Mathie beside Norwich, at Spaldstone. The eight
at Harborough, at Hereford, at Bishop Stortford.
On S. Edwards day, at Kilsdon, at Grauesend, at
Windsor, at Parthfield. The ninth day at Colchester.
On saint Lukes euen, at Elie, at Wicksle, at U-
pane, at Thirt, at Widsenozth, at Stanton, at Cha-
ring, at Barton upon Trent, at Charleton, at U-
gan, at Fristwodes in Orford, at Lisdale, at Widsle,
wich, at Holt in Wales. The twentieth one day at
Saffron Walden, at Petermarket, at Hertford, at
Cicester, at Stokeleie. The twentieth third, at Pre-
ston, at Wicksleworth, at Ricksdale, at Wickschurch.
The twentieth eight, at Petermarket, and Hertford.
On all saints euen, at Wakefield, and at Rithen.

Faires in Nouember.

The second at Blechinglie, at Kingston, at Wat-
field, at Epping. The first day, at Peterport pond,
at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Lifford, and
Wicksleworth faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton.
The eleuenth, at Harleborough, at Douer. The thir-
tenth, at saint Edmundsburie, at Gilsford. The se-
uenteenth day, at Low, at Widsle. The ninetenth, at
Horsham. On saint Edmunds day, at Widsle, at In-
gersstone. The twentieth third day, at Sandwich. On
saint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rochester,
at Peterfield, at Walsdenhed, at Widsleie, at Wa-
rington in Lancashire, at Bedford in Poykeshire, at
Wicksle in Wales, and at Wicksle Belgham.

Faires in December.

On the first day, at Wicksleie. On the first, at Ca-
sed, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Excester,
at Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Poykeshire in Ches-
hire. The seuenth day at Sandhurst. The
eight day being the conception of our la-
die, at Clitherall in Lancashire, at
Walpas in Cheshire. The twen-
tie ninth, at Canturburie,
and at Salisbury.

Of our innes and thorowfares.

Chap. 16.



Hose colonies that we call
thorowfares haue great and
sumptuous innes builded in
them, for the receiuing of such
travellers and strangers as
passe to and fro. The manner
of harbouling therein, is
not like to that of some other
countries, in which the host or goodman of the house
doth challenge a lo: die and gittie ouer his ghests,
but cleane otherwise, such a man may vse his
inne as his owne house in England, and haue for
his monie both great or little varietie of vittells, and
what other seruice himselfe shall thinke expedient to
call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with
naperie, bedding, and tapistrie, especiallie with na-
perie: for beside the linnen vscd at the tables, which is
commonlie washed daillie, is such and so much as be-
longeth vnto the estate and calling of the ghest. Each
commer is sure, to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no
man hath bene lodged since they came from the lan-
dresse, or out of the water wherein they were last
washed. If the traveller haue an horse, his hed doth
cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie
a pence for the same: but whether he be horseman or
footman if his chamber be once appointed he may ca-
rie the hate with him, as of his owne house so long
as he lodgeth there. If he lose oughts whylest he ab-
deth in the inne, the host is bound by a generall cu-
stome to restore the damage, so that there is no grea-
ter securitie anye where for travellers than in the
greatest inns of England. Their horses in like sort are
walked, dressed and looked vnto by certeine hostlers
or hired seruants, appointed at the charges of the
goodman of the house, who in hope of extraordinarie
reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward
appearance in this their function and calling. Wherein
nevertheless are manie of them blameworthy, in
that they do not onelie deceiue the beast oftentimes
of his allowance by sundrie meanes, except their
owners looke well to them; but also make such packs
with slipper merchants which hunt after pzeie (for
what place is sure from euill & wicked persons) that
manie an honest man is spoiled of his goods as he
travellith to and fro, in which feat also the counsell
of the tapsters or draywers of drinke, and chamberleins
is not selddome be hind or wanting. Certes I beleue
not that chappman or traveller in England is robbed
by the waie without the knowledge of some of them,
for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from
his horse, the hostler forthwith is verie buisie to take
downe his budget or capcase in the pard from his sa-
dle bow, which he pelfeth alie in his hand to feele the
weight thereof: or if he misse of this pttch, when the
ghest hath taken by his chamber, the chamberleine
that looketh to the making of the beds, will be sure to
remoue it from the place where the owner hath set it
as if it were to set it more conuenientlie some where
else, whereby he getteth an twinkling whether it be mo-
nie or other short wares, & therof giueth warning to
such od ghests as hant the house and are of his confe-
deracie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honest peo-
man as he iournieth by the waie. The tapster in like
sort for his part doth marke his behaviour, and what
plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the shot,
to the like end: so that it shall be an hard matter to
escape all their subtilie practises. Some thinke it a gay
matter to commit their budgets at their comming
to the goodman of the house: but thereby they oft be-
wraie

waile themselves. For albeit their monie be safe for the time that it is in his hands (for you shall not heare that a man is robbed in his inn) yet after their departure the host can make no warrantie of the same, with his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne house: and there cannot be a surer token vnto such as pise and watch for those booties, than to see anie ghest deliuer his capcase in such manner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, bere, and sundrie kinds of wine, and such is the capacitee of some of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred persons, and their hostes at ease, & thereto with a verie short warning make such provision for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may seeme to be incredible. Notwithstanding all in England there are no wayles ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the best that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumstances be duly considered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpose. I will here set downe a table of the best thoroughfares and towne of greatest trauell of England, in some of which there are twelue or sixtene such innes at the least, as I before did speake of. And it is a world to see how each owner of them contendeth with other for godnesse of intertainment of their ghests, as about finesse & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, seruice at the table, costlinesse of plate, strenght of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vsing of hostes. Finally there is not so much omitted among them as the gorgeousnes of their verie signes at their doores, wherein some doe consume thirtie or fortie pounds, a mere vanitie in mine opinion, but so vaine will they needs be, and that not onelie to giue some outward token of the inne keepers welth, but also to procure god ghests to the frequenting of their houses in hope there to be well vsed. No here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I shall not need to speake.

The waie from Walsingham to London.

From Walsingham to Picknam	12.miles
From Picknam to Brandonferie	10.miles
From Brandonferie to Newmarket	10.miles
From Newmarket to Bzabzham	10.miles
From Bzabzham to Barketwaite	20.miles
From Barketwaite to Buzich	7.miles
From Buzich to Ware	5.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and so to London.

From Barwike to Belford	12.miles
From Belford to Antwike	12.miles
From Antwike to Pozpit	12.miles
From Pozpit to Newcastell	12.miles
From Newcastell to Durham	12.miles
From Durham to Darlington	13.miles
From Darlington to Rosghalerton	14.miles
From Rosghalerton to Copliffe	7.miles
From Copliffe to Poike	16.miles
From Poike to Tadcaster	8.miles
From Tadcaster to Wanthbridge	12.miles
From Wanthbridge to Dancaster	8.miles
From Dancaster to Tufford	18.miles
From Tufford to Newwarke	10.miles
From Newwarke to Grantham	10.miles
From Grantham to Stanford	16.miles
From Stanford to Stilton	12.miles
From Stilton to Huntington	9.miles
From Huntington to Kisson	15.miles

From Kisson to Ware	12.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Carnaruan to Chester, and so to London.

From Carnaruan to Contwaie	24.miles
From Contwaie to Denbigh	12.miles
From Denbigh to Flint	12.miles
From Flint to Chester	10.miles
From Chester to Wlch	14.miles
From Wlch to Stone	15.miles
From Stone to Lichfield	16.miles
From Lichfield to Colhill	12.miles
From Colhill to Couentrie	8.miles
And so from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.	

The waie from Cocker mouth to Lancaster, and so to London.

From Cocker mouth to Kiskwike	6.miles
From Kiskwike to Grocener	8.miles
From Grocener to Kendale	14.miles
From Kendale to Burton	7.miles
From Burton to Lancaster	8.miles
From Lancaster to Preston	20.miles
From Preston to Wlham	14.miles
From Wlham to Warrington	20.miles
From Warrington to Newcastell	20.miles
From Newcastell to Lichfield	20.miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie	20.miles
From Couentrie to Daintrie	14.miles
From Daintrie to Loeffer	10.miles
From Loeffer to Stonistratford	6.miles
From Stonistratford to Bichill	7.miles
From Bichill to Dunstable	7.miles
From Dunstable to saint Albons	10.miles
From saint Albons to Barnet	10.miles
From Barnet to London.	10.miles

The waie from Yarmouth to Colche- ster, and so to London.

From Yarmouth to Becclis	8.miles
From Becclis to Blibour	7.miles
From Blibour to Snapbridge	8.miles
From Snapbridge to Wodbridge.	8.miles
From Wodbridge to Ipswich	5.miles
From Ipswich to Colchester	12.miles
From Colchester to Cafford	8.miles
From Cafford to Chelmefford	10.miles
From Chelmefford to Bientwood	10.miles
From Bientwood to London	15.miles

The waie from Douer to London.

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne	12.miles
From Sittingborne to Rochester	8.miles
From Rochester to Grauesend	5.miles
From Grauesend to Watford	6.miles
From Watford to London	12.miles

The waie from saint Burien in Corne- wall to London.

From S. Burien to the Mount	20.miles
From the Mount to Thurie	12.miles
From saint Thurie to Bodman	20.miles
From Bodman to Launstone	20.miles
From Launstone to Deomton	15.miles
From Deomton to Crokehornetwell	10.miles
From	From

From Crokehorne to Creestet	10. miles
From Creestet to Honiton	12. miles
From Honiton to Chard	10. miles
From Chard to Crokehorne	7. miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne	10. miles
From Shirborne to Shaftsburie	10. miles
From Shaftsburie to Salisbury	18. miles
From Salisbury to Andover	15. miles
From Andover to Basingstoke	18. miles
From Basingstoke to Hartford	8. miles
From Hartford to Bagshot	8. miles
From Bagshot to Stanes	8. miles
From Stanes to London	15. miles

The waie from Bristowe to London.

From Bristow to Warfield	10. miles
From Warfield to Chipnam	10. miles
From Chipnam to Warleborough	15. miles
From Warleborough to Hungerford	8. miles
From Hungerford to Newburie	7. miles
From Newburie to Reading	15. miles
From Reading to Maidenhead	10. miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke	7. miles
From Colbroke to London	15. miles

The waie from saint Davids to London.

From saint Davids to Arford	20. miles
From Arford to Carmarden	10. miles
From Carmarden to Newton	10. miles
From Newton to Lanburie	10. miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke	16. miles
From Brechnocke to Hate	10. miles
From Hate to Harford	14. miles
From Harford to Kolo	9. miles
From Kolo to Gloucester	12. miles
From Gloucester to Ciceffer	15. miles
From Ciceffer to Farington	16. miles
From Farington to Habington	7. miles
From Habington to Doxcheffer	7. miles
From Doxcheffer to Henleie	12. miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead	7. miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke	7. miles
From Colbroke to London	15. miles

Of thorowfares, from Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie	12. miles
From Canturburie to Kofcheffer	20. miles
From Kofcheffer to Grauesend	5. miles
From Grauesend ouer the Thames, to Horne- don	4. miles
From Hornedon to Chelmsford	12. miles
From Chelmsford to Dunmow	10. miles
From Dunmow to Hartford	5. miles
From Hartford to Radwinter	3. miles
From Radwinter to Linton	5. miles
From Linton to Babenham	3. miles
From Babenham to Cambridge	4. miles

From Canturburie to Oxford.

From Canturburie to London	43. miles
From London to Wybridge or Colbroke	15. mile
From Wybridge to Baccanfield	7. miles
From Baccanfield to east Wickham	5. miles
From Wickham to Stocking church	5. miles
From Stocking church to Thetisford	5. miles

From Thetisford to Charlete	6. miles
From Charlete to Wyford	4. miles

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Comondton	6. miles
From Comondton to Waltham	6. miles
From Waltham to Hoddeshon	5. miles
From Hoddeshon to Ware	3. miles
From Ware to Bulcherchurch	5. miles
From Bulcherchurch to Barhelwaite	7. miles
From Barhelwaite to Fulmere	6. miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge	6. miles

Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddeshon	17. miles
From Hoddeshon to Wadhham	7. miles
From Wadhham to Saffron Walden	12. miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge	10. miles

Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotations.

From Barwije to Eden- borow.

From Barwije to Chirneside	10. miles
From Chirneside to Colbingham	3. miles
From Colbingham to Pinketon	6. miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre	6. miles
From Dunbarre to Linton	6. miles
From Linton to Haddington	6. miles
From Haddington to Seaton	4. miles
From Seaton to Aberlathie or Pinkelbozow	8. mi.
From thence to Edenborow	8. miles

From Edenborow to Barwije another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalketh	5. miles
From Dalketh to new Baffell & Lander	5. miles
From Lander to Arlison	6. miles
From Arlison to Dylburg	5. miles
From Dylburg to Cariton	6. miles
From Cariton to Barwije	14. miles

From Edenborow to Dunbrittain westward.

From Edenborow to Birkeliffon	6. miles
From Birkeliffon to Liffco	6. miles
From Liffco to fare kirke ouer Forth	6. miles
From thence to Striuelin upon Forth	6. miles
From Striuelin to Dunbittaine	24. miles

From Striuelin to Kinghorne eastward.

From Striuelin to Downe in Penketh	3. miles
From Downe to Campkenell	3. miles
From Campkenell to Alwie upon Forth	4. miles
From Alwie to Calrose on Fiffe	10. miles
From Calrose to Dunfermelin	2. miles
From Dunfermelin to Cuerkennin	2. miles
From Cuerkennin to Aberdoze on Forth	3. miles
From Aberdoze to Kinghorne upon Forth	3. miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Dissard in Fiffe	3. miles
From Dissard to Colwper	8. miles
From	

From Colwyper to S. Andriew 4. miles
From S. Andriew to the Taimouth 6. miles

From Taimouth to Stockford.

From Taimouth to Balmerineth abbey 4. miles
From thence to Londones abbey 4. miles
From Londones to S. Johns colone 2. miles
From S. Johns to S. John 5. miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the river runneth into the Lake 15. miles
From Abernithie to Dundee 15. miles
From Dundee to Arbroth and Puros 24. miles
From Puros to Aberdeen 20. miles
From Aberdeen to the water of Donie 20. miles
From thence to the river of Speie 30. miles
From thence to Stockford in Koss, and so to the Pesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side 30. miles

From Carleill to Whiteherne westward.

From Carleill over the Ferie against Redkirke 4. miles
From thence to Dunfrass 20. miles
From Dunfrass to the Ferie of Cre 40. miles
From thence to Wighton 3. miles
From thence to Whiteherne 12. miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, whereunto I will adioine the old waies faires ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting forth also hereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue scene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsal of the miles.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIANO.

De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO
Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

Britannia.

A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx
Vindomora, m. p. ix
Viconia * m. p. xix
Cataraconi m. p. xxii
Isurium m. p. xxi
Eburacum legio vi
Deruentione m. p. vii
Delgouicia m. p. xiii
Prætorio m. p. xxv

Vindonia Vindomora
Darington.
Bibboris d. Capotiff.
Vitrux m. p. xvii
Cadaster.
wentbridge.
Cudford.

ITEM A VALLO AD
portum Ritupis m. p. 481
491 sic,

Ablato Bulgio * castra exploratorum m. p. x, 15 aliis à Blato
Lugu-vallo * m. p. xii aliis à Lugu-valio. Cairleill.
Voreda m. p. xiii
Brouonacis * m. p. xiii Branoniatis
Verteris m. p. xx, 13
Lauatris m. p. xiii
Cataracone * m. p. xxi Cataraconium. Darington.
Isuriam * m. p. xxi Isuriam. Ald boroto aliis Copcliffe.
Eburacum * m. p. xviii Eboracum. York.
Calcaria * m. p. ix Calcaria
Camboduno m. p. xx
Mammuncio * m. p. xviii Manucio
Condare m. p. xviii

Deua legio xxxi i. c. i. m. p. xx
Bouio * m. p. x Bonio
Mediolano m. p. xx
Rutunio m. p. xii
Vrio Conio * m. p. xii Vreconium, Shrewsburie prop.
Vxacona m. p. xi
Penno-Crucio m. p. xii
Erocto m. p. xii
Mandues Sedo m. p. xvi
Venonis m. p. xii
Bonnauenta * m. p. xvii Bannauenta
Lactodoro * m. p. xii Lactodoro
Maginto * m. p. xvii Magionium
Duro-Cobrius m. p. xii Duntfable.
Vero-Lanio m. p. xii Albanes.
Sullomacis * m. p. ix Warrnet.
Longidinio m. p. xii Londinio. London.
Nouiomago m. p. xii
Vagniacis m. p. vi
Durobrouis m. p. v Durobrouis. Rochester.
Duroleuo m. p. xvi 8
Duro-Verno * m. p. xii Duroverno Duroverno
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xii Duroverno Duroverno

ITEM A LONDINIO

ad portum Dubris m. p. 56
66, sic:

Dubobrus * m. p. xxvii Durobrouis Durobrouis. Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xii Dour hauer.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD

portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic:

Durobrouis m. p. xxvii Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum Lemanis m. p. xvi Lunning hauer.

ITEM A LONDINIO

Lugu-Valio ad Vallum m. p.
443, sic:

Caesaromago m. p. xxviii
Colonia m. p. xxi
Villa Faustini m. p. xxxv, 25
Icianis m. p. xviii
Camborico m. p. xxxv
Duroloponis m. p. xxxv
Durobrius m. p. xxxv
Gaulennis m. p. xxx
Lindo m. p. xxvi
Segeloci m. p. xiii
Dano m. p. xxi
Lege-Olio * m. p. xvi Logetium
Eburaco m. p. xxi
Isuriganum * m. p. xvi Isurium Brigantum
Cataraconi m. p. xxi
Leuatis * m. p. xviii Lematrix
Verteris m. p. xiii
Brocouo * m. p. xx Broconium
Lugu-Vallo m. p. xxv, 22

ITEM A LONDINIO

Lindo m. p. 156 sic:

Verolami m. p. xxi
Duro Cobrius m. p. xxi
Magionio * m. p. xii Magino
Lactodoro * m. p. xvi Magis
Hanna Vantia * m. p. xii Hama varia
Tripontio m. p. xii
Venonis m. p. ix
Ratas m. p. xii
Verometo m. p. xii
Margi-duno m. p. xii
Ad Pontem * m. p. vii Pons Aely
Croco Calana * m. p. vii Crrolana
Lindo m. p. xii

ITEM A REGNO

Londinio m. p. 116,
96 sic:

Clauentum m. p. xx
Venta Belgarum m. p. x
Galleus * Atrebatum m. p. xii Gellena, walingford.
Pontibus m. p. xii Meding. Callina.
Londinio m. p. xxi

ITEM

The description of England.

ITEM AB EBVRACO

Londinium m. p. 227 sic:

Lagecio m. p. xxxi

Danom. p. xvi

Ageloco m. p. xxxi

Lindo m. p. xiiii

Crococalano m. p. xiiii

Margi-duno m. p. xiiii

Vernemeto m. p. xii

Ratis m. p. xii

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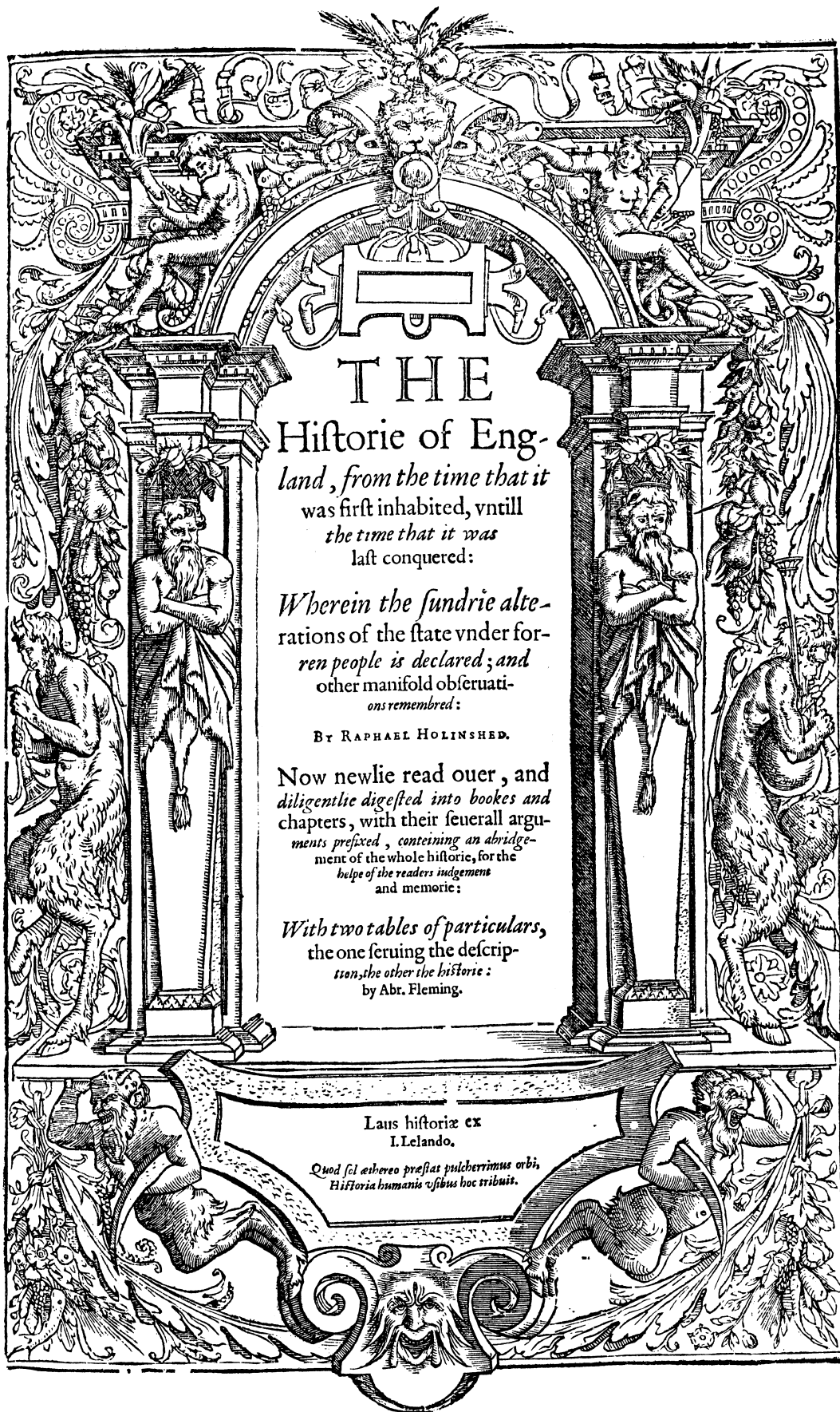
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FINIS.





THE
Historie of Eng-
land, from the time that it
was first inhabited, vntill
the time that it was
last conquered:

Wherein the sundrie alte-
rations of the state vnder for-
ren people is declared; and
other manifold obseruati-
ons remembered:

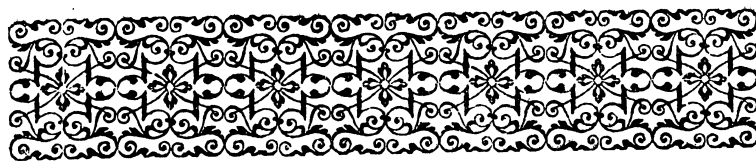
By RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

Now newlie read ouer, and
diligentlie digested into bookes and
chapters, with their feuerall argu-
ments prefixed, containing an abridge-
ment of the whole historie, for the
helpe of the readers iudgement
and memorie:

With two tables of particulars,
the one seruing the descrip-
tion, the other the historie:
by Abr. Fleming.

Laus historiae ex
I. Lelando.

Quod si aethereo pressas pulcherrimus orbi,
Historia humanis vobis hoc tribuit.



To the Readers studious in histories.



He order obserued in the description of Britaine, by reason of the necessarie diuision thereof into bookes and chapters growing out of the varietie of matters therein contained, seemed (in my iudgement) so conuenient a course deuised by the writer, as I was easilie induced thereby to digest the historie of England immediatlie following into the like method: so that as in the one, so likewise in the other, by summarie contents foregoing euerie chapter, as also by certeine materiall titles added at the head of euerie page of the said historie, it is a thing of no difficultie to comprehend what is discoursed and discussed in the same.

Wherein (sith histories are said to be the registers of memorie and the monuments of veritie) all louers of knowlege, speciallie historicall, are aduisedlie to marke (among other points) the seuerall and successiue alterations of regiments in this land: whereof it was my meaning to haue made an abstract, but that the same is sufficientlie handled in the first booke and fourth chapter of the description of Britaine; whereto if the seuenth chapter of the same booke be also annexed, there is litle or no defect at all in that case wherof iustlie to make complaint.

Pag. 9, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 28, 29, of the description: and pag. 202 of the historie of England.

Wherefore by remitting the readers to those, I reape this aduantage, namelie a discharge of a forethought & purposed labour, which as to reduce into some plausible forme was a worke both of time, paine and studie: so seeming vnlike lie to be comprised in few words (being a matter of necessarie and important obseruation) occasion of tediousnes is to and fro auoided; speciallie to the reader, who is further to be aduertised, that the computations of yeares here and there expressed, according to the indirect direction of the copies whense they were deriued and drawne, is not so absolute (in some mens opinion) as it might haue beene: howbeit iustificable by their originals.

Wherin hereafter (God prolonging peace in the church and common-welth that the vse of bookes may not be abridged) such diligent care shall be had, that in whatsoeuer the helpe of bookes will doo good, or conference with antiquaries auaille, there shall want no will to vse the one and the other. And yet it is not a worke for euerie common capacitie, naie it is a toile without head or taile euen for extraordinarie wits, to correct the accounts of former ages so many hundred yeares receiued, out of vncerteinties to raise certainties, and to reconcile writers dissenting in opinion and report. But as this is vnpossible, so is no more to be looked for than may be performed: and further to inquire as it is against reason, so to vndertake more than may commendable be atchiued, were fowle follie.

Abraham Fleming.



THE FIRST BOOKE of the historie of England.

Who inhabited this Iland before the coming of Brute: of Noah & his three sonnes, among whom the whole earth was diuided: and to which of their portions this Ile of Britaine befall.

The first Chapter.



What manner of people did first inhabite this our country, which hath most generallie and of longest continuance bene knowne among all nations by the name of Britaine as yet is not certainly knowne; neither can it be decided fro whence

The originall of nations for the most part diuertine.

the first inhabitants there of came, by reason of such diuertitie in iudgements as haue risen amongst the learned in this behalfe. But sith the originall manner of all nations is doubtfull, and euen the same for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holic scriptures) I with not any man to leane to that which shall be here set downe as to an infallible truth, sith I doe but onlie shew other mens coniectures, grounded neuerthelesse vpon likelie reasons, concerning that matter whereof there is now left but little other certaintie, or rather none at all.

whither Britaine were an Iland at the first. Greg. com. lib. No Ilands at the first, as some coniecture.

To setch therefore the matter from the farthest, and so to stretch it forward, it seemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger that in the beginning, when God framed the world, and diuided the waters apart from the earth, this Ile was then a parcell of the continent, and ioined without any separation of sea to the maine land. But this opinion (as all other the like vncertainties) I leaue to be discussed of by the learned; howbeit for the first inhabitation of this Ile with people, I haue thought good to set downe in part, what may be gathered out of such writers as haue touched that matter, and may seeme to giue some light vnto the knowledge thereof.

In the first part of the acts of the English botanics. Britaine inhabited before the flood. Gene. 6

First therefore Iohn Bale our countryman, who in his time greatly travelled in the search of such antiquities, both probable coniecture, that this land was inhabited and replenished with people long before the flood, at that time in the which the generation of mankind (as Moses writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuersall face of the earth; and therefore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabi

ted with people long before the dates of Noah, as any the other countries and parts of the world beside. But when they had once forsaken the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new waies inuented of themselves, such loosenesse of life ensued euerie where, as brought vpon them the great deluge and vniuersall flood, in the which perished as well the inhabitants of these quarters, as the residue of the race of mankind, generallie dispersed in euerie other part of the whole world, onelie Noah & his familie excepted, who by the prouidence and pleasure of almighty God was preserved from the rage of those waters, to recontinue and repaire the new generation of man vpon earth.

Noah.

In comment. super 4. lib. Berosus de antiquis. lib. 1. Annii vs. supr.

After the flood (as Annii de Viterbo recordeth) And reason also enforceth, Noah was the onlie monarch of all the world, and as the same Annii gathereth by the account of Moses in the 100. yeare after the flood, Noah diuided the earth among his three sonnes; assigning to the possession of his eldest sonne all that portion of land which now is knowne by the name of Asia; to his second sonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called Affrica: and to his third sonne Japhet was allotted all Europa, with all the Isles thereto belonging, where in among other was contained this our Ile of Britaine, with the other Isles thereto pertaining.

Japhet and his sonnes.

Iohannes Bodinus ad fac. hist. cogn. Franciscus Tarapha.

Japhet the third son of Noah, of some called Japetus, and of others, Atlas Maurus (because he departed this life in Mauritania) was the first (as Bodinus affirmeth by the authoritie and consent of the Hebrue, Greeke & Latine writers) that peopled the countries of Europe, which after ward he diuided among his sonnes: of whom Tuball (as Tarapha affirmeth) obtained the kingdome of Spaine. Homer had dominion ouer the Italians, and (as Berosus and diuers other authors agree) Samothres was the founder of Celtica, which contained in it (as Bale witnesseth) a great part of Europe, but speciallie those countries which now are called by the names of Gallia and Britannia.

Thus was this Iland inhabited and peopled with in 200 yeeres after the flood by the children of Japhet the sonne of Noah: & this is not onlie proued by Annii, writing vpon Berosus, but also confirmed by Moses in the scripture, where he writeth, that of the offspring of Japhet, the Isles of the Gentiles (whereof Brittain is one) were sorted into regions in the time of Noe the sonne of Hiber, who was borne at the time of the diuision of languages. Here vpon Theophilus hath these words: Cum prius temporibus paucissimi homines in Arabia & Chaldaea, post linguarum diuisionem multi & multiplicati paulatim sunt: hinc quidam abierunt versus orientem, quidam concesserunt ad partes maioris continentis, alij porro profecti sunt ad septentrionem sedes quas finij, nec prius deserunt terram ubi occupare, quam etiam in Arcton, cum marijs accesserint, &c. That is; When

Britaine inhabited shortly after the flood.

Theophilus episcopus Antioch. ad Amol. lib. 2. The words of Theophilus a doctor of the church, who lived an. 160. 160.

When at the first there were not manie men in Arabia and Chaldaea, it came to passe, that after the diuision oftonges, they began somewhat better to increase and multiplye, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, and some toward the parts of the great maine land: diuers went also northwards to seeke them dwelling places, neither staid they to replenish the earth as they went, till they came vnto the Iles of Britaine, lieng vnder the north pole. Thus far Theophilus.

These things considered, Gildas the Britaine had great reason to thinke, that this countrie had bene inhabited from the beginning. And Polydor Virgil was with no lesse consideration hereby induced to confesse, that the Ile of Britaine had receiued inhabitants forthwith after the flood.

Of Samôthes, Magus, Sarron, Drui, and Bardus, siue kings succeeding each other in regiment ouer the Celts and Samotheans, and how manie hundred yeeres the Celts inhabited this Iland.

The second Chapter.

Samôthes the first begotten sonne of Iaphet called by Apoles Apeslech, by others Dis, receiued for his portion (according to the report of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrie lieng betwene the riuier of Rhene and the Pyrenian mountains, where he founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called Celts. Which name Bale affirmeth to haue bene indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile of Britaine, that he planted colonies of men (brought forth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the maine land, and after in the Iland. He is reported by Berolus to haue excelled all men of that age in learning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to haue imparted the same among his people; namely, the vnderstanding of the sundrie courses of the starres, the order of inferiour things, with manie other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernment of mans life: and to haue deliuered the same in the Phenician letters: out of which the Greekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuised & deriued the Greeke characters, insomuch that Xenophon and Iosephus doe constantlie report (although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both the Greekes and other nations receiued their letters and learning first from these countries. Of this king and his learning arose a sect of philosophers (saith Anniius) first in Britaine, and after in Gallia, the which of his name were called Samothei. They (as Aristotle and Secion write) were passing skillfull both in the law of God and man: and for that cause exceedinglie giuen to religion, especiallie the inhabitants of this Ile of Britaine, insomuch that the whole nation did not onelie take the name of them, but the Iland it selfe (as Bale and doctor Caius agree) came to be called Samothea, which was the first peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was especiallie knowne before the arrivall of Albion.

Magus the sonne of Samôthes, after the death of his father, was the second king of Celtica: by whome (as Berolus writeth) there were manie

townes builded among the Celts, which by the witness of Anniius did beare the addition of their founder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie. And Antoninus a painfull suruey of the world and searcher of cities, maketh mention of foure of them here in Britaine, Witomagus, Pcomagus, Piomagus, and Pouiomagus. Pcomagus sir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue stood where the citie of Chester now standeth; Piomagus, George Lillie placeth where the towne of Buckingham is now remaining. Beside this, Bale doth so highlie commend the foresaid Magus for his learning renowned ouer all the world, that he would haue the Persians, and other nations of the south and west parts, to deriue the name of their diuines called Magi from him. In deed Rauilius Textor, and sir Iohn Prife affirme, that in the dates of Plinie, the Britons were so expert in art magike, that they might be thought to haue first deliuered the same to the Persians. What the name of Magus importeth, and of what profession the Magi were, Tullie declareth at large, and Mantuan in briebe, after this maner:

*Ille penes Persas Magus est, qui sidera norit,
Qui sciat herbarum vires cultumq; decorum,
Parsipeli facit ista Magos prudentia triplex.*

The Persians terme him Magus, that the course of starres dooth knowe, The power of herbs, and worship due to God that man dooth owe, By threefold knowledge thus the name of Magus then dooth growe.

Sarron the third king of the Celts succeeded his father Magus in gouernement of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile Samothea, wherein as (D. Caius writeth) he founded certaine publike places for them that professed learning, which Berolus affirmeth to be done, to the intent to restrain the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but raw and bold of all civillie. Also it is thought by Anniius, that he was the first author of those kind of philosophers, which were called Sarronides, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this sort: There are (saith he) among the Celts certaine diuines and philosophers called Sarronides, whom aboue all other they haue in great estimation. For it is the manner among them, not without a philosopher to make anie sacrifice: sith they are of beliefe, that sacrifices ought onelie to be made by such as are skillfull in the diuine mysteries, as of those who are nearest vnto God, by whose intercession they thinke all good things are to be required of God, and whose aduise they vse and follow, as well in warre as in peace.

Druis, whom Seneca calleth Dyrus, being the sonne of Sarron, was after his father established the fourth king of Celtica, indifferentlie reigning as well ouer the Celts as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitants of this Ile were then called) Samotheans. This prince is commended by Berolus to be so plentifullie indued with wisdom and learning, that Anniius taketh him to be the vndoubted author of the beginning and name of the philosophers called Druides, whome Caesar and all other ancient Greeke and Latine writers doe affirme to haue had their beginning in Britaine, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, insomuch that when there arose any doubt in that countrie touching any point of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolved therein into Britaine, where, speciallie in the Ile of Anglesey (as Humfrey Lhwyd witnesseth) they made their principall abode. Touching their vsages many things are written by Aristotle, Socion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in briebe, and set downe as followeth. They had (as Caesar saith) the charge of common & private sacrifices, the

Gen. 2.

De migr. gen.

Cent. 1.

Anti. lib. 1.

Bale script.

Brit. cent. 1.

Cesar. comment.

lib. 8.

In epist.

temp.

De equinociis

contra Appo-

nem.

Lib. de Magic.

success. lib. 22.

Script. Brit.

cent. 1.

De ant. Cant.

cent. lib. 1.

This Ile called

Samothea.

Magus

the son of

Samothes

Lib. 9.

Anniius in com-

men. super em-

dem. Geogr.

an. lib. 1.

De diu. lib. 1.

Hist. Scot. lib. 2.

De migr. gen.

lib. 2.

Marcellinus.

De diu. lib. 1.

De fastu lib. 5.

Ann. 8. Boetius.

lib. 2.

De ant. Cant.

Bardus

the sonne

of Drui.

De migr. gen.

lib. 2.

Anniius in com-

men. super em-

dem.

Ant. Cant. lib. 1.

super Britan.

cent. 1.

Anniius

Marcell.

lib. 2.

Diod. Sicul.

lib. 6.

Cesar. Steph.

lib. 2. hist.

Prife.

Druis

the son of

Sarron.

De migr. lib. 1.

Anniius lib. 1.

F.

Anti. lib. 1.

Anniius super

emdem.

De bello Gal-

lico lib. 9.

De bello Gal-

lico lib. 6.

the discussing of points of religion, the bringing by of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdict so manie from the sacrifice of their gods and the companie of men: as disobeied their award. Polydore affirmeth; how they taught, that mens soules could not die, but departed from one bodie to another, and that to the intent to make men valiant and dreadlesse of death. Tullie writeth, that partie by tokens, and partie by surmises, they would foretell things to come. And by the report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortallitie of the one and everlasting God. All these things they had writen in the Greeke tong, inasmuch that Wolf. Lazius (upon the report of Marcellinus) declaredly how the Greeke letters were first brought to Athens by Eriugenes from the Druides. And hereupon it cometh also to passe, that the British tong hath in it remaining at this day some linacke of the Greeke. Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembryng of them, to draine of things to come: for the which and other wicked practices, their sect was first condemned for abhominable (as some haue writen) and dissolved in Gallia (as Auentinus witnesseth) by Tiberias and Claudius the emperours; and lastlie abolished here in Britaine (by the report of Caius) when the gospell of Christ by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receined among the Brittaines, under Lucius king of Brittain, about the yeare of our sauiour, 179.

Bardus
the sonne
of Drui.

Bardus an.
lib. 1.
admit in com-
men super eun-
dem.

Ant. Cant. li. 1.
scripsit Brian.
lib. 1.

Nonius
Marcel.
Strabo.
Diodor. Sicul.
lib. 6.
Cassiodor.
in di. hist.
lib. 1.
John Prife.

Lucan. lib. 1.

H. F.

Bardus the sonne of Drui succeeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, and was the first king ouer the Celtes and Samothians, amongst whom he was higlye renowned (as appeareth by Berolus) for inuention of duties and musicke; wherein Anniius of Viterbo writeth, that he trained his people: and of such as excelled in this knowledge, he made an order of philosophical poets or heraulds, calling them by his owne name Bardi. And it should seeme by doctor Caius and master Bale, that Caesar found some of them here at his arrivall in this Ile, and reported that they had also their first beginning in the fame. The profession and vntages of these Bardi, Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale, and sir John Prife, are in effect reported after this sort. They did vse to record the noble exploits of the ancient capitans, and to draine the pedegrees and genealogies of such as were living. They would frame pleasant duties and songs, learne the same by heart, and sing them to instruments at solemne feasts and assemblies of noble men and gentlemen. Wherefore they were had in so high estimation, that if two hostis had bene readie ranged to ioine in battell, and that any of them had fortun'd to enter among them, both the hostis (as well the enimies as the friends) would haue holden their hands, giuen eare vnto them, and ceased from fight, untill these Bards had gone out of the battell. Of these Bards Lucane saith,

*Vos quoq; qui fortes animas belloq; peremptas,
Laudius in longum vates dimittitis æuam,
Plurima securi fuditis carmina Bardi.*

And you o poet Bards from danger void that dities sound,
Of foules of dreadlesse men, whom rage
of battell would confound,
And make their lasting praise to time
of later age rebound.

Because the names of these poets were neither discrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Christians, they (of all the other sects before specified) were suffered onlie to continue unaboliſhed in all ages, inasmuch that

there flourished of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Christ. Plinius and Dionius: after Christ (as Prife recounteth) Bale, fine, and the two Hertins, Melbin, Claskirion, and others: and of late daies among the Welchmen, David Die, Jollo Gough, David ap William, with an infinite number more. And in Wales there are sundrie of them (as Caius reporteth) remaining vnto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Also by the witnes of Humphrey Llwyd, there is an Iland nere vnto Wales, called *Insula Bardorum*, and Bardsey, whereof the one name is in Latine, and the other in Saron or old English, signifieth the Iland of the Bardes or Barthes.

This sheweth the gouernement of the Celts in this Ile.

An appendix to the former chapter.

After Bardus, the Celts (as Bale saith) loathing the strict ordinances of their ancient kings, were in short time, and with small labour brought vnder the subiection of the giant Albion, the sonne of Neptune, who altering the state of things in this Iland, freited the name of Celtica and the Celts within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came first to inhabit this land vnder the conduct of Samothies, as before ye haue heard, accordingly as Anniius hath gathered out of Berolus the Chalbean, who therein agreeth also with the scripture, the saying of Theophilus the doctor, and the generall consent of all writers, which fullie consent, that the first inhabitants of this Ile came out of the parties of Gallia, although some of them dissent about the time and manner of their coming. Sir Brian Tuke thinketh it to be ment of the arrivall of Bute, when he came out of those countreies into this Ile. Caesar and Tacitus seeme to be of opinion, that those Celts which first inhabited here, came ouer to biew the countreie for trade of merchandize. Bodinus would haue them to come in (a Gods name) from Languedoc, and so to name this land Albion, of a citie in Languedoc named Albie. Beda, and likewise Polydore (who followeth him) affirme that they came from the coasts of Armorica, which is now called little Britaine.

But that the authorities afore recited are sufficient to proue the time that this Iland was first inhabited by the Celts, the old possessors of Gallia; not onelie the nearnesse of the regions, but the congruence of languages, two great arguments of originals do fullie confirme the same. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the British and Celtike language was all one. But whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, because the Celtike tong is long since growne whole out of vse. Whobeyt some such Celtike words as remaine in the writings of old authours may be perceiued to agree with the Welch tong, being the vncorrupted speech of the ancient Britains. In deed Paulanias the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horſe *Marc*: and by that name do the Welchmen call a horſe to this day: and the word *Trimarc* in Paulanias, signifieth in the Celtike tong, three horſes.

Thus it appeareth by the authoritie of writers, by situation of place, and by affinity of language, that this Iland was first found and inhabited by the Celts, that there name from Samothies to Albion continued here the space of 310 yeares: thereabouts. And finally it is likelie, that aswell the progenie as the speech of them is partlie remaining in this Ile among the inhabitants, and specially the British, even vnto this day.

John Bale
scripsit Britan.
cent. 2.
John Prife defen
siff. Brit.
Caius de ant.
Cans lib. 1.
John Leland
syllab. ant. dict.
Hum. Lloyd
de Mona insula.

Bale.

Anniius.

Theophilus.

Sir Brian Tuke

Caesar.
Tacitus.
Bodinus.

Beda.
Polydore.

Bodinus.

Paulanias.

John Bale.

Of the giant Albion, of his comming
into this Iland, diuers opinions why it
was called Albion: why Albion and
Bergion were slaine by Hercules:
of Danaus and of his
50 daughters.

The third Chapter.



Neptunus called by Po-
les (as some take it) Neptu-
m, the first sonne of Oceanus,
after the account of Annius,
and the brother of Hercules,
had appointed him of his fa-
ther (as Diodorus writeth) the
gouernement of the ocean
sea: therefore he furnished

himselfe of sundrie light ships for the more reddie pas-
sage by water, which in the end grew to the number
of a full nauie: & so by continuall exercise he became
so skilfull, and therewith so mightie vpon the wa-
ters (as Higinius & Pictonius doe writte) that he was
not onelie called the king, but also esteemed the
god of the seas. He had to wife a ladie called Am-
phitrita, who was also honozed as goddess of the
seas, of whose bodie he begat sundrie children: and
(as Bale reporteth) he made euerie one of them king
of an Iland. In the Ile of Britaine he landed his
fourth son called Albion the giant, who brought the
same vnder his subiection. And herevpon it resteth,
that Iohn Textor, and Polydor Virgil made men-
tion, that light shippes were first inuented in the
British seas, and that the same were couered round
with the hides of beastes, for defending them from
the surges and waues of the water.

This Albion being put by his father in possession
of this Ile of Britaine, within short time subdued
the Samothreans, the first inhabitantes thereof,
without finding any great resistance, for that (as be-
fore ye haue heard) they had giuen ouer the practise
of all warlike and other painefull exercises; and
through vse of effeminate pleasures, whereunto they
had giuen themselves ouer, they were become now
vnapt to withstand the force of their enemies: and so
(by the testimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus
Philesius, Aristotle, and Humfrey Llloyd, with
diuers other, both forraine & home-writers) this Ile
land was first called by the name of Albion, hauing
at one time both the name and inhabitants changed
from the line of Iaphet vnto the accursed race of
Cham.

This Albion (that thus changed the name of this
Ile) and his companie, are called giants, which sig-
nifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that vir-
corrupt stature and highnesse naturallie incident to
the first age (which Berosus also seemeth to allowe,
where he writeth, that Noah was one of the gi-
ants) and were not so called only of their monstrous
greatnesse, as the common people thinke (although
in deed they exceeded the usuall stature of men now
in these daies) but also for that they toke their name
of the soile where they were borne: for *Gigantes* signi-
fieth the sons of the earth: the *Aborigines*, or (as Ce-
sar calleth them) *Indigenae* that is, borne and bred
out of the earth where they inhabited.

Thus some thinke, but verelie although that their
opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which
maintaine that there should be any Aborigines, or o-
ther kind of men than those of Adams line; yet that
there haue bene men of far greater stature than are
now to be found, is sufficientlie proued by the huge
bones of those that haue bene found in our time; or

lately before: whereof here to make further relation
it shall not need, sith in the description of Britaine
ye shall find it sufficientlie declared.

But now to our purpose. As Albion held Britaine
in subiection, so his brother Bergion kept Ireland
and the Orkenies vnder his rule and dominion, and
hearing that their cosine Hercules Lybicus ha-
uing finished his conquests in Spaine, meant to
passe through Gallia into Italie, against their bro-
ther Lestrigos that oppressed Italie, vnder subiection
of him & other of his brethren the sons also of Nep-
tune, as well Albion as Bergion assembling their
powres together, passed ouer into Gallia, to stoppe
the passage of Hercules, whose intention was to
vanquish and deströie those tyrants the sonnes of
Neptune, & their complices that kept diuers coun-
tries and regions vnder the painefull yoke of their
heauie thraldome.

The cause that moued Hercules thus to pursue
vpon those tyrants now reigning thus in the world,
was, for that not long before, the greatest part of
them had conspired together and slaine his father Ne-
ptunus, not withstanding that they were nephues to
the same Neptune, as sonnes to his brother Neptune,
and not contented with his slaughter, they diuided
his carcase also amongst them, so that each of them
got a peece in token of reioysing at their murderons
atchiued enterpryse.

For this cause Hercules (whome Moses calleth
Laabir) proclaimed warres against them all in re-
uenge of his fathers death: and first he killed Cri-
phon and Busiris in Aegypt, then Anteus in Pau-
ritania, & the Gergions in Spaine, which enterpryse
atchiued, he led his armie towards Italie, and by
the way passed through a part of Gallia, where Al-
bion and Bergion hauing vnited their powres toge-
ther, were readie to receiue him with battell: and
so nere to the mouth of the riuer called Rhodanus, in
Latine *Rhodanus*, they met & fought. At the first there
was a right terrible and cruell conflict betwixt them.
And albeit that Hercules had the greatest number
of men, yet was it verie doubtfull a great while, to
whether part the glorie of that daies worke would
bend. Wherevpon when the victorie began ontright
to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion,
Hercules perceiuing the danger and likelihood of
viter losse of that battell, speciallie for that his men
had wasted their weapons, he caused those that stood
still and were not otherwise occupied, to stöpe
downe, and to gather by stones, whereof in that place
there was great plentie, which by his commande-
ment they bestowed so frelie vpon their enemies,
that in the end he obtained the victorie, and did not
only put his aduersaries to flight, but also slue Al-
bion there in the field, together with his brother Ber-
gion, and the most part of all their whole armie. This
was the end of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by
the valiant prowesse of Hercules, who as one ap-
pointed by Gods prouidence to subdue the cruell &
vnmmercifull tyrants, spent his time to the benefit
of mankind, deliuering the oppressed from the hea-
uie yoke of miserable thraldome, in euerie place
where he came.

And by the order of this battell we may learne
whereof the poets haue their inuention, when they
saie in their writings, that Jupiter holpe his sonne
Hercules, by throwing downe stones from heauen
in this battell against Albion and Bergion. More-
ouer, from henceforth was this Ile of Britaine cal-
led Albion (as before we haue said) after the name
of the said Albion: because he was established chiefe
ruler and king thereof both by his grandfather Nep-
tunus, and his father Neptune that cunning sailour
reigning therein (as Bale saith) by the space of 44.
yeares,

Bale.

Annius de Vi-
serbo.
Diodorus Si-
culus.Higinius
or gallicus.Higinius.
Pictonius.Scrip. Bri.
cent. 1.Ioh. Textor.
Polydor.Nichol. Perot.
Rigmanus
Philesius.
Aristotle.
Hum. Lloyd.

Berosus.

what Gigantes
signific.Against the o-
pinion of the
Aborigines.Bale.
Bergion
ther to
Hercules
Lybicus.The cause
why Ber-
tion was
his cosineDiuer
nions
this I
called
seen
heret
descri

Pomp. Ma.

Hercules
conflict
emulus.Albion
slaine.Ter-
sola
sethAbon
IndigThe
king
nam
cles
Da

peares, till finally he was slaine in maner afore remembred by his vncke Hercules Libicus.

After that Hercules had thus vanquished and destroyed his enemies, he passed to and fro thorough Gallia, suppressing the tyrants in euery part where he came, and restoring the people vnto a reasonable kinde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours. This Hercules (as we find) builded the citie Aleria in Burgongne, nowe called Alise. Moreover, by Liuius Giraldus in the life of Hercules it is aouched, that the same Hercules came ouer hither into Britaine. And this doth Giraldus write by warrant of such Britons as (saith he) haue so written themselves, which thing peradventure he hath read in Giraldus the ancient Briton poet: a booke that (as he confessed) in the dialog of his histories of poets he hath seene. The same thing also is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britanie called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomee we may read, which is thought to take name of his arriual at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

Diuers opinions why this Ile was called Albion. See more hereof in the description.

But now, whereas it is not denied of anie, that this Ile was called ancientlie by the name of Albion: yet there be diuers opinions how it came by that name: for manie do not allow of this historie of Albion the giant. But for so much as it appertaineth rather to the description than to the historie of this Ile, to rip vp and lay forth the secret mysteries of such matters: and because I thinke that this opinion which is here aouched, how it toke that name of the foresaid Albion, sonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie as some of the other, I here passe ouer the rest, & proceed with the historie.

When Albion chiefe captaine of the giants was slaine, the residue that remained at home in the Ile, continued without any rule or restraint of law, in so much that they fell to such a dissolute order of life, that they seemed little or nothing to differ from brute beasts: and those are they which our ancient chronicles call the giants, who were so named, as well for the huge proportion of their stature (as before is said, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as also for that they were the first, or at the least the furthest in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrie. For this word Gignes, or Gegines, from whence our word giant (as some take it) is deriued, is a Greeke word, and signifieth, Borne or bred of or in the earth, for our fore-elders, specially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were persuaded, that the first inhabitants of any countrie were bred out of the earth, and therefore when they could go no higher, reckoning the descents of their predecessors, they would name him *Terra filius*. The sonne of the earth: and so the giants whom the poets are called the sonnes of the earth: and the first inhabitants generally of euery countrie were of the Grekes called Gignes, or Gegines, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigena*, that is, People borne of the earth from the beginning, and coming from no other countrie, but bred within the same.

Aborigines, Indigena.

The mistaking of the name of Dioclesianus for Danaus.

These giants and first inhabitants of this Ile continued in their beastlie kind of life vnto the arriual of the ladies, which some of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Dioclesian the king of Assyria, whereas in deed they haue bene decreiued, in taking the word Danaus to be short written for Dioclesianus: and by the same meanes haue diuers words and names bene mistaken, both in our chronicles, and in diuers other ancient written works. But this is a fault that learned men should not so much trouble themselves about, considering the same hath bin already found by sundrie autho-

ling sithens, as Hugh the Italian, John Harding, John Rouse of Warwicke, and others, speciallie by the helpe of Dauid Pencair a British historie, who recite the historie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters. And because we would not any man to thinke, that the historie of these daughters of Danaus is onelie of purpose deuised, and brought in place of Dioclesianus, to excuse the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was either no such historie (or at the least no such women that arriued in this Ile) the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be aouched, who wrote about 900. yeares past, and maketh mention of the arriual of such ladies.

To be short, the historie is thus. Belus the sonne of Epaphus, or (as some writers haue) of Neptune and Libia (whome I follow after the death of Apis married) had issue two sonnes: the first Danaus, called also Arincus; and Aegyptus called also Ramefes: these two were kings among the Aegyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauing in his rule the

per region of Aegypt, had by sundrie wiuues 50. daughters, with whom his brother Aegyptus, gaiping for the dominion of the whole, did instantlie labour, that his sonnes being also 50. in number, might match. But Danaus hauing knowledge by some prophesie or oracle, that a sonne in law of his should be his death, refused so to bestow his daughters. Whereupon grew warre betwixt the brethren, in the end whereof, Danaus being the weaker, was enforced to flee his countrie, and so prepared a naute, imbarcked himselfe and his daughters, and with them passed ouer into Grece, where he found meanes to dispossesse Celenos (sonne to Stenelas king of Argos) of his rightfull inheritance, diuing him out of his countrie, and reigned in his place by the assistance of the Argiues that had conceiued an hatred towardes Celenos, and a great liking towardes Danaus, who in verie deed did so farre excell the kings that had reigned there before him, that the Grekes in remembrance of him were after called Danai.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking great disdain for that he and his sonnes were in such sort despised of Danaus, sent his sonnes with a great armie to make warre against their vncke, giuing them in charge not to returne, till they had either slaine Danaus, or obtained his daughters in marriage. The young gentlemen according to their fathers commandement, being arriued in Grece, made such warre against Danaus, that in the end he was constrained to giue vnto those his 50. nephues his 50. daughters, to ioine with them in marriage, and so they were. But as the proverbe saith, In trust appeared treacherie. For on the first night of the marriage, Danaus deliuered to ech of his daughters a sword, charging them that when their husbands after their bankets and pastimes were once brought into a sound sleepe, ech of them should slea hir husband, menacing them with death vnlesse they fulfilled his commandement. They all therefore obeyed the will of their father, Hyperminestra onely excepted, with whom preuailed more the loue of kindred and wedlocke, than the feare of hir fathers displeasure: for she alone spared the life of hir husband Lynceus, waking him out of his sleepe, and warning him to depart and flee into Aegypt to his father. He there fore hauing all the wicked practises revealed to him by his wife, followed hir aduice, and so escaped.

Soth when Danaus perceiued how all his daughters had accomplished his commandement, sauing onelie Hyperminestra, he caused hir to be brought forth into iudgement, for disobeying him in a matter wherein both the safetie and losse of his life rested: but she was acquitted by the Argiues, & discharged.

Nennius.

Belus priscus. *Distinctionem poetarum.*

Danaus. Aegyptus. Higinus.

Paulanias.

discharged. Whobeyt hie father kept hie in prison, and seeking to find out other husbands for his other daughters that had obeyed his pleasure in sleaing their first husbands, long it was yet he could find any to match with them: for the heinous offense committed in the slaughter of their late husbands, was yet too fresh in memorie, and their blood not wiped out of mind. Neuerthelesse, to bring his purpose the better to passe, he made proclamation, that his daughters should demand no iointures, and euerie sater should take his choise without respect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choise, but so as first come best serued, according to their owne phantasies and likings. Whobeyt when this policie also failed, & would not serue his turne, he deuised a game of running, ordeining therewith, that whosoever got the best price should haue the first choise among all the sisters; and he that got the second, should choise next to the first; and so forth, each one after an other, according to the triall of their swiftnesse of fote.

How much this practise auailed, I know not: but certene it is, diuers of them were bestowed, either by this or some other meanes, for we find that Autonome was married to Architeles, Chysanta or (as Pausanias saith) Scæa was matched with Archamus, Amaome with Neptunus Equestris, on whom he begat Pauplius.

Higinus,

But now to returne vnto Lynceus, whom his wife Hypermetra preserved, as before ye haue heard. After he was once got out of the reach and danger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue knowledge thereof to his wife, in raising a fire on heighth beacontwise, accordingly as she had requested him to do at his departure from hie: and this was at a place which afterwards toke name of him, and was called Lyncea. Upon his returne into Aegypt, he gaue his father to vnderstand the whole circumstance of the trecherous crueltie bled by his vnkle and his daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himselfe had escaped death out of his vncles handes. Whereupon at time conuenient he was furnished forth with men and ships by his father, for the speedie reuenge of that heinous, vnnaturall and most disloyall murder, in which enterprise he sped him forth with such diligence, that in short time he found meanes to dispatch his vnkle Danaus, let his wife Hypermetra at libertie, and subdued the whole kingdome of the Argiues.

Pausanias,

This done, he caused the daughters of Danaus (so many as remained within the limits of his dominion) to be sent for, whom he thought not worthe to lue, because of the cruell murder which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wines sisters, he would not put them to death, but commanded them to be thrust into a ship, without maister, mate or mariner, and so to be turned into the maine ocean sea, and to take and abide such fortune as should chance vnto them. These ladies thus imbarcked and left to the mercy of the seas, by hap were brought to the coasts of this Ile then called Albion, where they toke land, and in seeking to prouide themselves of victuals by pursue of wilde beasts, met with no other inhabitants, than the rude and sauage giants mentioned before, whom our historiens for their beastlike kind of life doe call titiells. With these monsters did these ladies (finding none other to satissie the motions of their sensuall lust) ioine in the act of vencie, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begat them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

Harding and
John Rous out
of Dauid Pen-
cair,

But now peradventure ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my selfe, in rehearsing this historie of the

ladies arrivall here, because I make no mention of Albina, which should be the eldest of the sisters, of whom this land should also take the name of Albion. To this we answer, that as the name of their father hath bene mistaken, so likewise hath the whole course of the historie in this behalfe. For though we shall admit that to be true which is rehearsed (in manner as before ye haue heard) of the arrivall here of those ladies; yet certene it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whom this land might be called Albion. For further assurance thereof, if any man be desirous to know all their names, we haue thought good here to rehearse them as they be found in Higinus, Pausanias, and others. 1 Ideia, 2 Philomela, 3 Scillo, 4 Phicomene, 5 Enippe, 6 Demoditas, 7 Hypale, 8 Critie, 9 Damone, 10 Hypothoe, 11 Pirimidone, 12 Euridice, 13 Cleo, 14 Crania, 15 Cleopatra, 16 Phylea, 17 Hypareta, 18 Chysanthemis, 19 Heranta, 20 Armoaste, 21 Danaes, 22 Scæa, 23 Glaucippe, 24 Demophile, 25 Autodice, 26 Polyrena, 27 Decate, 28 Achamantis, 29 Arsalte, 30 Anonise, 31 Aminone, 32 Helice, 33 Amaome, 34 Polybe, 35 Helice, 36 Electra, 37 Eubule, 38 Daphiloice, 39 Hero, 40 Europomene, 41 Critomedea, 42 Pyrene, 43 Eupheno, 44 Themistagora, 45 Paleno, 46 Crato, 47 Autonomes, 48 Itea, 49 Chysanta, 50 Hypermetra. These were the names of those ladies the daughters of Danaus: howbeit, which they were that should arrive in this Ile, we can not say: but it sufficeth to vnderstand, that none of them hight Albina. So that, whether the historie of their landing here should be true or not, it is all one for the matter concerning the name of this Ile, which vndoubtedly was called Albion, either of Albion the giant (as before I haue said) or by some other occasion.

Higinus.
The names of
the daughters
of Danaus.

And thus much for the ladies, whose strange aduenture of their arrivall here, as it may seeme to manie (with good cause) incredible, so without further auouching it for truth, I leaue it to the consideration of the reader, to thinke thereof as reason shall moue him; sith I see not how either in this, or in other things of such antiquitie, we cannot haue sufficient warrant otherwise than by likeli coniectures. Which as in this historie of the ladies they are not most probable, yet haue we shewed the likeliest, that (as we thinke) may be deemed to agree with those authors that haue written of their coming into this Ile. But as for an assured proofe that this Ile was inhabited with people before the coming of Brutus, I trust it may suffice which before is recited out of Annus de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although much more might be said: as of the coming hither of Adris, as well as in the other parties of the world: and likewise of Ulysses his being here, who in performing some vow which he either then did make, or before had made, erected an altar in that part of Scotland which was ancientlie called Calidonia, as Iulius Solinus Polyhistor in plaine words doth record.

See more in
the description
on.

Hamin. L

Ulysses in
Britaine.

Iulius Solinus.

Harding.
Alex. Net
W. Har.

¶ Upon these considerations I haue no doubt to deliver vnto the reader, the opinion of those that thinke this land to haue bene inhabited before the arrivall here of Brutus, trusting it may be taken in good part, sith we haue but shewed the coniectures of others, till time that some sufficient learned man shall take vpon him to decypher the doubts of all these matters. Neuerthelesse, I thinke good to aduertise the reader that these stories of Samothres, Agagus, Saron, Druis, and Bardus, doe relie onelie vpon the authoritie of Berofus, whom most diligent antiquaries doe reiect as a fabulous and counterfet author, and Vacerius hath laboured to proue the same by a speciall treatise latelie published at Rome.

THE



THE SECOND BOOKE

of the Historie of England.

Of Brute and his descent, how
he slue his father in hunting, his
banishment, his letter to king Pan-
drasus, against whom he wagheth
battel, taketh him prisoner,
and concludeth peace vpon
conditions.

The first Chapter.



Hertofore haue we
spoken of the inha-
bitants of this Ile
before the com-
ming of Brute, al-
though some will
needs haue it, that
he was the first
which inhabited the
same with his peo-
ple descended of
the Trojans, some
few giants onelic
excepted whom he bitterlie destroyed, and left not one
of them alie through the whole Ile. But as we shall
not doubt of Brutes comming hither, so may we
assuredly thinke, that he found the Ile peopled either
with the generation of those which Albion the giant
had placed here, or some other kind of people whom
he did subdue, and so reigned as well ouer them as ou-
er those which he brought with him.

Humfr. Lloyd.

Harding,
Alex. Newil.
W. Har.

This Brutus, or Byrtus [for this letter (Y) hath
of ancient time had the sounds both of V and I] (as
the authoꝝ of the booke which Geoffrey of Monmouth
translated doth affirme) was the sonne of Siluius,
the sonne of Alcanius, the sonne of Aeneas the Troi-
an, begotten of his wife Creusa, & borne in Troie,
before the citie was destroyed. But as other do take
it, the authoꝝ of that booke (whatsoeuer he was) and
such other as follow him, are deceived onelic in this
point, mistaking the matter, in that Posthumus the
sonne of Aeneas (begotten of his wife Lauius, and
borne after his fathers deceasse in Italie) was called
Alcanius, who had issue a sonne named Julius, who
(as these other do coniecture) was the father of
Brute, that noble chieftaine and aduenturous lea-
der of those people, which being descended (for the
more part in the fourth generation) from those Troi-
ans that escaped with life, when that roiall citie was
destroyed by the Graekes, got possession of this wor-
thy and most famous Ile.

To this opinion Giouan Villani a Florentine
in his vniuersall historie, speaking of Aeneas and
his offspring kings in Italie, seemeth to agree, where

he saith: Siluius the sonne of Aeneas by his wife
Lauius fell in loue with a niece of his mother La-
uius, and by hir had a sonne, of whom he died in tra-
uell, and therefore was called Brutus, who after as
he grew in some stature, and hunting in a forest slue
his father bywares, and thereupon for feare of his
grandfather Siluius Posthumus he fled the coun-
trie, and with a retinue of such as followed him, pas-
sing through diuers seas, at length he arrived in the
Ile of Britaine.

Concerning therefore our Brute, whether his fa-
ther Julius was sonne to Alcanius the sonne of Aeneas
by his wife Creusa, or sonne to Posthumus
called also Alcanius, and sonne to Aeneas by his
wife Lauius, we will not further stand. But this we
find, that when he came to the age of 15. yeeres, so
that he was now able to ride abroad with his father
into the forests and chales, he fortun'd (either by
misshap, or by Gods prouidence) to strike his father
with an arrow, in shooting at a deere, of which wound
he also died. His grandfather (whether the same was
Posthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this
great misfortune that had chanced to his sonne Sil-
uius, liued not long after, but died for berie greafe
and sorow (as is supposed) which he conceiued thereof.
And the young gentleman, immediatlie after he had
slaine his father (in maner before alledged) was ban-
ished his countrie, and thereupon got him into
Grecia, where travelling the countrie, he lighted by
chance among some of the Troian offspring, and asso-
ciating himselfe with them, grew by meanes of the
linage (whereof he was descended) in proces of time
into great reputation among them: chieflie by rea-
son there were yet diuers of the Troian race, and
that of great authoritie in that countrie. For Py-
rrhus the sonne of Achilles, hauing no issue by his
wife Hermione, married Andromache, late wife unto
Hector: and by hir had thre sonnes, Polixenus, Phile-
us, and Pergamus, who in their time grew to be of
great power in those places and countries, and thre
offspring likewise: whereby Brutus or Byrtus want-
ed no friendship. For euen at his first comming
hither, diuers of the Troians that remained in ser-
uitude, being desirous of libertie, by flocks resorted
vnto him. And amongst other, Alaracus was one,
whom Brute entertained, receiuing at his hands the
possession of sundrie forts and places of defense, be-
fore that the king of those parties could haue under-
standing or knowledg of any such thing. Herewith
also such as were readie to make the aduenture with
him, repaired to him on eith side, whereupon he first
placed garisons in those towne which had bene thus
deliuered vnto him, and afterwards with Alaracus
and the residue of the multitude he withdrew into
the mountains nere adioining. And thus being
made strong with such assistance, by consultation
had with them that were of most authoritie about
him,

Brute killeth
his father.

Pausanias.

him, wrote vnto the king of that countie called Pandrasus, in forme as followeth.

A letter of Brute to Pandrasus, as I

find it set downe in Galsfride

Monumetenfis.

Brute leader of the remnant of the Trojan people, to Pandrasus king of the Greekes, sendeth greeting. Because it hath beene thought a thing unworthie, that the people descended of the noble lineage of Dardanus should be otherwise dealt with than the honour of their nobilitie dooth require: they haue withdrawne themselves within the close couert of the woods. For they haue choosen rather (after the manner of wild beasts) to liue on flesh and herbs in libertie, than furnished with all the riches in the world to continue vnder the yoke of seruile thraldome. But if this their dooing offend thy mightie highnesse, they are not to be blamed, but rather in this behalfe to be pardoned, sith euerie captiue prisoner is desirous to be restored vnto his former estate and dignitie. You therefore pitieng their case, vouchsafe to grant them their abridged libertie, and suffer them to remaine in quiet within these woods which they haue got into their possession: if not so, yet giue them licence to depart forth of this countie into some other parts.

The sight of these letters, and request in them contained, made Pandrasus at the first somewhat amazed, howbeit deliberating further of the matter, and considering their small number, he made no great account of them, but determined out of hand to suppress them by force, before they should grow to a greater multitude. And to bring his intention the better to passe, he passed by a towne called Sparatinum, & marching toward the woods where he thought to haue found his enemies, he was suddenly assailed by Brute, who with three thousand men came forth of the woods, and fiercelie setting vpon his enemies, made great slaughter of them, so that they were vtterlie discomfited, & fought by flight to saue themselves in passing a riuer nere hand called Ahalon. Brute with his men following fast vpon the aduersaries, caused them to plunge into the water at aduenture, so that manie of them were drowned. Howbeit Antigonus the brother of Pandrasus did what he could to stay the Grecians from fleeing, and calling them backe againe did get some of them together, placed them in order, and began a new field: but it nothing auailed, for the Troians preasing vpon him, took him prisoner, slue and scattered his companie, and ceased not till they had rid the fields of all their aduersaries.

This done, Brute entering the towne, furnished it with six hundred able souldiours, and afterwards went backe to the residue of his people that were incamped in the woods, where he was receiued with unspeakable ioy for this prosperous atchieued enterprise. But although this euill successe at the first beginning sore troubled Pandrasus, as well for the losse of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kindled in desire to seeke reuenge, than otherwise discouraged. And therefore assembling his people againe together that were scattered here and there, he came the next day before the towne of Sparatinum, where he thought to haue found Brute inclosed together with the prisoners, and there he shewed his whole endeuour by hard siege and

fierce assaults to force them within to yield.

To conclude, so long he continued the siege, till victuals began to waie scant within, so that there was no way but to yield, if present succour came not to remoue the siege: whereupon they signified their necessitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power sufficient to fight with the enemies in open field, he ment to giue them a compassado in the night season, and so ordered his businesse, that inforising a prisoner (named Anacletus whome he had taken in the last battell) to serue his turne, by confreining him to take an oth (which he durst not for conscience sake breake) he found means to encounter with his enemies vpon the aduantage, that he did not onelie overthrowe their whole power, but also took Pandrasus prisoner, whereby all the trouble was ended: and shortly after a perfect peace concluded, vpon these conditions following.

First, that Pandrasus should giue his daughter Innogen vnto Brute in marriage, with a competent summe of gold and siluer for his dowrie.

Secondlie, to furnish him and his people with a nauie of ships, and to store the same with victuals and all other necessaries.

Thirdlie, that Brute with his people, should haue licence to depart the countie, to seeke aduentures whither so euer it should please them to direct their course, without let, impeachment, or trouble to be offered anie waies by the Greeks.

To all these conditions (because they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdom) Pandrasus did willingly agree, and likewise performed.

Brute and his wife Innogen arriue in Leogitia, they aske counsell of an oracle

where they shall inhabit, he meeteth with a remnant of Troians on the coasts nere the shooting downe of the Pyrenine hills into the sea.

The second Chapter.

Al things being thus brought to passe according to Brutes desire, wind also and weather seruing the purpose, he with his wife Innogen and his people imbarked, and hoisting vp sailes departed from the coasts of Grecia. Now after two daies and a nights sailing, they arriued at Leogitia (in some old written booke of the British historie noted downe Lergetia) an Island, where they consulted with an oracle. Brute himselfe kneeling before the idoll, and holding in his right hand a boll prepared for sacrifice full of wine, and the blood of a white hinde, spake in this manner as here followeth:

Diua potens nemorum, terror siluestribus apri,

Cui licet anfractus ire per asereos,

Infernaq; domos, terrestria iura resolue,

Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:

Dic certam sedem quate venerabor in auium,

Qua tibi virginis templa dicabo choris.

These verses (as Ponticus Viruminius and others also doe gesse) were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intituled *Cambreidos*, and may thus be Englished:

Thou goddesse that doost rule
the woods and Forrests greene,
And chafest foming boares
that flee thine awfull sight,
Thou that maist passe aloft
in airie skies so sheene,

And

Pandrasus
prepareth an
armie to sup-
presse the
Troian of-
spring.
Sparatinum.

Peraduen-
ture Achelous

Antigonus,
the brother of
Pandrasus.

He is taken
prisoner.

Brute en-
tereth into
Sparatinum.

Pandrasus
taken prisoner

The con-
ditions of the a-
greement be-
tweene Brute
& Pandrasus

Brute with
his compan-
ied in A-
chiloe.

The mista-
king of thol
that haue ci-
led the B-
with historic
pating M.
Pyrenium,
Pyrenium.

And walke eke vnder earth
in places void of light,
Discouer earthlie states,
direct our course aright,
And shew where we shall dwell;
according to thy will;
In seates of sure abode,
where temples we may dight
For virgins that shall sound
thy laud with voices shrill.

After this praier and ceremonie done, according
to the pagane rite and custome, Brute abiding his
answer, fell asleepe: in which sleepe appeared to him
the said goddesse uttering this answer in the verses
following expelld.

*Brute, sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est, undiq; clausa mari;
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, namq; tibi sedes erit illa perennis,
Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuus:
Hic de prole tua reges nascuntur, O ipsi
Totius terre subditus orbis erit.*

Brute, farre by-west beyond the Gal-
like land is found,
An Ile which with the ocean seas
inclosed is about,
Where giants dwelt sometime,
but now is desert ground,
Most meet where thou maist plant
thy selfe with all thy rout:
Make thither wards with speed,
for there thou shalt find out
An euerduring seat,
and Troie shall rise anew,
Vnto thy race, of whom
shall kings be borne no dout,
That with their mightie power
the world shall whole subdew.

After he awaked out of sleepe, and had called his
dreame to remembrance, he first doubted whether it
were a verie dreame, or a true vision, the goddes ha-
ving spoken to him with liuelie voice. Whereupon
calling such of his companie vnto him as he thought
requisite in such a case, he declared vnto them the
whole matter with the circumstances, whereat they
greatlie reioysing, caused mightie bonfires to be
made, in the which they cast wine, milke, and other li-
quors, with diuers gums and spices of most sweet
smell and sauour, as in the pagan religion was ac-
customed. Which obseruances and ceremonies per-
formed and brought to end, they returned streight-
waies to their ships, and as soone as the wind ser-
ued, passed forward on their iourne with great ioy
and gladnesse, as men put in comfort to find out the
wished seats for their firme and sure habitations.
From hence therefore they cast about, and making
westward, first arriued in Affrica, and after keeping
on their course, they passed the straits of Gibzalter-
ra, and coasting alongst the shore on the right hand,
they found another companie that were likewise
descended of the Troian progenie, on the coasts
nere where the Pyrene hills shot downe to the sea,
whereof the same sea by good reason (as some supe-
pose) was named in those daies *Mare Pyrenaum*, al-
though hitherto by fault of writers & copiers of the
British historie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrrhe-
num*, was slightlie put downe in stead of *Pyrenaum*.

The offspring of those Troians, with whom Brute
and his companie thus did meet, were a remnant of
them that came away with Antenor. Their capteine
hight Corineus, a man of great modestie and ap-
proved wisdom, and thereto of incomparable
strength and boldnesse.

Brute and the said Troians with their
capteine Corineus doo associat, they take
landing within the dominion of king Gof-
farius, he raiseth an armie against Brute and
his power, but is discomfited: of the
cite of Totius: Brutes arriue in this
lland with his companie.

The third Chapter.



After that Brute and the
said Troians, by conference
interchangeable had, under-
stood one anothers estates,
and how they were descen-
ded from one countrie and
progenie, they united them-
selues together, greatlie re-

Brute and
Corineus
join their com-
panies toge-
ther.

io
20
30
40
50
60
loosing that they were so fortunatie met: and ho-
sing vp their sailes, directed their course forward still,
till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of
Loire, which diuideth Aquitaine from Gall Celtike,
where they toke land within the dominion of a king
called Goffarius, surnamed Pictus, by reason he
was descended of the people *Agathyrsi*, otherwise
named Picts, because they used to paint their faces
and bodies, insomuch that the richer a man was a-
mongst them, the more cost he bestowed in painting
himselfe; and commonlie the haire of their head was
red, or (as probable writers say) of skie colour. He-
rodotus calleth them *χρυσόφθογγοι*, because they did
weare much gold about them. They used their wines
in common, and because they are all supposed to be
brethren, there is no strife nor discord among them.
Of these *Agathyrsi*, it is recorded by the said Hero-
dotus, that they refused to succour the Scythians a-
gainst Darius, giuing this reason of their refusall;
because they would not make warre against him
who had done them no wrong. And of this people
both the poet make mention, saying,

They arrive
on the coast
of Gallia, now
called France,
Goffarius
surnamed
Pictus.

Les amales
d'Aquitaine.
Agathyrsi,
otherwise cal-
led Picts, of
painting their
bodies.

Marcellus.
Plinie.
Herodotus li.4.

Virg Aeneid.4.

Cretesq; Dryopes, fremunt pictiq; Agathyrsi.

To paint their faces not for amiablenesse, but for
terriblenesse, the Britons in old time used, and that
with a kind of herbe like vnto plantaine. In which re-
spect I see no reason why they also should not be cal-
led Picts, as well as the *Agathyrsi*; seeing the deno-
mination spring of a baine custome in them both.
And here by the way, sithens we haue touched this
folle in two severall people, let it not seeme tedious
to read this one trick of the Indians, among whom
there is great plentie of pretious stones, wherewith
they adorne themselves in this maner; namelie, in
certain hollow places which they make in their flesh,
they inclose and riuert in pretious stones, and that as
well in their foreheades as their cheekes, to none other
purpose, than the *Agathyrsi* in the vse of their pain-
ting.

Caesar com.li.5

P.Marr.com.
part.2.sect.60.

The countrie of Poldou (as some hold) where the
said Goffarius reigned, take name of this people:
likewise a part of this our Ile of Britaine now con-
tained within Scotland, which in ancient time was
called Pightland or Pictland, as elsewhere both in
this historie of England, and also of Scotland may
further appeare. But to our purpose.

Pightland
or Pictland.

When Goffarius the king of Poldou was aduer-
tised of the landing of these strangers within his
countrie, he sent first certeine of his people to under-
stand what they ment by their comming a land with-
in his dominion, without licence or leaue of him ob-
teined. They that were thus sent, came by chance to
a place where Corineus with two hundred of the
companie were come from the ships into a Forrest
nere the sea side, to kill some venison for their sus-
tenance:

Goffarius
sendeth vnto
Brute.

Brute with
his companie
landed in Af-
fricke.

The mista-
king of those
that haue co-
pied the Bri-
tish historie
putting Mare
Tyrrhenum, for
Pyrenaum.

Corineus and
sweareth the
messenger.
Imbert.

Imbert is
slaine by Co-
rineus.

Goffarius
raiseth an
armie.

Goffarius is
discomfited.

Goffarius se-
keth aid a-
gainst Brute.

Brute spot-
teth the coun-
trie.

Turonum or
Tours built
by Brute.

Goffarius ha-
ving renewed
his forces,
fighteth effi-
ciously with
Brute.

nance: and being rebuked with some disdainfull
speech of those Poitouins, he shapeth them a round
answer: inso much that one of them whose name
was Imbert, let flye an arrow at Corineus: but
he avoiding the danger thereof, shot againe at Im-
bert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue his
head in sunder. The rest of the Poitouins fled there-
vpon, and brought word to Goffarius that had hap-
pened: who immediatlie with a mightie armie made
forward to encounter with the Troians, and com-
ming to ioine with them in battell, after a sharpe
and sore conflict, in the end Brute with his armie ob-
tained a triumphant victorie, speciallie through the
noble prowesse of Corineus.

Goffarius escaping from the field, fled into the in-
ner parts of Gallia, making sute for assistance unto
such kings as in those daies reigned in diuers pro-
uinces of that land, who promised to aid him with all
their forces, and to expell out of the coasts of Aquit-
taine, such strangers as without his licence were
thus entred the countrie. But Brute in the meane
time passed forward, and with fire and sword made
hauocke in places where he came: and gathering
great spoiles, fraught his ships with plentie of ri-
ches. At length he came to the place, where after-
wards he built a citie named *Turonum*, that is,
Tours.

Here Goffarius with such Galles as were at-
sembled to his aid, gaue battell againe vnto the
Troians that were incamped to abide his com-
ming. Where after they had fought a long time with
singular manhood on both parties: the Troians in
fine oppressed with multitudes of aduersaries (euery
thirtie times as manie mo as the Troians) were
constrained to retire into their campe, within the
which the Galles kept them as besieged, lodging
round about them, and purposing by famine to com-
pell them to yeld themselves vnto their mercie. But
Corineus taking counsell with Brute, deuised to de-
part in the darke of the night out of the campe, to
lodge himselfe with three thousand chosen souldiers
secretlie in a wood, and there to remaine in couert till
the morning that Brute should come forth and
giue a charge vpon the enimies, wherewith Cori-
neus should breake forth and assaile the Galles on
the backs.

This policie was put in practise, and toke such
effect as the deuisers themselves wished: for the
Galles being sharplie assailed on the front by Brute
and his companie, were now with the sudden com-
ming of Corineus (who set vpon them behind on their
backs) brought into such a feare, that incontinentlie
they took them to flight, whom the Troians egerlie
pursued, making no small slaughter of them as they
did ouertake them. In this battell Brute lost manie
of his men, and amongst other one of his nephues
named *Turinus*, after he had shewed marvellous
prowesse of his manhood. Of him (as some haue writ-
ten) the foresaid citie of *Tours* toke the name, and
was called *Turonum*, because the said *Turinus* was
there buried.

Theuet.

Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and
maintaineth that one *Taurus* the nephue of Hani-
ball was the first that inclosed it about with a pale of
wood (as the maner of those daies was of fencing
their townes) in the yeare of the world 3374. and be-
fore the birth of our saviour 197.

But to our matter concerning Brute, who after
he had obtained so famous a victorie, albeit there
was good cause for him to reioice, yet it sore troubled
him to consider that his numbers daily decayed, and
his enimies still increased, and grew stronger:
wherevpon resting doubtfull what to do, whether to
proceed against the Galles, or returne to his ships

Brute in doubt
what to doo.

to seeke the Ile that was appointed him by oracle, at
length he chose the surest and best way, as he took it,
and as it proved. For whilst the greater part of his
armie was yett left aliue, and that the victorie reman-
ed on his side, he drew to his nauie, and lading his
ships with exceeding great store of riches which his
people had got abroad in the countrie, he took the
seas againe. After a few daies sailing they landed at
the haven now called *Tornelle*, the yeare of the
world 2850, after the destruction of *Troy* 66, after
the deliuerance of the *Israelites* from the captiuitie
of *Babylon* 397, almost ended in the 8 yeare of the
reign of *Anteus* king of *Babylon*, 131 of *Delan-*
thus king of *Athens*, before the building of *Rome*
368, which was before the natiuitie of our saviour
Christ 1116, almost ended, and before the reign of
Alexander the great 783.

Brute discovereth the commodities of
this fland, mightie giants withstand him,
Gogmagog and Corineus wrestle together
at a place beside Douer: he buildeth the ci-
tie of Trinouant now termed London,
calleth this fland by the name of Bri-
taine, and diuideth it into three
parts among his three sonnes.

The fourth Chapter.

Brute had entred
this land, immediatlie after
his arrival (as writers do re-
cord) he searched the countrie
from side to side, and from
end to end, finding it in most
places verie fertile and plen-
tious of wood and grasse, and
full of pleasant springs and faire riuers. As he thus

travellled to discover the state and commodities of
the fland, he was encountred by diuers strong and
mightie giants, whome he destroyed and slue, or ra-
ther subdued, with all such other people as he found
in the fland, which were more in number than by re-
port of some authors it should appeare there were. A-
mong these giants (as *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* writ-
teth) there was one of passing strength and great es-
timation, named *Gogmagog*, with whome Brute
caused *Corineus* to wrestle at a place beside *Douer*,
where it chanced that the giant brake a rib in the
side of *Corineus* while they strove to claspe, and the
one to ouerthrow the other: wherewith *Corineus* be-
ing sore chafed and stirred to wrath, did so double his
force that he got the upper hand of the giant, and cast
him doونه headlong from one of the rocks there,
not farre from *Douer*, and so dispatched him: by rea-
son whereof the place was named long after, *The fall*
or *leape* of *Gogmagog*, but afterward it was called
The fall of *Douer*. For this valiant deed, and other
the like seruices first and last achieved, Brute gaue
vnto *Corineus* the whole countrie of *Cornwall*. To
be brieue, after that Brute had destroyed such as stood
against him, and brought such people vnder his sub-
iection as he found in the Ile, and searched the land
from the one end to the other: he was desirous to
build a citie, that the same might be the seate roiall
of his empire or kingdome. Wherevpon he chose a
plot of ground lieng on the north side of the riuier of
Thames, which by good consideration seemed to be
most pleasant and conuenient for any great multi-
tude of inhabitants, aswell for holsonnetie of aire,
goodnesse of soile, plentie of woods, and commoditie
of the riuier, seruing as well to bring in as to carrie
out all kinds of merchandize and things necessarie
for the gaine, store, and vse of them that there should
inhabit.

Brute
his reme-
mber
of
Tours
arriving
in
the
year
2850.

1116

In the
of this
of
Brute
and
the
greatest
rally.

Brute
countrie
the
giants.

Corineus
wrestled
with
Gog-
magog.

Gogmagog
slaine.

Corineus
gave
Cornwall
to
Corineus.

Locr
the
cond
ler
of
Brit

Gal. Mor
Mar. We
Faout of
de Co.
Gal. Mor
Mar. We

It should
seeme that
Brute con-
sidered the
bet.

Gal. Mor

inhabit.

Here therefore he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth or (as other thinke) in the second yeare after his arrivall, which he named (saith Gal. Mon.) Troitouant, or (as Hum. Lhoyd saith) Troinewith, that is, new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy from whence he and his people were for the greater part descended.

When Brutus had builded this citie, and brought the Island fullie under his subiection, he by the advice of his nobles commanded this Ile (which before hight Albion) to be called Britaine, and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the first bringer of them into the land. In this meane while also he had by his wife. Iul. formes, the first named Locrinus or Locrine, the second Cambis or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now when the time of his death drew nere, to the first he betoke the government of that part of the land now knowne by the name of England: so that the same was long after called Loggia, or Logiers, of the said Locrinus. To the second he appointed the countie of Wales, which of him was first named Cambria, divided from Loggia by the river of Severne. To his third sonne Albanact he deliuered all the north part of the Ile, after ward called Albania, after the name of the said Albanact: which portion of the said Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward. Thus when Brutus had divided the Ile of Britaine (as before is mentioned) into 3. parts, and had governed the same by the space of 15. yeares, he died in the 24. yeare after his arrivall (as Harison noteth) and was buried at Troinewant or London: although the place of his said buriall there be now growne out of memorie.

Of Locrine the eldest sonne of Brute, of Albanact his yongest sonne, and his death: of Madan, Memprius, Ebranke, Brute Greenesheeld, Leill, Ludhurdibras, Baldud, and Leir, the nine rulers of Britaine successie after Brute.

The fifth Chapter.

Locrine the second ruler of Britaine

Gal. Mon.
Mat. West.
Faout of G.
de Co.
Gal. Mon.
Mat. West.

It should come that he was come out of the Humber.

Gal. Mon.

Locrinus or Locrine the first begotten sonne of Brute began to reigne over the countie called Logiers, in the 10. yeare of the world 1874, and held to his part the countie that reached from the south sea unto the river of Humber. While this Locrinus governed Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, where in fine he was slaine in a battell by a king of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, who invaded that part of Britaine, and got possession thereof, till Locrinus with his brother Camber, in revenge of their other brothers death, and for the recovery of the kingdom, gathered their powers together, and coming against the said king of the Hunnes, by the valiancie of their people they discomfited him in battell, and chased him so egerlie, that he himselfe and a great number of his men were drowned in the gulfe that then parted Loggia and Albania, which after took the name of the said king and was called Humber, and so continueth unto this daie.

Wherein in this battell against the Hunnes were three yong damels taken of excellent beaultie, specially one of them, whose name was Estrild, daughter to a certeine king of Scythia. With this Estrild

king Locrine fell so farre in loue, notwithstanding a former contract made betwixt him and the ladie Guendoloea, daughter to Cozineus duke of Cornwall, that he meant yet with all speed to marie the same Estrild. But being earnestlie called upon, and in manner forced thereto by Cozineus, he changed his purpose, and married Guendoloea, keeping neuertheless the aforesaid Estrild as paramour still after a secret sort, during the life of Cozineus his father in law.

Now after that Cozineus was departed this world, Locrine forsooke Guendoloea, and married Estrild. Guendoloea therefore being cast off by hir husband, got hir into Cornewall to hir friends and kindred, and there procured them to make warre against the said Locrine hir husband, in the which warres he was slaine, and a battell fought nere to the river of Sture, after he had reigned (as writers affirme) twentie yeares, & was buried by his father in the Citie of Troinewant, leaving behind him a yong sonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloea) named Madan, as yet unmete to gouverne.

Guendoloea or Guendoline the wife of Locrinus, and daughter of Cozineus duke of Cornewall, for so much as hir sonne Madan was not of yeeres sufficient to gouverne, was by common consent of the Britons made ruler of the Ile, in the yere of the world 1894, and so hauing the administration in hir hands, she did right discretlie die hir selfe therein, to the comfort of all hir subiects, till hir sonne Madan came to lawfull age, and then she gave ouer the rule and dominion to him, after she had governed by the space of sixtene yeares.

Madan the sonne of Locrine and Guendoline Mentred into the government of Britaine in the 2909. of the world. There is little left in writing of his doings, saving that he used great tyrannie amongst his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of 40. yeares, he was denoured of wild beastes, as he was abroad in hunting. He left behind him two sonnes, Memprius and Manlius. He builded (as is reported) Spadancaestre, now Dancastre, which retaineth still the later part of his name.

Memprius the eldest sonne of Madan began his rigne over the Britons in the yeare of the world 2949, he continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius upon an ambitious mind provoked the Britons to rebell against him, so that soxe and deadly warre continued long betwixt them. But finally, under colour of a treatie, Manlius was slaine by his brother Memprius, so that then he lived in more tranquillite and rest. Notwithstanding, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into sloth, and so into vnlawfull lust of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters: and finally became so beastlie, that he forsooke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abominable sinne of Sodomie. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odious to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was lost of his people, and destroyed of wild beastes, when he had reigned twentie yeares, leaving behind him a noble yong sonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Ebranke the sonne of Memprius began to rule over the Britons in the yeare of the world 2969. He had as writers be of him record, one and twentie wiues, on whom he begot 20. sonnes and 30. daughters, of the which the eldest hight Guals or Gualen. These daughters he sent to Alba Syllus, which was the eleventh king of Italie, or the first king of the Latines, to the end they might be married

Mat. West.

She is not numberd amongst those that reigned as rulers in this land by Mat. West.

Gal. Mon.

Madan the third ruler.

Memprius the fourth ruler.

Fabian.
Manlius is slaine.
Gal. Mon.

Sloth engendred lecherie.

Memprius is denoured of beastes.

Ebranke the fifth ruler.

Ebranke had 21. wiues: his thirtie daughters sent into Italie.

Bergomas
lib. 6.

The citie of
Caerbzankhe
builded.
March. West.

Fortie peares
bath Bath.
West. and
Gal. Mon.
tine.

Brute
Greene-
shield the
first ruler.
Iacobus Lef.

Strabo lib. 4.

Leill the
seventh
ruler.

Carleil build-
ed.

Chester re-
paired.

married to his noble men of the blood of Trojans, because the Sabines refused to ioint their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the first prince of his land that euer invaded France after Bute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many cities, both in his owne kingdome, and else where. His sonnes also under the conduct of Alaracus, one of their eldest brethren, returning out of Italie, after they had conducted their sisters thither, invaded Germanie, being first molested by the people of that countrie in their rage, and by the helpe of the said Alba subdued a great part of that countrie, & there planted themselves. Our histories say, that Chzacus their father married them in their returne, and aided them in their conquests, and that he builded the citie of Caerbzankhe, now called Porke, about the 14. yeare of his reigne. He builded also in Albania now called Scotland, the castle of Maidens, afterward called Euenburgh of Adrian one of their kings. The citie of Alclud was builded likewise by him (as some write) now decayed. After which cities thus builded, he sailed ouer into Gallia, now called France, with a great armie, and subduing the Galles as is aforesaid, he returned home with great riches and triumph. Now when he had guided the land of Britaine in noble wise by the tearme of fortie peares, he died, and was buried at Porke.

Bute Græneschild, the sonne of Chzankhe, was made gouernor of this land in the yeare of the world 3009, Asa reigning in Iuda, and Baasa in Israel. This prince bare alwaies in the field a greene shield, whereof he took his surname, and of him some foraine authors affirme, that he made an attempt to bring the whole realme of France vnder his subiection, which he performed, because his father sustained some dishonor and losse in his last voyage into that countrie. Whobet they say, that when he came into Henaud, Brinchilo a prince of that quarter gaue him also a great overthrow, and compelled him to retire home againe into his countrie. This Brinchilo out of William Harison, who in his chronologie toucheth the same at large, concluding in the end, that the said passage of this prince into France is verie likelie to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armoixica lieng on the south, and in manner vpon the verie loine after his owne name, and also a citie which he builded there Britaine. For (saith he) it should seeme by Strabo. lib. 4. that there was a noble citie of that name long before his time in the said countrie, whereof Plinie also speaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he ascribe it vnto France after a disordered manner. Poze I find not of this foresaid Brute, sauing that he ruled the land a certaine time, his father yet liuing, and after his decesse the tearme of twelue peares, and then died, and was buried at Caerbzankhe now called Porke.

Leill the sonne of Brute Græneschild, began to reigne in the yeare of the world 3021, the same time that Asa was reigning in Iuda, and Ambzi in Israel. He built the citie now called Carleil, which then after his owne name was called Carleil, that is, Leill his citie, or the citie of Leill. He repaired also (as Henrie Bradshaw saith) the citie of Caerleon now called Chester, which (as in the same Bradshaw appeareth) was built before Britains entrie into this land by a giant named Leon Cauer. But what authoritie he had to appoynt this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higden in his *Polychronicon*, saith in plaine wordes, that it is unknown who was the first founder of Chester, but that it took the name of the sojournyng there of some Romaine legions, by whome also it is not unlike that it might be first built by P. O. Rorius Scad

pula, who as we find, after he had subdued Caratacus king of the Britons that inhabited the countreies now called Lancashire, Cheshire, and Salopshire, built in those parts, and among the Silures, certaine places of defense, for the better harbrough of his men of warre, and keeping downe of such Britaines as were still readie to moue rebellion.

But now to the purpose concerning Leill. We find it recorded that he was in the beginning of his reigne verie bright, and desirous to see iustice executed, and aboue all things loued peace & quietnesse; but as yeares increased with him, so his vertues began to diminish, in so much that abandoning the care for the bodie of the commonwealth, he suffered his owne bodie to welter in all vice and voluptuousnesse, and so procuring the hatred of his subiects, caused malice and discord to rise amongst them, which during his life he was neuer able to appease. But leaving them so at variance, he departed this life, & was buried at Carleil, which as ye haue heard he had builded while he liued.

Lud or Ludburdibras the sonne of Leill began to reigne in the yeare of the world 3046. In the beginning of his reigne, he sought to appease the debate that was raised in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to his former quietnesse, and after that he had brought it to good end, he builded the towne of Caerkin now called Canterburie: also the towne of Caerguent now cleped Winchester, and mount Baladour now called Shaftsburie. About the building of which towne of Shaftsburie, Aquila a prophet of the British nation wrote his prophecies, of which some fragments remaine yet to be seene, translated into the Latine by some ancient writers. When this Lud had reigned 29. yeares, he died, and left a sonne behind him named Baldud.

Baldud the sonne of Ludburdibras began to rule ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3085. This man was well seene in the sciences of astronomie and nigromancie, by which (as the common report saith) he made the hot bathes in the citie of Caerbzankhe now called Bath. But William of Malmesburie is of a contrarie opinion, affirming that Julius Cesar made those bathes, or rather repaired them when he was here in England: which is not like to be true: for Julius Cesar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came so farre with in the land that way forward. But of these bathes more shall be said in the description. Now to proceed. This Baldud took such pleasure in artificiall practises & magike, that he taught this art thorough out all his realme. And to shew his cunning in other points, vpon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein, he took vpon him to lie in the fire, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinquant, and there was torne in peeces after he had ruled the Britaines by the space of 20. peares.

Leir the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Iuda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demour, gouerning his land and subiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now called Leicester, which standeth vpon the riuer of Soze. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other issue, whose names were Cononilla, Regain, and Cordella. Which daughters he greatly loued, but specially Cononilla the youngest. farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeeres, & began to waxe old with age, he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre that whome he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome. Whereupon he first asked

trial of
law.

The anflow
of the point
get daught-
er.

The two
eldest daugh-
ters are in-
ried.
The realm
is promise
to his two
daughters

Lud or
Ludbur-
dibras
the eight
ruler.

Caerkin of
Canterburie
is builded.
Caerguent is
builded.
Baladour is
builded.

Baldud
or Bal-
dud the
ninth ru-
ler.

Gal. Mon.
The king
Joas learned
hot bathes.

He gouer-
ned the third
of Galia
Gal. Mon.
saith.

Mat. West.
The pun-
did fire.

Leir
the 10.
ruler.

Mat. West.
Leicester is
builded.

Gal. Mon.

A small of
line.

asked Conozilla the eldest, how well she loued him: who calling hir gods to record, protested that she loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reason should be most deere vnto hir. With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of hir how well she loued him: who answered (confirming hir sayings with great othes) that she loued him more than tong could expresse, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world.

The answer
of the young-
est daugh-
ter.

Then called he his yongest daughter Cordeilla before him, and asked of hir what account she made of him, vnto whome she made this answer as foloweth: knowing the great loue and fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the which I maie not answere you otherwise than I thinke, and as my conscience leadeth me) I protest vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and will continually (while I liue) loue you as my naturall father. And if you would more vnderstand of the loue that I beare you, assestaine your selfe, that so much as you haue, so much you are worth, and so much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Hennisus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Agglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land should be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

The two
eldest daugh-
ters are mar-
ried.
The realme
is promised
to his two
daughters.

Nevertheless it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beantie, womanhood, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla, desired to haue hir in marriage, and sent ouer to hir father, requiring that he might haue hir to wife: to whome answer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for arie dowter he could haue none, for all was promised and assured to hir other sisters already. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of deniall to receiue anie thing by way of dowter with Cordeilla, toke hir to wife, onlie moued thereto (saie) for respect of hir person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those daies, as in the Britissh historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

He gouerned
the third part
of Gallia as
Gal. Mon.
saith.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and rest from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in procelle of time was diminished as well by Agglanus as by Hennisus. But the greatest griefe that Leir toke, was to see the unkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being neuer so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarcelie they would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him.

In the end, such was the unkindnesse, or (as I maie saie) the unnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstanding their faire and pleasant words vttered in time past, that being constrained of necessitie, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to seeke some comfort of his yongest daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arrived in poore estate, the first sent to him pmiilie a certeine summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to retaine a certeine

number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as appertained to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so iollie, honorable, and louinglie receiued; both by his sonne in law Aganippus, and also by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had bene king of the whole countrie himselfe.

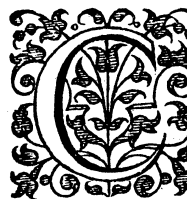
Now when he had informed his sonne in law and his daughter in what sort he had bene vsed by his other daughters, Aganippus caused a mightie armie to be put in a readinesse, and liketwise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to see him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to hir sisters or to their husbands in anie manner of wise.

Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir husband toke the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enemies, and discomfited them in battell, in the which Agglanus and Hennisus were slaine: and then was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yeres, and then died, fortye yeres after he first began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leicester in a vault vnder the chanell of the riuer of Soze beneath the towne.

Math. West.

The gunarchie of queene Cordeilla,
how she was vanquished, of hir im-
prisonment and selfe-murther: the con-
tention betweene Cunedag and
Margan nephewes for go-
uernement, and the euill end
thereof.

The sixth Chapter.



Cordeilla the yongest daughter of Leir was admitted R. and supreme gouernesse of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3155, before the building of Rome 54, Whia then reigning in Iuda, and Jeroboam ouer Israell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers decesse ruled the land of Britaine right worthilie during the space of five yeres, in which meane time hir husband died, and then about the end of those five yeres, hir two nephewes Margan and Cunedag, sonnes to hir aforesaid sisters, disdaining to be vnder the gouernment of a woman, leuied warre against hir, and destroyed a great part of the land, and finally toke hir prisoner, and laid hir fast in ward, wherewith she toke such griefe, being a woman of a manlie courage, and despairing to recouer libertie, there she slue herselfe, when she had reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearme of five yeres.

Queene
Cordeil-
la.

Cunedagius and Marganus nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir hands, diuided the same betwixt them, that is to saie, the countrie ouer and beyond Humber fell to Margan, as it stretcheth euen to Catnesse, and the other part lieng south and by-west, was assigned to Cunedagius. This partition chanced in the yere of the world 3170, before the building of Rome 47, Whia as then reigning in Iuda, and Jeroboam in Israell. After-
wards

Cune-
dag and
Mar-
gan.

¶ Hargan in-
nabed his
cousine Cune-
dag.

¶ Hargan is
slaine.
Math. West.

Cunedag
alone.

wards, these two cousins, Cunedag and Hargan, had not reigned thus past a two yeeres, but thorough some seditious persons, Hargan was persuaded to raise warre against Cunedag, telling him in his eare, how it was a shame for him being come of the elder sister, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hand. Whereupon ouercome with pride, ambition, and couetousnesse, he raised an armie, and entering into the land of Cunedag, he burned and destroyed the countrie before him in miserable manner.

Cunedag in all hast to resist his aduersarie, assembled also all the power he could make, and comming with the same against Hargan, gaue him battell, in the which he slue a great number of Hargans people, and put the residue to flight, and furthermore pursued him from countrie to countrie, till he came into Cambria, now called Wales, where the said Hargan gaue him estimation a new battell: but being too weak in number of men, he was there ouercome and slaine in the field, by reason whereof that countrie toke the name of him, being there slaine, and so is called to this daie Glau Hargan, which is to meane in our English tong, Hargans land. This was the end of that Hargan, after he had reigned with his brother two yeeres, or thereabouts.

After the death of Hargan, Cunedag the sonne of Hemmus and Magaie (middlemost daughter of Leir before mentioned) became ruler of all the whole land of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3172, before the building of Rome 45, who still reigned in Iuda, and Jeroboam in Israell. He gouerned this Ile well and honourable for the tearme of 33 yeeres, and then dieng, his bodie was buried at Troinouant or London. Whereouer, our writers doe report, that he builded three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercurie at Banogor, and the third to Apollo in Cornewall.

Of Riualus, Gurgustius, Syfillius, Iago, 40
and Kinimacus, rulers of Britaine
by succession, and of the accidents
coincident with their times.

The seventh Chapter.

Riualus
the 13.
ruler.

It rained
bloud.
Math. West.

Rome builded

Gurgustius
the 14.
ruler.

Riualus, the sonne of Cunedag, began to reigne ouer the Britains in the yeare of the world 3203, before the building of Rome 15, soath than as then being king of Iuda, and Phacee king of Israell. This Riual governed the Island in great wealth and prosperitie. In his time it rained bloud by the space of three daies together; after which raine ensued such an exceeding number and multitude of flies, so noisome and contagious, that much people died by reason thereof. When he had reigned 46 yeeres he died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Porke. In the time of this Riuals reigne was the citie of Rome builded, after concordance of most part of writers. Whereby also a wizard, and a learned astrologian flourish and wist his prophecies, and Herene also.

Gurgustius, the son of the before named Riual, began to gouerne the Britains in the yeare after the creation of the world 3249, and after the first foundation of Rome 33, Cerechias reigning in Iuda. This Gurgustius in the chronicle of England, is called Gorbodian the sonne of Reignold, he reigned 37 yeeres, then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Porke) by his father.

Syfillius, or after some writers Syllius, the brother of Gurgustius, was chosen to haue the gouernance of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3287, and after the building of Rome 71, Panastes still reigning in Iuda. This Syfillius in the English chronicle is named Decill. He reigned 49 yeeres, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

Iago or Lago, the cousin of Gurgustius, as next inheritor to Syfillius, took upon him the gouernment of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3336, and after the building of Rome 120, in whose time the citie of Jerusalem was taken by Nabuchodonozar and the king of Iuda, Athania, otherwise called Zedechias, being slaine. This Iago or Lago died without issue, when he had reigned 28 yeeres, and was buried at Porke.

Kinimacus or Kinmarus the sonne of Syfillius as some write, or rather the brother of Iago, began to gouerne the land of Britain, in the yeare of the world 3364, and after the building of Rome 148, the Iewes as then being in the third yeare of their captiuitie of Babylon. This Kinimacus departed this life, after he had reigned 54 yeeres, and was buried at Porke.

Of Gorbodug and his two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, one brother killeth another, the mother slaieth hir sonne, and how Britaine by ciuill warres (for lacke of issue legitimate to the gouernment) of a monarchie became a pentarchie: the end of Brutes line.

The eight Chapter.

Gorbodug the sonne of Kinimacus began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare after the creation of the world 3418, from the building of the citie of Rome 202, the 58 of the Iewes captiuitie at Babylon. This Gorbodug by most likelihood to bring histories to accord, should reigne about the tearme of 62 yeeres, and then departing this world, was buried at London, leaving after him two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after some writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Ferrex with Porrex his brother began jointly to rule ouer the Britains, in the yeare of the world 3476, after the building of Rome 260, at which time, the people of Rome forsooke their citie in their rebellious mood. These two brethren continued for a time in good friendship and amitie, till at length through conuentionnesse, and desire of greater dominion, provoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and discord, whereby Ferrex was constrained to flee into Gallia, and there purchased aid of a great duke called Gundardus or Gwardus, and so returned into Britaine, thinking to preuaile and obtaine the dominion of the whole Island. But his brother Porrex was readie to receiue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was slaine, with the more part of his people. The English chronicle saith, that Porrex was he that fled into France, & at his returne, was slaine, and that Ferrex suruiued. But Geoffrey of Monmouth & Polychronicon are of a contrarie opinion. Matthew Westmonasteriensis writeth, that Porrex deuising waies to kill Ferrex, attacked his purpose and slue him. But whether of them so euer suruiued, the mother of them was so highly offended for the death of him that was slaine, whom the most

Syfillius
the 15.
ruler.

Iago the
16. ruler.

Kinimacus
the 17.
ruler.

Gorbodug
the 18.
ruler.

Ferrex
the 19.
ruler.

Ferrex fled
into Gallia.

Math. West.

The mother
killeth hir son

Robert Reco

Mul.
mucia
Math. West.
Polyd.

interlieved, that setting apart all motherlie affection, the founde the wayes to enter the chamber at him that suruived in the night season, and as he slept, the with the helpe of his maibens sleight, and cut him into small peces, as the writers do affirme. Such was the end of these two brethren; after they had reigned by the space of foure or five yeares.

After this followed a troublous season full of cruell warre, and sedition, whereby in the end, and for the space of fiftie yeares, the monarchie of this gouernement of the Island became aduanced; that is, it was diuided betwixt five kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall came to them all. Thus the line of Wute (according to the report of most writers) took an end: for after the death of the two foresaid brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left a line to succede them in the kingdome. The names of these five kings are found in certeine old pedegrees; and although the same be much corrupted in diuers copies, yet these vnder named are the most agreeable.

But of these five kings or dukes, the English chro-

nicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewall for most rightfull haire: there appeareth not any other name by report of ancient authors, how long this sortaine reigne in amongst the Britains; but (as some say) it lasted for the space of xx. yeares, continuing so much by that time as he reigned in Holy churche. Who saith, he continued in it till the beginning of the reigne of Dunwallon, who began to gouerne from the time that Wute first entered Britaine, about the space of 70. or three yeares.

Here ye must note, that there is difference amongst writers about the signification and account of the 5. yeares; in so much that some making their reckoning after certeine writers, and finding the same to haile about 720. yeares, are brought in to further doubt of the truth of the whole historie; but whereas other haue by diligent search tried out the continuance of euerie gouernours reigne, and reduced the same to a likelihood of some conformitie, I haue thought best to follow the same, leaving the credit thereof to the first authors.

The pentarchie.

1	Rudacus	king of	Wales.
2	Clotenus		Cornewall.
3	Pinnor		Loegria.
4	Staterus		Albania.
5	Yewan		Northumberland.

The end of the second Booke.



THE THIRD BOOKE

of the Historie of England.

Of Mulmucius the first king of Britaine, who was crowned with a golden crowne, his lawes, his foundations, with other his acts and deeds.

The first Chapter.



NOW to proceede with the aforesaid authors, Mulmucius Dunwallon, or as other saie Dunwallon Mulmucius, the sonne of Cloton (as testifieth the english chronicle and also Geoffrey of Monmouth) got the upper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers deceasse began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome

314, and after the deliuerance of the Israehtes out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yere of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fift king of the Persians. This Mulmucius Dunwallon is named in the english chronicle Donebant, and proued a right worthy prince. He builded within the citie of London then called Troinouant, a temple, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as some hold opinion, I wrote not vpon that ground) was the same which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buying and selling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Mulmucius (whome the old booke nameth Holle) builded the two towncs of Galmesburie and the Wics. He also made manie god lawes, which were long after vied, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the British speach into the Latine by Gildas Priscus, and long time after translated out of latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statutes. He moreover gaue priuileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high wayes leading to the same, so that whoso ener fled to them, should be in safegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrie he would, with indemnitie of his person. Some authors write, that he began to make the foure great high wayes of Britaine, the which were finished by his sonne Blinus, as after shall be declared.

Fabian. See more in the description.

Galmesburie and the Wics built. Math. West. Lawes made.

Caxton and Polydron.

B. y. red.

The first
king that
was crowned
with a golden
crosse.

Polyd.
weights and
measures.
Theft puni-
shed.
Fabian.

After he had established his law, and set his Britains in god and commonwealth, he crowned him by the advice of his lords with a golden crosse, and himselfe with great humilitie to be crowned, according to the custome of the Britains then in use. Because he was the first that had a crowne here in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before he reigned are named rulers, princes, or governors.

Amongst other of his ordinances, he appointed weights and measures, with the which men should buy and sell. And further he devised for and freight orders for the punishing of theft. Finally, after he had guided the land by the space of forty years, he died, and was buried in the foresaid temple of peace which he had erected within the cite of Troynonant now called London, as before ye have heard, appointing in his life time, that his kingdom should be divided betwixt his two sonnes, Brennus and Belinus (as some men do coniecture.)

The ioint-gouernment of Belinus and Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius, their discontentment, the stratagems of the one against the other, the expulsion of Brennus out of Britaine.

The second Chapter.

Belinus and Brennus.

Brennus and Belinus began to reigne iointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yere of the world 3574, after the building of the cite of Rome 355, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 142.

3574

Marth. West.

Polyd. faith, Brennus not content with his portion.

Clangius.

Guthdacus king of Denmarke.

was about the seventh yere of Artaxerxes furnamed Mnemon, the seventh king of the Persians. Belinus held vnder his gouernment Loegria, Wales, and Cornuall: and Brennus all those countriesouer and beyond Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of six or seven yeres, after which time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portion came to, first thought to purchase himselfe aid in forreine parties, & thereafter by the prouocation and counsell of ponguinet heads, sailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Clungus Clung, as then duke or ruler of that countrie. Beline offended with his brother, that he should thus without his aduice marrie with a stranger, now in his absence seized all his lands, townes, and fortresses into his owne hands, placing garrisons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertised hercof, assembled a great nauie of ships, well furnished with people and souldiers of the Norwegians, with the which he toke his course home wards, but in the waie he was encountred by Guthdacus king of Denmarke, the which had laid long in wait for him, because of the pong ladie which Brenne had married, for whom he had bene a sutor to his father Clung of long time. When these two fléets of the Danes and Norwegians met, there was a soze battell betwixt them, but finally the Danes overcame them of Norway, and toke the ship wherein the new bride was conueied, and then was she brought aboard the ship of Guthdacus. Brenne escaped by flight as well as he might. But when Guthdacus had thus obtained the victorie and prey, suddenly thereupon

arose a soze tempest of wind and weather, which scattered the Danish flecte, and put the king in danger to haue bene lost by the strait. Within five daies after being driuen by force of wind, he landed in Northerland, with a few such ships as kept together with him.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouiding for defense against his brother, upon knowledge of the king of Denmarks arrival, caused him to be staied. So the after Brenne hauing recovered and gotten together the most part of his ships that were dispersed by the discomfure, and the state he rigged and furnished of all things necesserie, sent word to his brother Beline, both to restore vnto him his wife, amongst which rauished by Guthdacus, and also his lands inuiouslie by him seized into his possession. These requests being plainlie and shortly denied, Brenne made no long delay, but speedilie made toward Albania, and landing with his armie in a part thereof, encountred with his brother Beline nere vnto a wood named as then Calater, where after cruel fight, and mostall battell betwixt them) at length the victorie abode with the Britains, and the discomfure did light so on the Norwegians, that the most of them were wounded, slaine, and left dead vpon the ground.

Whereby Brenne being forced to flee, made shift, and got ouer into Gallia, where after he had sued to this prince, at length he abode, and was well receiued of one Seguinus or Seginnus duke of the people called then Allobroga (as Galfrid of Monmouth faith) or rather Armoica, which now is called Britaine, as Polychronicon, and the english historie printed by Caxton, more trulie maie seme to affirme. But Beline hauing got the vpper hand of his enemies, assembling his counsell at Caerbranke, now called Poek, toke aduise what he should do with the king of Denmarke: where it was ordeined, that he should be set at libertie, with condition and vnder couenant, to acknowledge himselfe by doing homage, to hold his land of the king of Britaine, and to paie him a yerele tribute. These couenants being agreed vpon, and hostages taken for assurance, he was set at libertie, and so returned into his countrie. The tribute that he couenanted to paie, was a thousand pounds, as the English chronicle faith.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone possessed of all the land of Britaine, he first confirmed the lawes made by his father: and so much as the soure waies begun by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore caused workmen to be called forth and assembled, whom he set in hand to paue the said waies with stone, for the better passage and ease of all that should trauell through the countres from place to place, as occasion should require.

The first of these soure waies is named Fosse, and stretcheth from the south into the north, beginning at the corner of Lotnesse in Cornuall, and so passing forth by Devonshire, and Somersetshire, by Lutberie, on Costeswold, and then forward beside Couentrie vnto Leicester, and from thence by wild plaines towards Leicwarke, and endeth at the cite of Lincoln. The second waie was named Watling strete, the which stretcheth ouerthwart the Fosse, out of the southeast into the northeast, beginning at Dover, and passing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beside London, by-west of Westminster, as some haue thought, and so forth by S. Albons, and by the west side of Dunstable, Stratford, Louceser, and Medon by south of Lilleborne, by Atherston, Gilberts hill, that now is called the Wreken, and so forth by Seuerne, passing beside Worcester, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and so vnto a place

Calater wood is in Scotland.

Seginnus or Seguinus duke of the Allobroga, now the phinot of Sauoy.

The Danes tributarie to the Britains.

The soure high waies finished.

The Fosse.

Watling strete.

The Ro-
mans in
despaire with-
draw into the
capitoll,

The Gallies
enter into
Rome.

The reuerend
aspect of the
senators.

Marcus Papi-
rius.

Rome sacked.

365
The capitoll
defended.

same against a long siege. The honorable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remained still in the citie, as it were to perish with their countrie if hap so befell.

In the meane time came the Gallies to the citie, and entering by the gate Collina, they passed forth the right way into the market place, maruelling to see the houses of the poorer sort to be shut against them, and those of the richer to remaine wide open; wherefore being doubtfull of some deceitfull traines, they were not ouer rash to enter the same; but after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in their chaires apparelled in their rich robes, as if they had bin in the senat, they reuerenced them as gods, so honorable was their port, grauenesse in countenance, and shew of apparell.

In the meane time it chanced, that Marcus Papius strooke one of the Gallies on the head with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with which iniurie the Gall being prouoked, Luc Papius (as he sat) with his sword, and therewith the slaughter being begun with one, all the residue of those ancient fatherlie men as they sat in their chaires were slaine and cruellie murdered. After this all the people found in the citie without respect of difference at all, were put to the sword, and their houses sacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline and Brenne, 365 yeares after the first building thereof. Besides this, the Gallies attempted in the night season to haue entered the capitoll: and in deed ordered their enterprisse so secretly, that they had atchiued their purpose, if a sort of ganders had not with their crie and noise disclosed them, in wakening the Romans that were asleepes: so by that meanes were the Gallies beaten backe and repelled.

Camillus reuoked from exile, made dictator, and receiuech peremptorie authoritie, he ouerthroweth the Gallies in a pitch field, controuersie betweene writers touching Brennus and Belinus left undetermined; of diuers foundations, erections and reparations doone and atchined by Belinus, the burning of his bodie in stead of his burning.

The fourth Chapter.

The Romans being thus put to their extreame shift, deuised among themselves how to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whom not long before they had banished out of the citie. In the end they did not onely send for him home, but also created him dictator, committing into his handes (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power over all men, both of life and death. Camillus forgetfull of the iniurie done to him, and mindfull of his dutie towards his countrie, and lamenting the state thereof, without delay gathered such an armie as the present time permitted.

A composition

In the meane time those that kept the capitoll (being almost furnished for lacke of vittells) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for a thousand pounds weight in gold, the Romans should readeeme their libertie, and the said Brenne and Beline depart with their armie out of the citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the monie, and by a certeine kind of hay, the Romans

name was preserved at that time from such dishonor, and ignominie as was likelie to haue ensued. For some of the covetous sort of the Gallies, not contented with the iust weight of the gold, did cast their swords also into the balance where the weights lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: whereupon the Romans refused to make paiement after that weight.

And thus whilst they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to grant, the time passed, till in the meane season Camillus came in amongst them with his power, commanding that the gold should be had away, and affirming that without consent of the dictator, no composition or agreement might be concluded by the meaner magistrate. He gaue a signe to the Gallies to prepare themselves to battell, whereunto they lightlie agreed, and together they went. The battell being once begun, the Gallies that looked earst for gold, and not for battell, were easilie overcome, such as stood to the hant were slaine, and the rest by sight constrained to depart the citie.

Polybius writeth, that the Gallies were turned from the siege of the citie, through wars which chanced amongst their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace with the Romans, and leaving them in libertie returned home againe.

But howsoever the matter passed, thus much haue we stept from our purpose, to shew somewhat of that noble and most famous captiue Brennus, who (as not onely our histories, but also Giouan Villani the Florentine doth report) was a Britaine, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that many other writers are not of that mind, affirming him to be a Gall, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or thereabouts, there was another Brennus a Gall by nation (say they) vnder whose conduct an other armie of the Galls invaded Grecia, which Brennus had a brother that hight Belinus, although Humphrey Llloyd and Sir John Prise do flatlie denie the same, by reason of some discordance in writers, & namely in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that haue recorded the doings of those times; whereof the error is growen. Notwith I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fullie sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities. But now to our purpose.

This is also to be noted, that where our histories make mention, that Beline was abroad with Brennus in the most part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germanie, and Italie; Titus Liuius speaketh but onely of Brennus: whereupon some write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friends, Brennus onely went over to Gallia; and there through proofe of his worthie prowesse, attained to such estimation amongst the people called Galls Senones, that he was chosen to be their generall capteine at their going ouer the mountaines into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finally returned backe againe, leaving Brennus behind him, as some write, or that he went not at all, but remained still at home whilst his brother was abroad, we can affirme no certaintie.

Most part of all our writers make report of manie worthie deeds accomplished by Beline, in repairing of cities decayed, & ereading of other new buildings, to the adorning and beautifling of his realme and kingdome. And amongst other worthies which were by him created, he builded a citie in the south part of Wales, neare to the place where the river of Wylke falleth into Seuerne, fast by Clamozgan, which citie hight Caerleon, or Caerlegion Ar Wylke. This Caerleon was the principall citie in time past of all Demetia, now called Southwales. Manie notable

Camillus appointed the Gallies their punishment.

Fabius

John I

The Gallies ouerthrowne.

The London by W

Guthrie.

Marshall Gall.

Titus Liuius Polydore.

Stratton Dan force their

Marshall Wals.

Marshall Gall.

Wals.

Polydore Gal.M. Caerleon, which built by Beline.

Wals. here land.

monuments are remaining there till this day, testifying the great magnificence and roiall buildings of that citie in old time. In which citie also stith the time of Christ were three churches, one of saint Julius the martyr, an other of saint Aron, and the third was the mother church of all Demetia, and the chiefe see: but after, the same see was translated unto Spenevia, (that is to say) saint David in West Wales. In this Caple was Amphibulus borne, who taught and instructed saint Alban.

This Beline also builded an hauen, with a grasse of uer the same, within the citie of Gurguuant now called London, in the summitie or highest part where of afterwarde was set a bevell of brass. In the which were put the ashes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceasse was burnt, as the manner of burling in those daies did require. This gate was long after called Beline gate, and at length by corruption of language Billings gate. He builded also a castell eastward from this gate (as some haue written) which was long time after likewise called Belins castell, and is the same which now we call the tower of London. Thus Beline dwelieng daile to beautifie this land with goodlie buildings and famous workes, at length departed this life, after he had reigned with his brother iointlie and alone the space of 26 yeres.

Of Gurguintus, Guintolinus, and Sicilius, three kings of Britaine succeeding each other by lineall descent in the regiment, and of their acts and deeds, with a notable commendation of Queene Martia.

The fift Chapter.

Gurguintus.

Gurguintus the sonne of Beline began to reigne over the Britains, in the yere of the world 1596, after the building of Rome 380, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 164 completed, which was about the 33 yere of Artaxerxes Menon, surnamed Spagatis, the seuenth king of the Persians. This Gurguint in the English chronicle is named Corinbatas, and by Matthew Westmin. he is surnamed Barbiruc, the which because the tribute granted by Gualthdag king of Denmarke in perpetuities unto the kings of Britaine was denied, he sailed with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where he made such warre with fire and sword, that the king of Denmarke with the assent of his barons was constrained to grant cessiones to continue the payment of the aforesaid tribute.

Much West. Gal.M.

Gurguint constrained the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

Much West. Gal.Mon.

Salques.

He more bereof in Ireland.

After he had thus atchiued his desire in Denmarke, as he returned backe towards Britaine, he encountered with a nauie of 30 ships beside the Isles of Orkenies. These ships were fraught with men and women, and had to their capteine one called Bartholin or Partholin, who being brought to the presence of king Gurguint, declared that he with his people were banished out of Spaine, and were named Valentes or Valenteses, and had sailed long on the sea, to the end to find some prince that would assigne them a place to inhabit, to whom they would become subjects, & hold of him as of their soueraigne gouernor. Therefore he besought the king to consider their estate, and of his great benignitie to appoint some void quarter where they might settle. The king with the aduice of his barons granted to

them the Ile of Ireland, which as then (by report of some authours) lay waste and without habitation. But it should appeare by other writers, that it was inhabited long before those daies, by the people called Britenenses, of Iherbus their capteine that brought them also out of Spaine.

Polychron.

After that Gurguintus was returned into his countrie, he ordeined that the lawes made by his ancestors should be duly kept and obserued. And thus administering iustice to his subjects for the tearme of 19 yeres, he finally departed this life, and was buried at London, or as some haue at Caelecon. In his daies was the towne of Cambridge with the vniuersitie first founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforesaid Bartholin (according to some writers) as after shall appeare.

Caius.

Guintolinus the sonne of Gurguintus was admitted king of Britaine in the yere of the world 1614, after the building of the citie of Rome 399, and second yere of the 206 Olympiads. This Guintolinus was a wise prince, graue in countenance and sober in behauior. He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of perfect beautie, & wisdom comparable, as by his prudent gouernement and equall administration of iustice after his husbands deceasse, during his sonnes minority, it most manifestlie appeared.

Guintolinus.

It is thought that in an haple time this Guintolin came to the gouernement of this kingdome, being shaken and brought out of order with ciuill dissensions, to the end he might reduce it to the former estate, which he earnestlie accomplished: for hauing once got the place, he studied with great diligence to reforme anew, and to adorne with iustice, lawes and good orders, the British common wealth, by other kings not so framed as stood with the quietnesse thereof. But afore all things he vtterlie remoued and appeased such ciuill discord, as seemed yet to remaine after the maner of a remnant of those seditious factions and partakings, which had so long time reigned in this land. But as he was busie in hand herewith, death took him out of this life, after he had reigned 27 yeres, and then was he buried at London.

Sicilius the sonne of Guintoline, being not past sixteen yeres of age when his father died, was admitted king, in the yere 1659, after the building of Rome 430, & after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 218, & in the first after the death of Alexander. By reason that Sicilius was not of age sufficient of himselfe to guide the kingdome of the Britains, his mother that worthy ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realme and person committed to his charge.

Sicilius.

She was a woman expert and skilfull in diuers sciences, but chieffest being admitted to the gouernance of the realme, she studied to preserue the common wealth in good quiet and wholesome order, and therefore deuised and established profitable and conuenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes, of her name that first made them. These lawes, as those that were thought good and necessarie for the preseruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, translated also out of the British tongue, into the English Saxon speech, and then were they called after that translation Marthenelagh, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia. To conclude, this worthy woman guided the land during the minority of her sonne right politicklie; and highlie to his perpetuall renowne and commendation. And when his sonne came to lawfull age, she deliuered by the gouernance into his handes. How long he reigned writers varie, some amoung but seven yeres, though other

Queene Martia gouerneth in his sonnes tyme.

She maketh lawes.

Math. West.

Math. Westm. other

other affirme 15. which agreeth not so well with the accord of other histories and times. He was buried at London.

Of Kimarus and his sudden end; of Elanius and his short regiment, of Morindus and his beastlie crueltie, all three immediately succeeding each other in the monarchie of Britaine, with the exploits of the last.

The sixth Chapter.

Kimarus.

Fabian.

Elanius.

Marth. West.

Morindus.

G. Mon.

The like may be thought of those Germans of whom H.B. speaketh, Fabian.

Kimarus the sonne of Scilicius began to reigne over the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3657, and after the building of Rome 447, in the first yeare of the 117, Olympiad. This Kimarus being a wild young man, and given to follow his lusts and pleasures, was slaine by some that were his enemies, as he was abroad in hunting, when he had reigned scarce three yeares. Elanius the sonne of Kimarus, (as other haue) his brother, began to rule the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3361, after the building of Rome 445, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 229, and in the fourth yeare of the Seleucians, after which account the booke of Machabees doe reckon, which began in the 14, after the death of Alexander. This Elanius in the English Chronicle is named also Haran; by Mar. Westm. Darius; and by an old chronicle which Fabian much followed, Elanius and Kimarus should seeme to be one person: but other hold the contrarie, and saie that he reigned fullie 8. yeares.

Morindus the bastard sonne of Elanius was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3667, after the building of Rome 451, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 236, and in the tenth yeare of Cassander K. of Macedonia, which hauing dispatched Olimpias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Poranus with Alexanders sonne into his hands, vsurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and held it 15. yeares. This Morindus in the English chronicle is called Porus, and was a man of worthy fame in chivalric and martiall doings, but so cruell withall, that his vniuersall nature could scarce be satisfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although oftentimes with his owne hands he cruellie put them to torture and execution. He was also beautifull and comelie of personage, liberall and bounteous, and of a marvellous strength.

In his daies, a certaine king of the people called Poriani, with a great armie landed in Northumberland, and began to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitants. But Morindus aduertised herof, assembled his Britains, came against the enemies, and in battell putting them to flight, chased them to their ships, and toke a great number of them prisoners, whome to the satisfieng of his cruell nature he caused to be slaine euen in his presence. Some of them were beheaded, some strangled, some panned, and some he caused to be slaine quicke.

These people (whome Gal. Mon. nameth Poriani) I take to be either those that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice, called Porini, or some other people of the Galles or Germanies, and not as some esteeme them, Poranians, or Perhenners, which were not known to the world (as Humfrey Lihoyd

hath verie well noted) till about the daies of the emperor Marcianus, which misconstruction of names hath brought the British historie further out of credit than reason requireth, if the circumstances be bulie considered.

But now to end with Morindus. At length this bloudie prince heard of a monster that was come a land out of the Irish sea, with the which when he would needs fight, he was deuoured of the same, after he had reigned the terme of 8. yeares, leauing behind him five sonnes, Gorbomanus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Vigenius, and Peredurus.

Of Gorbomanus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Vigenius, and Peredurus, the five sons of Morindus, the building of Cambridge, the restitution of Archigallus to the regiment after his deprivation, Elidurus three times admitted king, his death and place of interment.

The seventh Chapter.

Gorbomanus the first son of Morindus succeeded his father in the kingdome of Brittain, in the yeare of the world 3676, after the building of Rome 461, and fourth yeare of the 121, Olympiad. This Gorbomanus in the English chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous prince in his government, and verie deuout (according to such deuotion as he had) towards the aduancing of the religion of his gods: and therupon he repaired all the old temples through his kingdome, and erected some new.

He also builded the townes of Cambridge and Grantham (as Caxton writeth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honoured the rich, and relieved the poore in time of their necessities. In his time was more plentie of all things necessarie for the wealthfull state of man, than had bene before in any of his predecessors daies. He died without issue, after he had reigned (by the accord of most writers) about the terme of ten yeares.

Some write that this Gorboman built the towne of Catgrant, now called Cambridge, & also Grantham, but some thinke that those which haue so written are deceived, in misaking the name; for that Cambridge was at the first called Granta: and by that meanes it might be that Gorboman built onlie Grantham, and not Cambridge, namelie because other write how that Cambridge (as before is said) was built in the daies of Gurguntius the sonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Bartholom, which Bartholom by the aduice of the same Gurguntius, got seates for himselfe and his companie in Ireland (as before ye haue heard.)

The said Cantaber also obtaining licence of Gurguntius, builded a towne vpon the side of the riuer called Santa, which he closed with waller, and fortified with a strong tower or castell, and after procuring philosophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a student) he placed them there, and so euen then was that place furnished (as they saie) with learned men, and such as were readie to instruct others in knowledge of letters and philosophicall doctrine. But by whome or in what time fouer it was built, certaine it is that there was a citie or towne walled in that place before the coming of the Saxons, called by the Britains

Archigallus.

He is giv to nourish sention.

Elidur

By this should be that I should not in short contract the Cambridge.

In exam of docthe loc.

taines, Caergrat, and by the Saxons Cranchester.

This towne fell so to ruine by the inuasion of the Saxons, that at length it was in manner left desolate, and at this day remaineth as a village. But nere therevnto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was built, now called Cambridge; where by the fauour of king Sigebert and ~~the~~ Burgundian, that was bishop of Dunwich, a schole was erected, as in place convenient shall appeare.

Archigallus, the second sonne of Porindus, and brother vnto Gylfomarus; was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare 3686, after the building of the citie of Rome 470, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 237; and in the first yeare of Sosthenes king of Macedonia. This Archigallus (in the English chronicle called Artogail) folloved not the steppes of his brother, but giuing himselfe to dissipation and strife, imagined caues against his nobles; that he might displace them, and set such in their rooms as were men of base birth and of euill conditions. Also he sought by vnlawfull means to bereaue his wealthy subiects of their goods and riches, so to enrich himselfe and impoverish his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his nobles conspired against him, and finally depriued him of all his hono: and kinglie dignitie, after he had reigned about the space of one yeare.

Archigallus.

He is giuen to nourish dissension.

Elidurus.

Elidurus the third sonne of Porindus, and brother to Archigallus, was by one consent of the Britains chosen to reigne ouer them in his brothers stead, after the creation of the world 3687, and after the building of the citie of Rome 471, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 236, in the first yeare of Sosthenes king of Macedonia. This Elidurus in the English chronicle named Hesider, or Eoder, proued a most righteous prince, and doubting least he should do otherwise than became him, if he did not take care for his brother Archigallus estate, a man might wonder what diligence he shewed in travelling with the nobles of the realme to haue his brother restored to the crowne againe.

By this it should seeme that Elidurus should not be in Scotland, contrary to the Scottish writers.

Now as it chanced one day (being abroad on hunting in the wood called Calater) neare vnto Porke, he found his brother Archigall wandring there in the thickest of that wilbernesse, whom in most louing manner he secretly conueied home to his house, being as then in the citie of Aldud, other wise called Aclud. Shortly after he found himselfe sicke, and in all hast sent messengers about to assemble his barons, who being come at the day appointed, he called them one after another into his priue chamber, and there handled them in such effectuous sort with wise and discret words, that he got their good willes to further him to their powers, for the reducing of the kingdomes into the hands of his brother Archigallus.

After this he assembled a councell at Porke, where he so used the matter with the commons, that in conclusion, when the said Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourable the space of three yeares, he resigned wholie his crowne and kinglie title vnto his brother Archigallo, who was receiued of the Britains againe as king by mediation of his brother in manner as before is said. A rare example of brotherlie loue, if a man shall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate desire remaineth amongst mortal men to attaine to the supreme souereintie of ruling, and to keepe the same when they haue it once in possession. He had well learned this lesson (as may appeare by his contentation and resignation) name-

A rare example of brotherlie loue.

lie, that

Nec abnuendum si dat imperium Deus,

Nec appetendum,

otherwise he would not haue beene led with such an equabilitie of mind. For this great god will and brotherlie loue by him shewed thus toward his brother, he was surnamed the goodlie and vertuous.

When Archigallus was thus restored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he must turne the leafe, and take out a new lesson, by changing his former trade of liuing into better, if he would reigne in suertie: he became a new man, vnting himselfe by rightlie in the administration of iustice, and behauing himselfe so worthily in all his doings, both toward the nobles & commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his subiects. And so continuing the whole tearme of his life, finally departed out of this world, after he had reigned this second time the space of ten yeares, and was buried at Porke.

Elidurus brother to this Archigallus was then againe admitted king by consent of all the Britains, 3700 of the world. But his two yonger brethren, Eligenius and Peredurus, enuiling the happy state of this worthy prince, so highly for his vertue and good gouernance esteemed of the Britains, of a grounded malice conspired against him, and assembling an armie, leuied to warre against him, and in a pitch field took him prisoner, and put him in the tower of London, there to be kept close prisoner, after he had reigned now this last time the space of one yeare.

Vigenius and Peredurus, the yongest sonnes of Porindus, and brethren to Elidurus, began to reigne iointlie as kings of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3701, after the building of Rome 485, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 266 complet, and in the 12 yeare of Antigonus Gonatas, the sonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians. These two brethren in the English chronicles are named Viganus and Petitur, who (as Gal. Mon. testifieth) diuided the realme betwixt them, so that all the land from Humber westward fell to Vigenius, or Viganus, the other part beyond Humber northward Peredurus held. But other affirme, that Peredurus onelie reigned, and held his brother Elidurus in prison by his owne consent, so long as he was not willing to gouerne.

But Gal. Mon. saith, that Vigenius died after he had reigned 7 yeares, and then Peredurus seized all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with such sobrietie and wisdom, that he was praised above all his brethren, so that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Britains. But others write that he was a verie tyrant, and used himselfe verie cruellie towards the lords of his land, wherevpon they rebelled and slue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall sicknesse, he finally departed this life, after the consent of most writers, when he had reigned eight yeares, leauing no issue behind him to succeed in the gouernance of the kingdom. He builded the towne of Pikering, where his bodie was buried.

Elidurus then, as soon as his brother Peredurus was dead, for as much as he was next heire to the crowne, was deliuered out of prison, and now the third time admitted king of Britaine, who used himselfe (as before) verie orderlie in ministring to all persons right and iustice all the daies of his life, and lastlie being growne to great age died, when he had reigned now this third time (after most concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buried at Caerleill.

Sen in Thieff.

Archigallus againe.

Elidurus againe. Matt. West. Brother against brother.

Elidurus committed to prison.

Vigenius and Peredurus.

Britaine diuided into two realmes.

Mariette in writers.

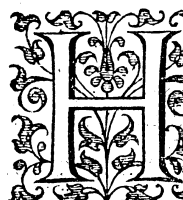
Caxton. Eth. Bur.

Elidurus the third time.

He is buried at Caerleill.

A Chapter of digression, shewing the diuersitie of writers in opinion, touching the computation of yeares from the beginning of the British kings of this Iland downwards; since Gurgintus time, till the death of Elidurus; and likewise till king Lud reigned in his roialtie, with the names of such kings as ruled betwene the last yeare of Elidurus, and the first of Lud.

The eight Chapter.



Polydor.

There is to be noted, that even from the beginning of the British kings, which reigned here in this land, there is great diuersitie amongst writers, both touching the names, and also the times of their reignes. Speciallie till they come to the death of the last mentioned king Elidurus. Insomuch that Polydor Virgil in his historie of England, finding a manifest error (as he taketh it) in those writers whome he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brut, unto the sacking of Rome by Nennus, whome our histories affirme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill up the number which is wanting in the reckoning of the yeares of those kings which reigned after Brut, till the daies of the same Nenne & Beline, he thought good to change the order, least one error should follow another, and so of one error making manie, he hath placed those kings which after other writers should seeme to follow Nenne and Beline, betwixt Dunuallo and Pulmucius, father to the said Beline and Nenne, and those five kings which stroue for the gouernement after the deceasse of the two brethren, Ferrer and Porrex, putting Quintoline to succede after the five kings or rulers, and after Quintoline his wife Partia, during the minority of his sonne, then his said sonne named Sicilius.

After him succeeded these whose names follow in order, Chimarius, Danius, Porindus, Corbontianus, Archigallo, who being deposed, Elidurus was made king, and so continued till he restored the gouernement (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was estones admitted, and within a while againe deposed by Ugentus and Peredurus, and after their deceasses the third time restored. Then after his deceasse followed successiuelie Ugentus, Morganus, Ennanus, Idemallo, Kimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coilus, Porrex the second of that name, Cherinus, Fulgentius, Eldalus, Andogeus, Virianus and Eliud, after whom should follow Dunuallo Pulmucius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, & the course of time should be obserued, as Polydor gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to those kings that reigned before and after Dunuallo, according to those authours whom (as I said) he followeth, if they will that Nennus which led the Galles to Rome be the same that was sonne to the said Dunuallo Pulmucius, and brother to Beline.

But sith other haue in better order brought out a perfect agreement in the account of yeares, and succession of those kings, which reigned and gouerned in this land before the sacking of Rome; and also another such as it is after the same, and before the Romans had any perfect knowledge thereof; we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euery man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge shall serue him in a thing so doubtfull and vncertaine, for

reason of variance amongst the ancient writers in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in writers since Gurgintus, till the death of Elidurus, so is there as great a difference greater after his deceasse, speciallie till king Lud attained the kingdome. But as maie be gathered by that which Fabian and other whome he followeth doe write, there passed about 185 yeares betwixt the last yeare of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his reigne, in the which time there reigned 33, or 33, kings, as some writers haue mentioned, whose names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are these immediatlie here named; Meghin the sonne of Corbolian or Corbontian, a worthy prince, who iustice and mercifullie gouerned his people; Morgagan the sonne of Archigallo a noble paice likewise, and guiding his subjects in god quiet; Emerian brother to the same Morgagan, but far vnlike to him in maners, so that he was deposed in the first yeare of his reigne; Dunuallo sonne to Ugentus; Kimo the sonne of Peredurus; Geruntius the sonne of Elidurus; Catell that was buried at Winchester; Coill that was buried at Pottingham; Porrex a vertuous and most gentle prince; Cherinus a drunkard; Fulgentius, Eldad, and Andogeus; these three were sonnes to Cherinus, and reigned successiuelie one after another; after them a sonne of Andogeus; then Eliud, Merdaicus, Clotinius, Gurgintius, Merianus, Bledius, Cop, Dwen, Sicilius, Bledgabzedus an excellent musician: after him his brother Archemall; then Eldol, Red, Rodicke, Samuill, Penisell, Pir, Capoit; after him his sonne Eligwell an upright dealing prince, and a good iusticiarie; whom succeeded his sonne Helie, which reigned 60 yeares, as the said Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affirme that he reigned 40 yeares, and some againe say that he reigned but 7 moneths.

There is great diuersitie in writers touching the reignes of these kings, and not onlie for the number of yeares which they should continue in their reignes but also in their names: so that to shew the diuersitie of all the writers, were but to small purpose, sith the doings of the same kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maie suffice to aduertise you, that by conferring the yeares attributed to the other kings which reigned before them, since the comming of Brut, who should enter this land (as by the best writers is gathered) about the yeare before the building of Rome 67, which was in the yeare after the creation of the world 2850 (as is said) with their time, there remaineth 182 yeares to be dealt amongst these 33 kings, which reigned betwixt the said Elidurus & Lud, which Lud also began his reigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affirme) about 679 yeares, and in the yeare of the world 3895, as some that will seeme the precisest calculatores doe gather.

Polydor Virgil changing (as I haue shewed) the order of succession in the British kings, in bringing diuerse of those kings, which after other writers followed Beline and Nenne, to preceed them so successiuelie after Beline and Nenne, reherbeth those that by his coniecture did by likelihood succede, as thus. After the deceasse of Beline, his sonne Gurgintus, being the second of that name, succeeded in gouernment of the land, and then these in order as they follow: Merianus, Bladanus, Capenus, Quinus, Sicilius, Bledgabzedus, Archemallus, Eldorus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samuilius, Penisellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, and Helie, who had issue Lud, Castibellane, and Merinus.

Fabian

whereof
the of El
twas nan

Lud.

3 worth
prince.London
led with
John HaiFabian.
Gal. Mor
Matt. WcThe bill
palace.The nat
Croitor
changed
called A.

Of king Helie who gaue the name to
the Ile of Elie, of king Lud, and what
memorable edifices he made, Lon-
don sometimes called *Eborac*
towne, his bountifull
nes, and buriall.

The ninth Chapter.

Here note by the waie a
thing not to be forgotten, that
of the foresaid Helie the last
of the said 33 kings, the Ile of
Elie toke the name, because
that he most commonlie did
there inhabit, building in the
same a goodly palace, and ma-
king great reparations of the sluices, ditches & tan-
nages about that Ile, for conuenance alwaie of the wa-
ter, that els would fore haue indamaged the coun-
trie. There be that haue mainteined, that this Ile
should rather take name of the great abundance of
eels that are found in these waters and fennes wher
with this Ile is inuironed. But Humfrey Llloyd
holdeth, that it toke name of this Britith word He-
lie, which signifieth willowes, wherewith those fennes
abound.

whereof the
Ile of Elie
toke name.

Lud.

3000 this
prince.

London (inco-
sed with a wal
John Hard.

Fabian.
Gal. Mon.
Matt. West.

The bishopps
palace.

The name of
Eborac was
changed and
called London

After the decesse of the same Helie, his eldest son
Lud began his reigne, in the yere after the crea-
tion of the world 3895, after the building of the ci-
tie of Rome 679, before the comming of Christ 72,
and before the Romances entred Britaine 19 yeres.
This Lud proued a right worthy prince, amending
the lawes of the realme that were defective, abol-
ishing euill customs and maners vsed amongst his
people, and repairing old cities and townes which
were decayed: but speciallie he delited most to beau-
tifie and enlarge with buildings the citie of Eborac
want, which he compassed with a strong wall made of
lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with di-
uerse faire towres: and in the west part of the same
wall he created a strong gate, which he commanded
to be called after his name, Luds gate, and so vnto
this daie it is called Ludgate, (S) onelic doctored in
pronuntiation of the word.

In the same citie also he foisoned for the more part,
by reason whereof the inhabitants increased, and
manie habitations were builded to receiue them,
and he himselfe caused buildings to be made betwixt
London stone and Ludgate, and builded for himselfe
not farre from the said gate a faire palace, which is
the bishop of Londons palace beside Pauls at this
daie, as some thinke; yet Harison supposeth it to haue
bin Bainsards castell, where the blacke friers now
standeth. He also builded a faire temple nere to his
said palace, which temple (as some take it) was after
turned to a church, and at this daie called Pauls.
By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that ci-
tie before all other of his realme, enlarging it so
greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner re-
mained there, the name was changed, so that it was
called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds towne; and after
by corruption of speeche it was named London.

Beside the princelie dwings of this Lud touching
the aduancement of the common wealth by studies
appertaining to the time of peace, he was also strong
& valiant in armes, in subduing his enemies, boun-
tious and liberall both in gifts and keeping a plenti-
full house, so that he was greatlie beloued of all the
Britaines. Finally, when he had reigned with great
honour for the space of 11 yeres, he died, and was
buried nere Ludgate, leauing after him two sons,
Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Of Casibellane and his noble mind,
Julius Caesar sendeth Caius Volusenus to
survey the coasts of this Iland, he lieth with
his fleet at Calice, purposing to invade
the countrey, his attempt is be-
wraied and withstood by
the Britains.

The tenth Chapter.

Casibellane the brother of
Lud was admitted king of
Britaine, in the yere of the
world 3908, after the bul-
ding of Rome 692, and be-
fore the comming of Christ
58 complet. For with the two
sonnes of Lud were not of

Gal. Mon.
Matt. West.
Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Matt. West.

Polydor.

Hector Boetius
us his fault.

age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was com-
mitted to Casibellane: but yet (as some haue writ-
ten) he was not created king, but rather appointed
ruler & protector of the land, during the nonage of his
nephewes. Now after he was admitted (by what soe-
uer order) to the administration of the common
wealth, he became so noble a prince and so bounti-
ous, that his name spred farre and nere, and by his
vpright dealing in seeing iustice executed he grew in
such estimation, that the Britaines made small ac-
count of his nephewes, in comparison of the fauour
which they bare towards him. But Casibellane ha-
uing respect to his honour, least it might be thought
that his nephewes were expelled by him out of their
rightfull possessions, brought them vp verie honou-
rable; assigning to Androgeus, London and Kent;
and to Theomancius the countrey of Cornwall. Thus
farte out of the Britith histories, whereby it maie be
gathered, that the yeres assigned to these kings that
reigned before Casibellane, amount to the summe
of 1058.

But whether these gouernours (whose names we
haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the com-
mon wealth, or tyrants and vsurpers of the govern-
ment by force, it is vncertaine: for not one ancient
writer of anie approued authoritie maketh anie re-
membrence of them; and by that which Julius Cesar
writeth, it maie and doth appere, that diuerse cities
in his daies were gouerned of themselves, as here-
after it shall more plainlie appere. Neither doth he
make mention of those towne which the Britith hi-
storie affirmeth to be built by the same kings. In
deed both he and other Latine writers sprake of di-
uerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this
land, as of the Gigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, De-
lures, and such other like, but in what parts most
of the said people did certeinlie inhabit, it is hard to
auouch for certeine truth.

But what John Leland thinketh hereof, being one
in our time that curiouslie searched out old antiqui-
ties, you shall after heare as occasion serueth: and
likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius,
who coueting to haue all such valiant acts as were
achieved by the Britains to be ascribed to his coun-
triemen the Scots, drateth both the Silures and
Gigantes, with other of the Britains so farre north-
ward, that he maketh them inhabitants of the Scot-
tish countries. And what particular names soeuer
they had, yet were they all Scots with him, and
knowne by that generall name (as he would per-
suade vs to beleue) sauing that they entred into
Britaine out of Ireland 330 yeres before the incar-
nation of our Saviour.

Nevertheless, how generall soeuer the name of
Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall men-
tion

tion of them is made by anie wytter, till about 300 yeares after the birth of our sauiour. And yet the Romans, which ruled this land, and had so much ado with the people thereof, make mention of diuerse other people, nothing so famous as Boetius would make his Scottish men euen then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their originall beginning, as they and other must doe vnto vs our descent from Brute and the other Trojans, with the contrarie doth not plainelie appeare, vntlesse we shall leane vnto presumptions: now are we come to the time in the which what actes were atchiued, there remaineth more certeine record, and therefore may we the more boldlie proceed in this our historie.

More certein-
tie from hence
forth appea-
reth in the
historie.
Julius Cesar

In this season that Cambellane had roiall gouernment here in Britaine, Caius Julius Cesar being appointed by the senat of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for that purpose created consull, and sent with a mightie army into the countrie, where after he had brought the Galles vnto some frame, he determined to assaie the winning of Britaine, which as yet the Romans knew not otherwise than by report. The chiefest cause that moued him to take in hand that enterprise, was for that he did vnderstand, that there daillie came great succours out of that Ile to those Galles that were enimies vnto the Romans. And though the season of that yere to make warre was farre spent (for summer was almost at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he might but passe over thither, and learne what manner of people did inhabit there, and discouer the places, hauiens, and entrees appertaining to that Ile.

Cesar de bello
Gall. lib. 4.
Britains vn-
knowne to the
Romans.
Cesar de bello
Gall. lib. 4.
Causes of the
warre.

Cesar's pur-
pose.

Whereupon calling together such merchants as he knew to haue had traffike thither with some trade of wares, he diligentlie inquired of them the state of the Ile: but he could not be thoroughlie satisfied in anie of those things that he coueted to know. Wherefore thinking it good to vnderstand all things by view, that might appertaine to the vse of that warre which he purposed to follow: before he attempted the same, he sent one Caius Volusenus with a gallie or light pinelle to surueie the coasts of the Ile, commanding him (after diligent search made) to returne with speed to him againe. He him selfe also drew downe-wards towards Bullennois, from whence the shortest cut lieth to passe over into Britaine.

Caius Volu-
senus sent re-
uer into Bri-
taine.

John Leland.
Polydor.

In that part of Gallia there was in those daies an haueu called *Itius Portus* (which some take to be Calice) and so the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great number of ships. Vnto this haueu got Cesar all the ships he could out of the next borders & parties, and those speciallie which he had prouided and put in a readinesse the last yere for the warres (against them of Cannes in Armorica, now called Britaine in France) he caused to be brought thither, there to lie till they should heare further. In the meane time (his indeuour being knowne, and by merchants reported in Britaine) all such as were able to beare armour, were commanded and appointed to repaire to the sea side, that they might be readie to defend their countrie in time of so great danger of inuasion.

Cannes in
Britaine.

Comius.

Cesar in his commentaries agreeth not with our historiographers: for he writeth that immediatlie vpon knowledge had that he would inuade Britaine, there came to him ambassadours from diuers cities of the Ile to offer themselves to be subiects to the Romans, and to deliuer hostages. Whome after he had exhorted to continue in their good mind, he sent home againe, and with them also one Comius gouernor of Artois, commanding him to repaire vnto as manie cities in Britaine as he might, and to exhort them to submit themselves to the Romans. He maketh no mention of Cambel-

lane, till the second iournie that he made into the Ile, at what time the said Cambellane was chosen (as ye shall heare) to be the generall capteine of the Britains, and to haue the whole administration of the warre for defense of the countrie: but he nameth him not to be a king. Howbeit in the British historie it is contained, that Cesar required tribute of Cambellane, and that he answered how he had not learned as yet to liue in seruage, but to defend the libertie of his countrie, and that with weapon in hand (if neede were) as he should well perceiue, if (blinded through couetousnesse) he should aduenture to seake to disquiet the Britains.

Caius Volusenus discouereth to Cesar his obseruations in the Ile of Britaine, he maketh haste to conquere it, the Britains defend their countrie against him, Cesar after consultation had changed his landing place,

the Romans are put to hard shifts, the Britains begin to giue backe, the courage of a Roman ensigne-bearer, a sharpe encounter betweene both armies.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Caius Volusenus within fine daies after his departure from Cesar, returned vnto him with his gallie, and declared what he had seene touching the view which he had taken of the coasts of Brittan. Cesar hauing got together so manie saile as he thought sufficient for the transporting of two legions of souldiers, after he had ordered his businesse as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient wind for his purpose, did embarke himselfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the third watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the hoymen should take ship at an other place 8 miles aboue Calice, and follow him. Howbeit when they somewhat slackted the time, about ten of the clocke in the next day, hauing the wind at will, he touched on the coast of Britaine, where he might behold all the shore set and couered with men of warre. For the Britains hearing that Cesar ment verie hostile to come against them, were assembled in armour to resist him: and now being aduertised of his approach to the land, they prepared themselves to withstand him.

Cesar perceiuing this, determined to staie till the other ships were come, and so he lay at ancho: till about 11 of the clocke, and then called a counsell of the marshals and chiefe captaines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Volusenus, and also further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordered as the reason of warre required. And because he perceiued that this place where he first cast ancho: was not mete for the landing of his people, with (from the height of the cliffes that closed on ech side the narrow creeke into the which he had thrust) the Britains might annoy his people with their bowes and darters, befoze they could set foote on land, hauing now the wind and tide with him, he disanchored from thence, and drew alongst the coast vnder the downes, the space of 7 or 8 miles, and there finding the shore more flat and plaine, he approached nere to the land, determining to come to the shore.

The Britains perceiuing Cesars intent, with all speed caused their hoymen and charets or wagons, which

which is
more libe-
rally be-
haued
by the legi-

The Roman
war to their
shores.

Volusenus
returneth.

The Brit
allotted.

Cesar with
two legions
of souldiers
passeth out
into Brit

The valie
courage o
ensigne be-
rer.

The Britons
readie to de-
fend their
countrie.

Cesar called
a counsell.

This was
bought by.

The fi-
nesse of
Britan

which Cesar called Effeda, out of the which in those daies they used to fight, to march forth toward the place whither they saw Cesar drew, and after followed with their maine armie. Wherefore Cesar being thus pmented, enforced yet to land with his people, though he saw that he should haue much ado. For as the Britains were in readinesse to resist him, so his great and huge ships could not come nere the shore, but were forced to keepe the deepe, so that the Romane soldiers were put to verie hard shift; to wit, both to leape forth of their ships, and being pestered with their heauie armour and weapons, to fight in the water with their enemies, who knowing the flats and shelines, stood either vpon the drie ground, or else but a little waie in the shallow places of the water; and being not otherwise encumbered either with armour or weapon, but so as they might bestir themselves at will, they laid load vpon the Romans with their arrowes and darts, and forced their horses (being thereto inured) to enter the water the more easilie, so to annoy and distress the Romans, who wanting experience in such kind of fight, were not well able to helpe themselves, nor to keepe order as they used to do on land: wherefore they fought nothing so lustilie as they were wont to do. Cesar perceiuing this, commanded the galleies to depart from the great ships, and to row hard to the shore, that being placed ouer against the open sides of the Britains, they might with their shot of arrowes, darts, and slings, remoue the Britains, and cause them to withdraw further off from the water side.

The Romans put to their ships

The Britains alarmed.

The valiant courage of an ensigne bearer.

This thing being put in execution (according to his commandement) the Britains were not a little astonished at the strange sight of those galleies, for that they were diuen with oars, which earst they had not seene, and therewhile were they galled also with the artillerie which the Romans discharged vpon them, so that they began to shrink and retire somewhat backe. Therewith one that bare the ensigne of the legion surnamed Decima, wherein the eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe ensigne of the legion, when he saw his fellowes nothing eager to make forward, first beseeching the gods that his enterprise might turne to the weale, profit, and honor of the legion, he spake with a loud voice these words to his fellowes that were about him: Leape forth now euen you worthie souldiers (saith he) if you will not betraye your ensigne to the enemies: for farewell I will acquit my selfe according to my duetie both towards the common weale, and my generall: and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his ensigne streight vpon the enemies. The Romans doubting to lose their ensigne, which should haue turned them to great reproch, leapt out of their ships so fast as they might, and followed their standard, so that there ensued a sore encounter: and that which troubled the Romans most, was because they could not keepe their order, neither find anie sure footing, nor yet follow euerie man his owne ensigne, but so put themselves vnder that ensigne which he first met withall after their first comming forth of the ship.

The fiercenesse of the Britains.

The Britains that were inured with the shelines and shallow places of the water, when they saw the Romans thus disorderlie come out of their ships, ran vpon them with their horses, and fiercelie assailed them, and now and then a great multitude of the Britains would compasse in and inclose some one companie of them: and other also from the most open places of the shore bestowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romans, and so troubled them verie sore.

The Romans get to land on the English coast, the Britains send to Cesar for a treatie of peace, they staie the Romane ambassadour as prisoner, Cesar demandeth hostages of the Britains, the Romane nauie is driuen diuers waies in a great tempest, the British princes steale out of Cessars campe and gather a fresh power against the Romans, their two armies haue a sharpe encounter.

The twelwe Chapter.



Cesar perceiuing the manner of this fight, caused his men of warre to enter into boates and other small vessels, which he commanded to go to such places where most need appeared. And relieuing them that fought with new supplies, at length the Romans got to land, and assembling together, they assailed the Britains a fresh, and so at last did put them all to flight. But the Romans could not follow the Britains farre, because they wanted their horsemen which were yet behind, & through slackening of time could not come to land. And this one thing seemed onelie to disappoint the luckie fortune that was accustomed to follow Cesar in all his other enterprises.

The Romans get to land.

The want of horsemen.

The Britains send to Cesar.

The Britains after this flight were no sooner got together, but that with all speed they sent ambassadours vnto Cesar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuer hostages, and further to stand vnto that order that Cesar should take with them in anie reasonable sort. With these ambassadours came also Comius, whome Cesar (as you haue heard) had sent before into Britaine, whome notwithstanding that he was an ambassadour, and sent from Cesar with commission and instructions sufficientlie furnished, yet had they staied him as a prisoner. But now after the battell was ended, they set him at libertie, and sent him backe with their ambassadours, who excused the matter, laien the blame on the people of the countrie, which had imprisoned him through lacke of vnderstanding what appertained to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

Comius of Arras.

Cesar found great fault with their misdememor, not onelie for imprisoning his ambassadour, but also for that contrarie to their promise made by such as they had sent to him into Gallia to deliuer hostages, in lieu thereof they had receiued him with warre: yet in the end he said he would pardon them, and not seeke anie further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hostages, of which part were deliuered out of hand, and made promise that the residue should likewise be sent after, craving some respite for performance of the same, because they were to be fetched farre off within the countrie.

Cesar demandeth hostages.

Peace being thus established after the fourth day of the Romans arrivall in Britaine, the 18 ships which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuey the horsemen ouer, loosed from the further haven with a soft wind. Which when they approached so nere the shore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Cessars campe might see them, suddenlie there arose so great a tempest, that none of them was able to keepe his course, so that they were not onelie diuen in sunder (some being carried againe into Gallia, and some westward) but also the other ships that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer the armie, were so pitifullie beaten, tossed and shaken, that a great number of them did not onelie lose their tackle, but also were carried by force of wind into the high sea;

C. f.

the rest being likewise so filled with water, that they were in danger by sinking to perith and to be quite lost. For the more in the same night was at the full, & therefore caused a spring tide, which furthered the force of the tempest, to the greater perill of those ships and gallies that lay at anchor. There was no way for the Romans to helpe the matter: wherefore a great number of those ships were so bruised, rent and weather-beaten, that without new reparation they would serue to no vse of sailing. This was a great discomfort to the Romans that had brought over no provision to liue by in the winter season, nor saw anie hope how they should repasse againe into Gallia.

In the meane time the British princes that were in the Romane armie, perceiving how greatlie this mishap had discouraged the Romans, and againe by the small circuit of their campe, getting that they could be no great number, and that lacke of vittels soe oppressed them, they stalle priuile away one after another out of the campe, purposing to assemble their powers againe, and to forskall the Romans from vittels, and so to diuue the matter off till winter: which if they might doe (vanquishing these or closing them from returning) they trusted that none of the Romans from thenceforth would attempt to come into Britaine. Cesar mistrusting their dealings, because they staid to deliuer the residue of their hostages, commanded vittels to be brought out of the parties adjoining, and not hauing other stuffe to repaire his ships, he caused 12 of those that were bitterlie past recouerie by the hurts received through violence of the tempest, to be broken, therewith the other (in which some recouerie was perceiued) might be repaired and amended.

The manner of the Britains fighting in charrets, the Romans giue a fresh sallie to the Britains and put them to flight, they sue to

Cesar for peace; what kings and their powers were assistants to Cassibellane in the battell against Cesar, and the manner of both peoples encounters by the report of diuers Chronologers.

The xiiij. Chapter.

WHilst these things were a doing, it chanced that as one of the Romane legions named the senenth, was sent to fetch in corne out of the countrie adjoining (as their custome was) no warre at that time being suspected, or once looked for, when part of the people remained abroad in the field, and part repaired to the campe: those that warded before the campe, informed Cesar, that there appeared a dust greater than was accustomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Cesar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commanded those bands that warded to go with him that way forth, and appointed other two bands to come into their romes, and the residue of his people to get them to arme, and to follow quicklie after him.

He was not gone anie great way from the campe, when he might see where his people were overmatched by the enemies, and had much a doe to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged together, the Britains pelted them soe with arrowes and darts on eijh side: for sithens there was no forrage left in

anie part of the countrie about, but onelie in this place, the Britains iudged that the Romans would come thither for it: therefore hauing lodged themselves within the woods in ambushes the night before; on the morrowe after when they saw the Romans dispersed here & there, and busie to cut downe the corne, they set vpon them on a sudden, and slaing some few of them, brought the residue out of order, compassing them about with their horsemen and charrets, so that they were in great distresse.

The manner of fight with these charrets was such, that in the beginning of a battell they would ride about the sides and skirts of the enemies host, and bestow their darts as they sate in those charrets, so that oftentimes with the braieng of the horses, and creaking noise of the charret wheeles they disordered their enemies, and after that they had wound themselves in amongst the troops of horsemen, they would leape out of the charrets and fight on foot. In the meane time those that guided the charrets would withdraw them selves out of the battell, placing themselves so, that if their people were overmatched with the multitude of enemies, they might easilie withdraw to their charrets, and mount vpon the same againe, by means whereof they were as readie to remoue as the horsemen, and as steadfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and so to supplie both duties in one. And those charretmen by exercise and custome were so cunning in their feat, that although their horses were put to run and gallop, yet could they stay them and hold them backe at their pleasures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithstanding that the place were verie slepe and dangerous: and againe they would run by and do downe verie nimble vpon the cops, and stand vpon the beame, and conuey themselves quicklie againe into the charret.

Cesar thus finding his people in great distresse and readie to be destroyed, came in good time, and deliuered them out of that danger: for the Britains vpon his approach with new succors, gaue over to assaile their enemies any further, & the Romans were deliuered out of the feare wherein they stood before his coming. Furthermore, Cesar considering the time serued not to assaile his enemies, kept his ground, and shortly after brought backe his legions into the campe.

While these things were thus a doing, & all the Romans occupied, the rest that were abroad in the fields got them away. After this there followed a soe season of raine and sole weather, which kept the Romans within their campe, and staid the Britains from offering battell. But in the meane time they sent messengers abroad into all parts of the countrie, to giue knowledge of the small number of the Romans, and what hope there was both of great spoile to be gotten, and occasion to deliuer themselves from further danger for euer, if they might once expell the Romans out of their campe. Where vpon a great multitude both of horsemen and footmen of the Britains were speedilie got together, and approached the Romane campe.

Cesar although he saw that the same would come to passe which had chanced before, that if the enemies were put to the repulse, they would easilie escape the danger with swiftnesse of foot; yet hauing now with him thirtie horsemen (which Cornius of Arras had brought over with him, when he was sent from Cesar as an ambassado: vnto the Britains) he placed his legions in order of battell before his campe, and so comming to ioine with the Britains, they were not able to susteine the violent impression of the armed men, and so fled. The Romans pursued them so farre as they were able to ouertake anie of them, and so slaing manie of them, & burning by all their houses

Cesar de bel
Gallico lib. 4.

Hector

houses all about, came backe againe to their campe. Immediatlie whereupon, even the same day, they sent ambassadoes to Cesar to sue for peace, who gladly accepting their offer, commanded them to send ouer into Gallia, after he should be returned thither, hostages in number duble to those that were agreed vpon at the first. After that these things were thus ordered, Cesar because the moneth of September was well-nere halfe spent, and that winter hasted on (a season not meet for his weake and battered ships to b:ake the seas) determined not to staie anie longer, but hauing wind and weather for his purpose, got himselfe aboard with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Cesar de bello gallico lib. 4.

¶ Thus writeth Cesar touching his first iourneie made into Britaine. But the British historie (which Polydor calleth the new historie) declareth that Cesar in a pitch field was vanquished at the first encounter, and so withdrew backe into France. Bede also writeth, that Cesar comming into the countrie of Gallia, where the people then called *Maxini* inhabited (which are at this day the same that inhabit the diocesse of *Teruine*) from whence lieth the shortest passage ouer into Britaine, now called England, got together 80 saile of great ships and row galles, wherewith he passed ouer into Britaine, & there at the first being wearied with sharpe and sore fight, and after taken with a grienous tempest, he lost the greater part of his nauie, with no small number of his souldiers, and almost all his horsemen: and therewith being returned into Gallia, placed his souldiers in steads to sojourn there for the winter season. Thus saith Bede. The British historie mozeouer maketh mention of three vnder-kings that aided *Caibellane* in this first battell fought with Cesar, as *Cridicius* alias *Ederus*, king of *Albania*, now called *Scotland*; *Guitethus* king of *Wenedocia*, that is *Northwales*; and *Britaell* king of *Demetia*, at this day called *Southwales*.

The same historie also maketh mention of one *Belinus* that was generall of *Caibellanes* armie, and likewise of *Penius* brother to *Caibellane*, who in fight happened to get Cesar's sword fastened in his shield by a blow which Cesar strooke at him. And *Agrius* also and *Tenancius* were at the battell in aid of *Caibellane*. But *Penius* died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receiued at Cesar's hand, although after he was so hurt, he slue *Labienus* one of the *Romane* tribunes: all which may well be true, sith Cesar either maketh the best of things for his owne honour, or else coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the needles circumstances, or anie moze of the matter, than the chiefe points of his dealing.

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Againe, the Scottish historiographers write, that when it was first knowne to the Britains, that Cesar would inuade them, there came from *Caibellane* king of Britaine an ambassadoe vnto *Ederus* king of Scots, who in the name of king *Caibellane* required aid against the common enemies the *Romans*, which request was granted, and 10 thousand Scots sent to the aid of *Caibellane*. At their comming to London, they were most iustlie receiued of *Caibellane*, who at the same time had knowledge that the *Romans* were come on land, and had beaten such Britains backe as were appointed to resist their landing. Whereupon *Caibellane* with all his whole puissance mightilie augmented, not onlie with the succours of the Scots, but also of the *Picts* (which in that common cause had sent also of their people to aid the Britains) set forward towards the place where he vnderstood the enemies to be.

At their first approach together, *Caibellane* sent forth his horsemen and charrets called *Eleda*, by the

which he thought to disorder the arae of the enemies. Twice they incourtred together with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioined puissance against puissance, and fought a verie sore and cruell battell, till finally at the sudden comming of the *Welshmen* and *Cornishmen*, so huge a noise was raised by the sound of bells hanging at their trappers and charrets, that the *Romans* astonied therewith, were moze easilie put to flight. The Britains, Scots, and *Picts* following the chase without order or arae, so that by reason the *Romans* kept themselves close together, the Britains, Scots, & *Picts* did scarce so much harme to the enemies as they themselves receiued. But yet they followed on still vpon the *Romans* till it was darke night.

Cesar after he had perceiued them once withdrawing, did what he could to assemble his companies together, minding the next morning to seeke his reuenge of the former daies disauantage. But for so much as knowledge was giuen him that his ships (by reason of a sore tempest) were so beaten and rent, that manie of them were past seruiue, he doubted least such newes would incourage his enemies, and bzing his people into despaire. Wherefore he determined not to fight till time moze conuenient, sending all his wounded folks vnto the ships, which he commanded to be newlie rigged and trimmed. After this, keeping his armie for a time within the place where he was incamped without issuing forth, he shortly drew to the sea side, where his ships laie at anchor, and there within a strong place fortified for the purpose he lodged his host, and finally without hope to achieve anie other exploit auailable for that time, he toke the sea with such ships as were apt for sailing, and so repassed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the spoile and baggage for want of vessels and leisure to conuete it ouer. ¶ Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, moze to the conformitie of the *Romane* histories, than according to the report of our British and English writers: and therefore we haue thought good to shew it here, that the diuersitie of writers and their affections may the better appere.

Of this sudden departing also, or rather fleeing of *Julius Cesar* out of Britaine, *Lucanus* the poet maketh mention, reciting the saying of *Pompetius* in an oration made by him vnto his souldiers, where in he reprochfullie and disdainfullie reprimoued the doings of Cesar in Britaine, saying:

Territa questis ostendit terga Britannis.

Cesar taketh a new occasion to make warre against the Britains, he arriueth on the coast without resistance, the number of his ships, both armies incounter, why Cesar forbade the

Romans to pursue the discomfited Britains, he repaireth his nauie, the Britains choose *Caibellane* their cheefe gouernour, and skirmish afresh with their enemies, but haue the repulse in the end.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Now will we retorne to the sequelle of the matter, as Cesar himselfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two cities of all Britaine that sent ouer their hostages according to their covenant, which gaue occasion to Cesar to picke a new quarrell against them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not)

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Cæsar de bello
Gallib. 5.

not) haue found some other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conquest of that Ile. Wherefore purposing to passe againe thither, as he that had a great desire to bring the Britains vnder the obedience of the Romane estate, he caused a great number of ships to be pouldred in the winter season and put in a readinesse, so that against the next spring there were found to be readie rigged six hundred ships, beside 28 gallies. Whereupon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his absence, about the beginning of the spring he came to the ha- uen of Calice, whither (according to order by him prescribed) all his ships were come, except 40 which by tempest were giuen backe, and could not as yet come to him.

After he had staied at Calice (as well for a conuenient wind, as for other incidents) certaine daies, at length when the weather so changed that it serued his purpose, he toke the sea, & hauing with him six legions of souldiers, and about two thousand horsemen, he departed out of Calice haue about sun setting with a soft south-west wind, directing his course for- ward: about midnight the wind fell, & so by a calme he was carried along with the tide, so that in the morning when the day appeared, he might behold Britaine vpon his left hand. Then following the streame as the course of the tide changed, he forced with oares to fetch the shore vpon that part of the coast, which he had discovered, and tried the last yeere to be the best landing place for the armie. The diligence of the souldiers was shewed here to be great, who with continuall toile droue forth the heauie ships, to keepe course with the gallies, & so at length they landed in Britaine about none on the next day, finding not one to resist his comming ashore: for as he learned by certaine prisoners which were taken after his comming to land, the Britains being assembled in purpose to haue resisted him, through feare stricken into their harts, at the discovering of such an huge number of ships, they forsooke the shore and got them vnto the mountaines. There were indeed of vessels one and other, what with vittellers, & those which priuat men had provided and furnished forth for their owne vse, being ioined to the ordinarie number, at the least eight hundred saile, which appearing in sight all at one time, made a wonderfull muster, and right terrible in the eyes of the Britains.

But to proceed: Cæsar being got to land, incamped his armie in a place conuenient: and after learning by the prisoners, into what part the enemies were withdrawne, he appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the safeguard of the nauie, with ten companies of cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horsemen: and anon after midnight marched forth himselfe with the residue of his people toward the Britains, and hauing made 12 miles of way, he got sight of his enemies host, who sending downe their horsemen and charrets vnto the riuer side, skirmished with the Romans, meaning to beate them backe from the higher ground: but being assailed of the Romane horsemen, they were repelled, & toke the woods for their refuge, wherein they had got a place verie strong, both by nature and helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had bene fortified before, in time of some ciuill warre amongst them: for all the entries were closed with trees which had bene cut downe for that purpose. Howbeit the souldiers of the 7 legion casting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Britains from their defenses, and so entring vpon them, droue them out of the woods. But Cæsar would not suffer the Romans to follow the Britains, because the nature of the countrie was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre spent, so that he would haue the rest

due thereof bestowed in fortifying his campe.

The next day, as he had sent forth such as should haue pursued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a sore and hideous tempest was grieuously molested, and thowne vpon the shore, so that the cables and tackle being broken and destroyed with force of the vnnumerous rage of wind, the maisters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter. Cæsar calling backe those which he had sent forth, returned to his ships, and finding them in such state as he had heard, toke order for the repairing of those that were not utterly destroyed, and caused them so to be drawne vp to the land, that with a trench he might so compass in a plot of ground, that might serue both for defense of his ships, and also for the incamping of those men of warre, which he should leaue to attend vpon the safeguard of the same. And because there were at the least a fortie ships lost by violence of this tempest, so as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he saw yet how the rest with great labour and cost might be repaired: wherefore he chose out twizights among the legions, sent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to such as he had left there in charge with the gouernment of the countrie, to provide so manie ships as they could, and to send them ouer vnto him. He spent a ten daies about the repairing of his nauie, and in fortifying the campe for defense thereof, which done, he left those within it that were appointed there before, and then returned towards his enemies.

At his comming backe to the place where he had before incamped, he found them there ready to resist him, hauing their numbers hugely increased: for the Britains hearing that he was returned with such a mightie number of ships assembled out of all parts of the land, and had by general consent appointed the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre vnto Cassiellane or Cassibelane, whose dominion was diuided from the cities situate nere to the sea coast, by the riuer of Thames, 80 miles distant from the sea coast. This Cassiellane before time had bin at continuall warre with other rulers, and cities of the land: but now the Britains moued with the comming of the Romans, chose him to be chiefe gouernour of all their armie, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defense of their countrie against the Romans onelie to him. Their horsemen and charrets skirmished by the waie with the Romans, but so as they were put backe oftentimes into the woods and hills adioining: yet the Britains sue diuers of the Romans as they followed anie thing egerlie in the pursute.

Also within a while after, as the Romans were busie in fortifying their campe, the Britains suddenly issued out of the woods, and fiercelie assailed those that watched before the campe, vnto whose aid Cæsar sent two of the chiefe cohorts of two legions, the which being placed but a little distance one from another, when the Romans began to be discouraged with this kind of fight, the Britains therewith burst through their enemies, and came backe from thence in safetie. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune was slaine. At length Cæsar sending sundrie other cohorts to the succour of his people that were in fight, and the while handled as it appeared, the Britains in the end were put backe. Nevertheless, that repulse was but at the pleasure of fortune; for they quited themselves afterwards like men, defending their territories with such munition as they had, vntill such time as either by policie or inequalitye of power they were vanquished; as you shall see after in the course of the historie. Howbeit in fine they were ouer-run and utterly subdued, but not without much bloodshed and slaughter.

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The Romans heauie armor their great hinderance, the maner of the Britains fighting in warre, their incounter with their enemies, their discomfiture, the worthie stratagems or martiall exploits of Cassibellane, the Troinonants submission to Cesar, and their suterouching Myndubratius, manie of the Britains are taken and slaine of the Romans.

The xv. Chapter.

In all this maner of skil-
nothing and fight which chan-
ced before the campe, euen in
the fight and view of all men,
it was perceiued that the Ro-
mans, by reason of their hea-
uie armour (being not able ei-
ther to follow the Britains as
they retired, or so bold as to depart from their ensig-
nes, except they would runne into danger of casting
themselves awaie) were nothing mete to match
with such kind of enemies: and as for their horse-
men, they fought likewise in great hazard, because
the Britains would oftentimes of purpose retire,
and when they had trained the Romane horsemen a
litle from their legions of footmen, they would leape
out of their charretts and incounter with them on foot.
And so the battell of horsemen was dangerous, and
like in all points whether they pursued or retired.

This also was the maner of the Britains: they
fought not close together, but in sunder, and diuided
into companies one separated from another by a
good distance, and had their tropes standing in pla-
ces conuenient, to the which they might retire, and so
relieve one another with sending new fresh men to
supply the roimes of them that were hurt or wearie.
The next day after they had thus fought before the
campe of the Romans, they shewed themselves aloft
on the hills, and began to skirmish with the Romane
horsemen, but not so hotlie as they had done the day
before. But about noone, when Cesar had sent forth
three legions of footmen and all his horsemen vnder
the leading of his lieutenant Caius Trebonius to
fetch in forrage, they suddenly brake out on euerie
side, and set vpon the forragers. The Romans so far
forth as they might, not breaking their arraie, nor
going from their ensignes or guidons, gaue the
charge on them, and fiercelie repelled them, so that
the horsemen hauing the legions of footmen at
their backs, followed the Britains so long as they
might haue the said legions in sight ready to suc-
cour them if need were: by reason whereof, they due
a great number of the Britains, not giuing them
leisure to recouer themselves, nor to staie that they
might haue time to get out of their charretts. After
this chase and discomfiture, all such as were come
from other parties to the aid of their fellows depar-
ted home, & after that day the Britains aduentured
to fight against Cesar with their maine power, and
withdrawing beyond the riuer of Thames, determi-
ned to stop the enemies from passing the same, if by
anie means they might: and whereas there was
but one way by the which they might come ouer,
Cassibellane caused the same to be set full of sharpe
stakes, not onlie in the middell of the water, but also
at the comming forth on that side where he was lod-
ged with his armie in good order, ready to defend the
passage. Cesar learning by relation of prisoners
which he took, what the Britains intended to do,
marched forth to the riuer side, where the way was,
by the which his armie might passe the same on foot
though verie hardlie. At his comming thither, he

might perceiue how the Britains were ready on the
further side to impeach his passage, and how that the
banke at the comming forth of the water was pight
full of sharpe stakes, and so likewise was the channell
of the riuer set with piles which were couered with
the water.

These things yet staied not Cesar, who appointing
his horsemen to passe on before, commanded the
footmen to follow. The souldiers entring the water,
waded through with such speed and violence (nothing
appering of them aboue water but their heads) that
the Britains were constrained to giue place, being
not able to susteine the hurt of the Romane horse-
men, and the legions of their footmen, and so abando-
ning the place betooke them to flight. Cassibellane
not minding to trie the matter anie more by battell,
sent awaie the most part of his people, but yet kept
with him about a foure thousand charretmen or war-
goners, and still watched what waie the Romans
toke, coasting them euer as they marched, and kept
somewhat aside within the covert of woods, and other
conuerse places. And out of those quarters
through which he vnderstood the Romans would passe,
he gathered both men and cattell into the woods &
thicke Forrests, leauing nothing of value abroad in
the champion countrie. And when the Roman horse-
men did come abroad into the countrie to seek waies
and passages to skirnish with the same horsemen, so
much to the disadvantage of the Romans, that they
durst not strate farre from their maine armie. Per-
ther would Cesar permit them (least they might
haue bene vtterlie distressed by the Britains) to de-
part further than the maine battels of the footmen
kept pace with them, by reason whereof the countrie
was not indamaged by fire and spoile, but onlie
where the armie marched.

In the meane time, the Troinonants which some
take to be Middlesex & Essex men, whose cite was
the best fenced of all those parties, and thought to be
the same that now is called London, sent ambassa-
dours vnto Cesar, offering to submit themselves
vnto him, and to obrie his ordinances, and further
besought him to defend Mandubratius from the in-
iuries of Cassibellane, which Mandubratius had
sied vnto Cesar into France, after that Cassibel-
lane had slaine his father named Imanuentius,
that was chiefe lord and king of the Troinonants,
and so now by their ambassadors the same Troino-
nants requested Cesar, not onlie to receiue Man-
dubratius into his protection, but also to send him
vnto them, that he might take the government and
rule of their cite into his hands. Cesar commaun-
ded them to deliuer vnto him 40 hostages, and
graine for his armie, and therewith sent Man-
dubratius vnto them. The Troinonants accomplished
his commandements with all speed, sending both
the appointed number of hostages, and also graine
for the armie. And being thus defended and preser-
ued from iniurie of the souldiers, the people called
Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and
Cassi, submitted themselves vnto Cesar, by whom
he vnderstood that the towne of Cassibellane was
not far from the place where he was then incamped
fenced with wooddes and marishes, into the which
a great number of people with their cattell and o-
ther substance was withdrawn. The Britains in
those daies (as Cesar writeth) called that a towne
or hold, which they had fortified with anie thicke con-
uerse wood, with trench and rampire, into the
which they vsed to get themselves for the auoiding
of inuasion.

Cesar with his legions of souldiers therfore mar-
ched thither, and finding the place verie strong both
C. li. by

The Romans
heauie armour

The manner
of the Bri-
tains in the
warres.

Caius Trebo-
nius.

Dion Cassius
saith, that the
Britains
baniquished
the Roman
footmen at
this time, but
were put to
the worst by
the horsemen.

* (which is to
be supposed
was at King-
ston) or not far
from thence.

Troinonants
where they
inhabited.

Imanuentius.

Some take
the Troino-
nants to be
Londoners.

by nature and helpe of hand, assaulted it on two partes. The Britains defending their strength a while, at length not able longer to endure the impression of the Romans, fled out on the contrarie side of the towne where the enemies were not. Within this place a great number of cattell was found, and manie of the Britains taken by the Romans that followed them in chase, and manie also slaine.

Cassibellane dooth send vnto the foure kings of Kent for aid against Cæsars host, he offereth submission to Cæsar, the Britains become his tributaries, he returneth into Gallia with the remnant of his armie: the differing report of Cæsars commentaries and our historiographers touching these warlike affaires; of a sore fray with bloodshed and manslaughter vpon a light occasion; Cæsar taketh opportunitie to get the conquest of the land by the diuision betweene Cassibellane and Androgeus, the time of the Britains subiection to the Romans.

The xvj. Chapter.

Fourre kings
in Kent.



Now whilest these thinges passed on this sort in those parts, Cassibellane sent messengers into Kent vnto foure kings (which ruled that side of the land in those daies) Cingetorix, Caruilinus, Tarimagulus, and Segonax, commanding them, that assembling together their whole puissance, they should assaile the campe of the Romans by the sea side where certeine bands lay (as ye haue heard) for safeguard of the nauie. They according to his appointment came suddenly thither, and by the Romans that satled forth vpon them were sharplie fought with, and lost diuers of their men that were slaine and taken, and amongst the prisoners that the Romans tooke, Cingetorix was one. When Cassibellane heard these newes, being sore troubled for these losses thus chancing one in the necke of an other, but namelie most discouraged, for that diuers cities had yelved vnto the Romans: he sent ambassadours by means of Komius of Arras vnto Cæsar, offering to submit himselfe.

Cæsar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore because summer drew towards an end, willing to dispatch in Britaine, commanded that hostages should be deliuered, and appointed what tribute the Britains should yereleie send vnto the Romans. He also forbad and commanded Cassibellane, that he should not in anie wise trouble or indamage Madubzatius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receiued the hostages, he brought his armie to the sea, and there found his ships well repaired, decked, and in good point: therefore he commanded that they should be had downe to the sea. And because he had a great number of prisoners, and diuers of his ships were lost in the tempest, he appointed to transport his armie ouer into Gallia at two conueies, which was done with good successe about the middest of September, though the ships returning for the residue of the armie, after the first conueie, were diuinen so with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to land at the place appointed: so that Cæsar was constrained to fraight those that he could get with a greater burden, and so departed from the coast of Britaine, and safelie landed with the remnant of his people in Gallia with as good speed as he could haue desired. He thought not good to leaue anie of his people behind him,

Dion Cassius.

knowing that if he should so do, they were in danger to be cast awaie. And so because he could not well remaine there all the winter season for doubt of rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take by, and returne thither, sith he had done sufficientlie for the time, least in conuicting the more, he might haue come in perill to lose that which he had already obtained.

Thus according to that which Cæsar himselfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the same Cæsar. ¶ But our histories farre differ from this, affirming that Cæsar comming the second time, was by the Britains with valiance and martiall prowesse beaten and repelled, as he was at the first, and speciallie by means that Cassibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trees piked with yron, through which his ships being entred the riuer, were perished and lost. And after his comming a land, he was vanquished in battell, and constrained to flee into Gallia with those ships that remained. For top of this second victorie (saith Galfred) Cassibellane made a great feast at London, and there did sacrifice to the gods.

At this feast there fell variance betwixt two yong gentlemen, the one named Hircida, nephew to Cassibellane, and the other Euelie or Eweline, being of alliance to Androgeus earle of London. They fell at discord about ioyelling, and after multiplieng of words, they came to dealing of blowes, by means whereof parts were taken, so that there ensued a sore fraie, in the which diuerse were wounded and hurt, and amongst other Hircida the kings nephew was slaine by the hands of Eweline. The king sore displeased herewith, meant to punish Eweline according to the order of his lawes, so that he was summoned to appeare in due forme to make answer to the murder: but Eweline by the comfort of Androgeus disobeyed the summons, and departed the court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The king to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, and began to make warre vpon him.

Androgeus perceiuing himselfe not able to withstand the kings puissance, sent letters to Iulius Cæsar, exhorting him to returne into Britaine, and declaring the whole matter concerning the variance betwixt him and the king, promising to aid the Romans in all that he might. Iulius Cæsar to fulfill of this message, prepared his nauie, and with all speed with a mightie host imbarked in the same, came toward Britaine: but yer he would land, doubting some treason in Androgeus, he receiued from him in hostage his sonne named Scena, and thirtie other of the best and most noble personages of all his dominion. After this he landed, and joining with Androgeus, came into a ballie nere to Canturburie, and there incamped. Shortly after came Cassibellane with all his power of Britains, and gaue battell to the Romans. But after the Britains had long fought and knightlie borne themselves in that battell, Androgeus came with his people on a wing, and so sharplie assailed them, that the Britains were constrained to forsake the field, and toke themselves to flight. The which flight so discomforted them, that finally they all fled, and gaue place to the Romans, the which pursued and slew them without mercie, so that Cassibellane with the residue of his people withdrew to a place of suertie, but being enuironed about with the puissance of the Romans, and of Androgeus, who had with him seven thousand men there in the aid of the Romans, Cassibellane in the end was forced to fall to a composition, in covenanting to paie a yereleie tribute

Gal. Mon.
Mau. Wel.

ains
so saith
Campion.
Galfred
Homon. sa
due thout

The
remain
be leau
Weden

Corn
Tacit
In vii

Dior

So faith
Campion, but
Galfred
thou. faith
the thousand.

of three thousand pounds. When Cesar had ordered his businesse as he thought conuenient, he returned, and with him went Androgeus, fearing the displeasure of Cassibellane.

The reuerend father Bede writing of this matter, faith thus : After that Cesar being returned into Gallia, had placed his souldiours abroad in the countrey to sojorne for the winter season, he caused ships to be made readie, to the number of 600, with the which repassing into Britaine, whilst he marched forth with a mightie armie against the enemies, his ships that lay at anchor being taken with a sore tempest, were either beaten one against another, or else cast vpon the flats and sands, and so broken; so that sorte of them were vtterlie perished, and the residue with great difficultie were repaired. The horsemen of the Romans at the first encounter were put to the worse, and Labienus the tribune slaine. In the second conflict he vanquished the Britains, not without great danger of his people. After this, he marched to the riuer of Thames, which as then was passable by fords onlie in one place and not else, as the report goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Cassibellane was incamped with an huge multitude of enemies, and had pitcht and set the banke, and almost all the fords vnder the water full of sharpe stakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be scene, and it seemeth to the beholders that euerie of these stakes are as big as a mans thigh, sticking fast in the bottome of the riuer closed with lead. This being perceiued of the Romans, and auoided, the Britains not able to susteine the violent impulsion of the Roman legions, hid themselves in the woods, out of the which by often issues, they grewellie and manie times assailed the Romans, and did them great damage. In the meane time the strong citie of Eboracoum with hir duke Androgeus deliuering fortie hostages, yelded vnto Cesar, whose example manie other cities following, allied themselves with the Romans, by whose information Cesar with fore sight toke at length the towne of Cassibellane, situate betwixt two marches, fenced also with the couert of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Cesar returned into France, and bestowed his armie in places to sojorne there for the winter season.

The Scottish writers report, that the Britains, after the Romans were the first time repelled (as before ye haue heard) refused to receiue the aid of the Scottish men the second time, and so were vanquished, as in the Scottish historie ye may see more at length expressed. Thus much touching the war which Julius Cesar made against the Britains, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romans. But this tributarie subiection was hardlie maintained for a season.

Now here is to be noted, that Cesar did not vanquish all the Britains: for he came not amongst the northerne men, onlie discovering and subduing that part which lieth towards the French seas: so that sith other of the Roman emperours did most earnestlie trauell to bring the Britains vnder their subiection (which were euer redie to rebell so manie sundrie times) Cesar might seeme rather to haue shewed Britaine to the Romans, than to haue deliuered the possession of the same. This subiection, to the which he brought this Ile (what manner of one soener it was) chanced about the yeare of the world 3913, after the building of Rome 698, before the birth of our saviour 53, the first and second yeare of the 181 Olympiad, after the coming of Brutus 1060; before the conquest made by William duke of Normandie 1120, and 1638 yeres before this present yere of our Lord 1585, after Harisons account.

Cornelius
Tacitus.
In vit. Agr.

Dion Cassius.

The state of Britaine when Cesar offered to conquer it, and the manner of their gouernement, as diuerse authors report the same in their bookes: where the contrarietie of their opinions is to be observed.

The xvij. Chapter.



After that Julius Cesar had thus made the Britains tributaries to the Romans, and was returned into Gallia, Cassibellane reigned 7 yeres, and was vanquished in the ninth or tenth yeare after he began first to reigne so that he reigned in the whole about 15 or as some haue 17 yeres, and then died, leauing no issue behind him. There hath bin an old chronicle (as Fabian recordeth) which he saith and followeth much in his booke, wherein is contained, that this Cassibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldest sonne to him: for otherwise as may be thought (saith he) Cesar hauing the vpper hand, would haue displaced him from the gouernement, and set vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as sonne to the said Lud. But whatsoeuer our chronicles or the British histories report of this matter, it should appere by that which Cesar writeth (as partly ye haue heard) that Britaine in those daies was not gouerned by one sole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were estates of themselves, so that the land was diuided into sundrie gouernements, much after the forme and manner as Germanie and Italie are in our time, where some cities are gouerned by one onlie prince, some by the nobilitie, and some by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in those daies here in this land were called kings, those had more large seigniorie than the other, as Cassibellane, who was therefore called a king.

And though we doe admit this to be true, yet may it be, that in the beginning, after Brutus entered the land, there was ordeined by him a monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might continue in his posteritie manie yeres after, and yet at length before the coming of Cesar, through ciuill dissention, might happlie be broken, and diuided into parts, and so remained not onlie in the time of this Cassibellane, but also long after, whilst they liued as tributaries to the Romans, till finally they were subdued by the Saxons. In which meane time, through the discord, negligence, or rather vnadvised rashnes of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receiued in their writings for a truth; namelie, concerning the succession of the kings that are said to haue reigned betwixt the daies of Cassibellane, and the coming of the Saxons. The Roman writers (and namelie Tacitus) report, that the Britains in times past were vnder the rule of kings, and after being made tributaries, were diuised so by princes into sundrie factions, that to defend and keepe off a common leoparde, scarce they would two or three cities agree together, and take weapon in hand with one accord, so that while they fought by parts, the whole was overcome. And after this sort they say that Britaine was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romans, from whom gouernours vnder the name of legats and procurators were sent that had the rule of it.

But yet the same authors make mention of certaine kings (as hereafter shall appere) who while the

Fabian.

Cesar.

Cassibellane
a king.

Cor. Tacitus
vit. Iul. Agr.

Gildas in epist.

Some take
Psalutagus
and Arutragus
to be
one man.

Gal. Mon.

the Romane emperours had the most part of the earth in subiection, reigned in Britaine. The same witnessteth Gildas, saieing: Britaine hath kings, but they are tyrants: iudges it hath, but the same are wicked, oftentimes spoiling and tormenting the innocent people. And Cesar (as ye haue heard) speaketh of foure kings that ruled in Kent, and thereabouts. Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Psalutagus, and Cogidunus, that were kings in Britaine: and Iuuenal speaketh of Arutragus: and all the late writers, of Lucius. Whereby it appeareth, that whether one or mo, yet kings there were in Britain, bearing rule vnder the Romane emperours.

On the other part, the common opinion of our chronicle-writers is, that the chiefe gouernment remained euer with the Britains, & that the Romane senat receiuing a yearelie tribute, sent at certeine times (Ex officio) their emperours and lieutenants into this Ile, to repress the rebellious tumults therein begun, or to beat backe the inuasion of the enemies that went about to inuade it. And thus would these writers inferre, that the Britains euer obeyed their king, till at length they were put beside the gouernment by the Saxons. But whereas in the common historie of England, the succession of kings ought to be kept, so oft as it chanceth in the same that there is not anie to fill the place, then one while the Romane emperours are placed in their steads, and another while their lieutenants, and are said to be created kings of the Britains, as though the emperours were inferiours vnto the kings of Britaine, and that the Romane lieutenants at their appointments, and not by prescript of the senat or emperours, administered the prouince.

This may suffice here to aduertise you of the contrarietie in writers. Now we will go forth in following our historie, as we haue done heretofore, saieing that where the Romane histories write of things done here by emperours, or their lieutenants, it shall be shewed as reason requireth, whether there is a great appearance of truth oftentimes in the same, as those that be authorized and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Of Theomantius, the tearme of yeares that he reigned, and where he was interred; of Kymbeline, within the time of whose gouernment Christ Iesus our sauour was borne, all nations content to obeie the Romane emperours and consequenlie Britaine, the customes that the Britains paie the Romans as Strabo reporteth.

The xviij. Chapter.

Theomantius.

Fabian.

Gal. Mon.



After the death of Cassibellane, Theomantius or Theomantius the yongest sonne of And was made king of Britaine in the yere of the world 3921, after the building of Rome 706, & before the coming of Christ 45. He is named also in one of the English chronicles Cormac: in the same chronicle it is contained, that not he, but his brother Androgeus was king, where Geoffrey of Monmouth & others testifie, that Androgeus abandoned the land clerelie, & continued still at Rome, because he knew the Britains hated him for treason he had committed in aiding Julius Cesar, against Cassibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romans which Cassibellane had granted, and finally departed this life

after he had reigned 22 yeares, and was buried at London.

Kymbeline or Cimbeline the sonne of Theomantius was of the Britains made king after the decess of his father, in the yere of the world 3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the birth of our Sauour 33. This man (as some write) was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by Augustus Cesar, vnder whome he serued in the warres, and was in such fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. Little other mention is made of his doings, except that during his reigne, the Sauour of the world our Lord Iesus Christ the onelie sonne of God was borne of a virgine, about the 23 yeare of the reigne of this Kymbeline, & in the 42 yeare of the emperour Octavianus Augustus, that is to wit, in the yere of the world 3966, in the second yeare of the 194 Olympiad, after the building of the citie of Rome 750 nigh at an end, after the brisuerfall floud 2311, from the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt 1513, after the captiuitie of Babylon 535, from the building of the temple by Salomon 1034, & from the arriual of Jude 1116, complet. Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbelines reigne, some writers do varie, but the best approued affirme, that he reigned 35 yeares and then died, & was buried at London, leaving behind him two sonnes, Guiderius and Arutragus.

But here is to be noted, that although our histories do affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as also his father Theomantius liued in quiet with the Romans, and continually to them paid the tributes which the Britains had covenanted with Julius Cesar to pay, yet we find in the Romane writers, that after Julius Cessars death, when Augustus had taken vpon him the rule of the empire, the Britains refused to paie that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Augustus (being otherwise occupied) was contented to wink; howbeit, through earnest calling vpon to recover his right by such as were desirous to see the bittermost of the British kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yeare after the death of Julius Cesar, which was about the thirtieth yeare of the said Theomantius, Augustus made prouision to passe with an armie ouer into Britaine, & was come forward vpon his tourne into Gallia Celtica: or as we maie saie, into these hither parts of France.

But here receiuing aduertisements that the Pannonians, which inhabited the countrie now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slations had rebelled, he thought it best first to subdue those rebels nere home, rather than to seeke new countreies, and leaue such in hazard whereof he had present possession, and so turning his power against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the land remained without feare of anie inuasion to be made by the Romans, till the yere after the building of the citie of Rome 725, and about the 19 yeare of king Theomantius reigne, that Augustus with an armie departed once againe from Rome to passe ouer into Britaine, there to make warre. But after his coming into Gallia, when the Britains sent to him certeine ambassadours to treat with him of peace, he staid there to settle the state of things among the Galles, for that they were not in verie good order. And hauing finished there, he went into Spaine, and so his iourne into Britaine was put off till the next yere, that is, the 726 after the building of Rome, which fell before the birth of our sauour 35, about which time Augustus establisht the thrid time to haue made a voyage into Britaine, because

Kymbeline.

Fabian out of Guido de Callumna.

Christ our Lord.

3966

Cor Tacitus in vita Augusti.

Dion Cassius

He kept not promise with the Romani

Those of Celice and Britaine,

Strabo Geog.

Guide us.

Caligula

He kept not promise with the Romans.

Those of Calice and Bithie.

because they could not agree vpon couenants. But as the Dannonians and Dalmatians had aforetime staied him, when (as before is said) he meant to haue gone against the Britains: so euen now the Sallastians (a people inhabiting about Italie and Switzerland) the Cantabrians and Asturians by such rebellious sturres as they raised, withdrew him from his purposed tourne. But whether this controuersie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britains and Augustus, was occasioned by Iymbeline, or some other prince of the Britains, I haue not to a-nouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Iymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Augustus, euer shewed himselfe a friend to the Romans, & chieflie was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be deprived of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themselves like ciuill men, and to attaine to the knowledge of feats of warre.

Strab. Geog.

But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the almightie God so to dispose the minds of men at that present, not onlie the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. That this was true in the Britains, it is euident enough by Strabos words, which are in effect as folloiweth. At this present (saith he) certeine princes of Britaine, procuring by ambassadoes and dutifull demeanours the amitie of the emperor Augustus, haue offered in the capitoll vnto the gods presents or gifts, and haue ordeined the whole Ile in a manner to be appertinent, proper, and familiar to the Romans. They are burdened with soe customs which they paie for wares, either to be sent forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, which are commonlie puzle vessels, threes, ouches, or eare-rings, and other conceits made of amber & glasses, and such like manner of merchandize: so that now there is no need of anie armie or garrison of men of warre to keepe the Ile, for there needeth not past one legion of footmen, or some wing of horsemen, to gather vp and receiue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwise it should be needfull to abate the customs, if the tributes were also raised: and if anie violence should be vsed, it were dangerous lest they might be prouoked to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

Of Guiderius, who denied to paie tribute to the Romans, preparation for war

on both sides, of the ridiculous voiage of the Emperour Caligula against the Britains, his vanitie and delight in mischief: Aulus

Plautius a Romane senator accompanied with souldiers arriue on the British coasts without resistance, the Britains take flight and hide themselves.

The xix. Chapter.

Guiderius.



Guiderius the first sonne of Iymbeline (of whom Harison saith nothing) began his reigne in the seuententh yere after th' incarnation of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, denieng to paie them tribute, and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gylas saith. Whereupon the emperor Caligula

Caligula.

(as some thinke) took occasion to leaue a power, and as one utterlie misliking the negligence (as he called it) of Augustus and Tiberius his predecessors, he ment not onlie to reduce the Island vnto the former subiection, but also to search out the vitermost bounds thereof, to the behoofe of himselfe, and of the Romane monarchie.

Great prouision therefore was made by the said Caligula to performe that noble enterpryse, and this was in the fourth yere of his reigne. The like preparation was made on the other side by Guiderius, to resist the foren enemies, so that hauing all things in a readinesse, he called not dailie to looke for the coming of the emperor, whome he ment to receiue with hard entertainment if he durst aduenture to set toward Britaine. But for the sequele: the maine armie being thus in a readinesse, departed from Rome in the 79 yere after the building of the citie, and marching forth, at length came vnto the Belgike shore, from whence they might looke ouer, and behold the cliffes and coast of Britaine, which Caligula and his men stood gazing vpon with great admiration and wonder.

Dion Casius lib. 59.

Furthermore he caused them to stand in battell arraie vpon the coast, where he heard how the Britains were in a readinesse to withstand his entrance. But entring into his gallie, as nothing discouraged with these newes, he rowed a slight flot or two from the shore, and forthwith returned, and then going vp into an high place like a pulpit, framed and set vp there for the nonce, he gaue the token to fight vnto his souldiers by sound of trumpet, and there with was ech man charged to gather cockle shells vpon the shore, which he called the spoile of the Ocean, and caused them to be laid vp vntill a time conuenient. With the atchiuing of this exploit (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he seemed greatlie exalted, thinking that now he had subdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highlie rewarded his souldiers for their paines sustained in that collection of cockle shells, as if they had done him some notable peece of seruite. He also caried of the same shells with him to Rome, to the end he might there boast of his voyage, and brag how well he had sped: and required therefore vnto him for the accomplishment of this enterpryse.

The spoile of the Ocean.

But when he saw the senat grudge at the free & liberall granting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refused to attribute diuine honours vnto him, in recompense of so folish an enterpryse, it wanted little that he had not laine them euerie one. From thence therefore he went vp into a thron or royall seate, and calling therewith the common people about him, he told them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conquest of the Ocean. And when he had perceiued them to shout and crie, as if they had consented that he should haue bene a god for this his great trauell and valiant prowesse, he to increase their clamour, caused great quantites of gold & siluer to be scattered amongst them, in the gathering whereof, manie were pressed to death, and diuers also laine with the inuemed caltrops of iron, which he did cast out with the same monte, of purpose to do mischief, the same caltrops being in forme small & sharp, so that by reason of the preece of people, much hurt was done by them yer they were perceiued. And this was the end of the ridiculous voiage of Caligula attempted against the Britains.

But after the death of this Caligula, the emperor Claudius (as Suetonius saith) moued warre against the Britains, because of a sturre and rebellion raised in that land, for that such fugitives as were

Suetonius.

Dion Cassius.

were fled from thence, were not againe restored when request was made for the same.

Dion Cassius writeth, that one Vericus, being expelled out of Britaine, perswaded the emperour Claudius to take the warre in hand at this time against the Britains, so that one Aulus Plautius a senator, and as then pretor, was appointed to take the armie that sojourned in France then called Gallia, and to passe over with the same into Britaine. The souldiers hearing of this voyage, were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world: and therefore delayed time, till at length one Parcius was sent from Claudius, as it were to appeale the souldiers, & procure them to set forward. But when this Parcius went vp into the tribunall throne of Plautius, to declare the cause of his coming, the souldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *O Saturnalia*, as if they should haue celebrated their feast daie so called.

When the seruants apparelled in their masters robes, represented the rowme of their masters, and

were serued by them, as if they had bene their seruants, and thus at length constrained, through verie shame, they agreed to follow Plautius. Whereupon being embarked, he diuided his nauie into three parts, to the end that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The ships suffered some impeachment in their passage by a contrarie wind that drove them backe againe: but yet the mariners and men of warre taking good courage vnto them, the rather because there was scene a fierie leame to shoot out of the east towards the west, which way their course lay, made forwards againe with their ships, and landed without finding any resistance. For the Britains looked not for their coming: therefore, when they heard how their enemies were on land, they got them into the woods and marishes, trusting that by lingering of time the Romans would be constrained to depart, as it had chanced in time past to Julius Cesar aforesaid.

The end of the third booke.



THE FOURTH BOOKE of the Historie of England.

The Britains discomfited, fore wounded, slaine, and disabled by Plautius and his power, Claudius the Romane taketh the chiefe citie of Cymbeline the king of Britaine, he bereaueth the Britains of their armour, and by vertue of his conquest ouer part of the land is surnamed Britannicus.

The first Chapter.



Now Plautius had much ado to find out the Britains in their lurking holes and covertes; howbeit when he had traced them out, first he vanquished Catarracus, and after Togodumnus the sonnes of Cynobellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before. These therefore fleeing their waies, Plautius receiued part of the people called Bodumni (which were subjects vnto them that were

called Catuellani) into the obedience of the Romans: and so leauing there a garrison of souldiers, passed further till he came to a riuer which could not well be passed without a bridge: whereupon the Britains took small regard to defend the passage, as though they had bene sure enough. But Plautius appointed a certeine number of Germans which he had there with him (being used to swim ouer riuers, although neuer so swift) to get ouer, which they did, sleaing and wounding the Britains horses, which were fastened to their wagons or chariots, so that the Britains were not able to do any pece of their accustomed seruice with the same.

Herewithall was Flavius Vespasianus (that afterwards was emperour) with his brother Sabellus sent ouer that riuer, which being got to the further side, slue a great number of the enemies. The residue of the Britains fled, but the next day proffered a new battell, in the which they fought so stoutlie, that the victorie depended long in doubtfull balance, till Caius Silius Ceta being almost at point to be taken, did so handle the matter, that the Britains finallie were put to flight: for the which his valiant doings, triumphant honours were bestowed vpon him, although he was no consull.

The Britains after this battell, withdrew to the riuer of Thames, nere to the place where it falleth into the sea, and knowing the shallowes and firme places thereof, easilie passed ouer to the further side, whom the Romans following, through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fell into the marshy grounds, and so came to lose manie of their

Togodumnus.

Dion Cal.

Suetoniu.

Bodumni.

their men, namelie of the Britains, which were the first that passed over the riuer: to followe the Britains, partlie by a bidge which lay within the countrie ouer the said riuer, and partlie by swimming, and other such thinges as they presentlie made.

Togodumnus.

The Britains hauing lost one of their rulers, namelie Togodumnus (of whom ye haue heard before) were nothing discouraged, but rather more eagerlie set on reuenge. Plautius perceiuing their fiercenesse, went no further, but staid and placed garri-
sons in places where need required, to keepe those places which he had gotten, and with all speed sent aduertisement vnto Claudius, according to that he had in commandement, if anie urgent necessitie should so moue him. Claudius therefore hauing all things before hand in a readinesse, straightwaies vpon the receiuing of the aduertisement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Sicilia, and from thence vnto Gallia, and so through France sped his iournies till he came to the side of the Ocean sea, and then imbarcking himselfe with his people, passed ouer into Britaine, and came to his armie which abode his comming nere the Thames side, where being ioined, they passed the riuer againe, fought with the Britains in a pitcht field, and getting the victorie, toke the towne of Camelodunum (which some count to be Colchester) being the chiefest citie appertaining vnto Cynobellinus. He reduced also manie other people into his subiection, some by force, and some by surrender, whereof he was called oftentimes by the name of emperour, which was against the ordinance of the Romans: for it was not lawfull for anie to take that name vpon him selfe than once in anie one voyage. Moreover, Claudius toke from the Britains their armes and weapons, and committed the gouernment of them vnto Plautius, commanding him to endeouour himselfe to subdue the residue.

Dion Cassius.

Thus hauing brought vnder a part of Britaine, and hauing made his abode therein not past a fiftene daies, he departed and came backe againe to Rome with victorie in the first month after his setting forth from thence, giuing after his returne, to his sonne, the late name of Britannicus. This warre he finished in maner as before is said, in the fourth yere of his reigne, which fell in the yere of the world 4011, after the birth of our Saviour 44, and after the building of Rome 79.

Suetonius.

The diuerse opinions and variable reports of writers touching the partlie conquest of this Iland by the Romans, the death of Guiderius.

The second Chapter.

Here be that write, how Claudius subdued and added to the Romane empire, the Isles of Britanie situate in the north Ocean beyond Britaine: which might well be accomplished either by Plautius, or some other his lieutenant: for Plautius indeed for his noble prowesse and balliant acts atchieued in Britaine, afterwards triumphed. Titus the sonne of Vespasian also won no small praise for deliuering his father out of danger in his time, being beset with a companie of Britains, which the said Titus bare doctore, and put to flight with great slaughter. Beda following the authority of Suetonius, writeth brieflie of this matter, and saith, that Claudius passing ouer into this Ile,

to the which neither before Julius Cæsar, neither after him any stranger durst come, within few daies receiued the most part of the countrie into his subiection without battell or bloodshed.

Gildas also writting of this reuolting of the Britains, saith thus: When information thereof was giuen to the Senate, and that haile was made with a speedie armie to reuenge the same, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the sea to fight balliantlie for the defense of the countrie, no square battell, no right lying, nor anie other prouision appointed on the shore to be seene, but the backes of the Britains in stead of a shield are shewed to the persecutors, and their necks ready to be cut off with the sword through cold feare running through their bones, which stretched forth their hands to be bound like womanlike creatures; so that a common proverbe followed thereof, to wit, that the Britains were neither balliant in warre, nor faithfull in peace: and so the Romans sleaing manie of the rebels, reseruing some, and bringing them to bondage, that the land should not lie altogether untilld and desert, returned into Italie out of that land which was void of wine and oile, leaving some of their men there for gouernors to chastise the people, not so much with an armie of men, as with scourge and whip, and if the matter so required, to apply the naked sword vnto their sides: so that it might be accounted Rome and not Britaine. And what coire either of brasse, silver, or gold there was, the same to be stamped with the image of the emperour. Thus farre Gildas.

In the British historie we find other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming aland at Dorchester, besieged that towne, to the rescue whereof came Guiderius, and giuing battell to the Romans, put them to the worse, till at length one Hamo, being on the Romans side, changed his shield and armour, apparelling himselfe like a Britaine, and so entring into the thickest prease of the British host, came at length where the king was, and there slue him. But Aruiragus perceiuing this mischief, to the end the Britains should not be discouraged therewith, caused himselfe to be adorned with the kings cote-armour, and other abilliments, and so as king continued the fight with such manhood, that the Romans were put to flight. Claudius retired backe to his ships, and Hamo to the next woods, whom Aruiragus pursued, and at length droue him vnto the sea side, and there slue him yer he could take the haven which was there at hand; so that the same toke name of him, and was called a long time after, Hamons haue, and at length by corruption of speech it was called Hampton, and so continueth vnto this day, commonlie called by the name of Southhampton. Thus haue you heard how Guiderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his end, which charned (as some write) in the 28 yere of his reigne.

Gal. Mon. Mart. West.

Hampton, why so called.

Aruiragus the Britaine & Claudius the Romane with their armies doo encounter, a composition concerning marriage concluded betweene them, Claudius returneth to Rome.

The third Chapter.

Auiragus the proudest son of Iugurthine, and brother to Gunderius (because the same Gunderius left no issue to succeed him) was admitted king of Britaine in the yere of our Lord 45, or rather 46.

This

Aruiragus. Hector Boet.

Caxton.

Gal.Mon.

Ranulfus Ce.
Strensis.

Sueton.

This Aruiragus, otherwise called by the Britains Deuticus or Hannas, of Tacitus History, is also named Armiger in the English Chronicle, by which chronicle (as appereth) he bare himselfe right manfullie against Claudius and his Romans in the war which they made against him: in so much that when Claudius had renewed his force and towne Dorchester, and after came to besiege Winchester (in the which Aruiragus as then was inclosed) Aruiragus assembling his power, was ready to come forth and giue Claudius battell: whereupon Claudius doubting the sequelle of the thing, sent messengers vnto Aruiragus to treat of concord, and so by composition the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius should giue his daughter Genissa in marriage vnto Aruiragus, & Aruiragus should acknowledge to hold his kingdome of the Romans.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the valiant prowell which he saw & found in Aruiragus, honoied not onlie him with the marriage of his daughter the said Genissa, but also to the end to make the towne more famous where this marriage was solemnised, he therefore called it Claudiocestria, after his name, the which in the British tong was called before that daie Caerleon, and after Clouernia, of a duke that ruled in Denetia that hight Glunie, but now it is called Glocester.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquished in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the said Aruiragus to giue vnto him his said daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned king of Britaine. But Suetonius maie seeme to reproue this part of the British historie, which in the life of Claudius witnesseth, that he had by three wines onlie three daughters, that is to saie, Claudia, Antonia, and Octavia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, caused hir to be cast downe at the doore of his wife Herculianilla, whome he had forsaken by waie of diuorcement: & that he bestowed his daughter Antonia first on C. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Faustus Silla, verie noble yong gentlemen; and Octavia he matched with Nero his lues son. Whereby it should appere, that this supposed marriage betwixt Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius is but a feined tale.

¶ And here to speake my fantasie also what I thinke of this Aruiragus, and other the kings (whome Galfrid and such as haue folloved him do register in order, to succede one after another) I will not denie but such persons there were, and the same hapilie bearing verie great rule in the land, but that they reigned as absolute kings ouer the whole, or that they succeeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the same writers, it seemeth most unlike to be true: for rather it maie be gessed by that, which as well Gyldas as the old approued Romane writers haue written, that diuerse of these kings liued about one time, or in times greatlie differing from those times which in our writers we find noted. As for example, Iuuenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we now intreat, to reigne about Domitians time. For my part therefore, with this order of the British kinglie succession in this place is more easie to be flatlie denied and vtterlie reproued, than either wiselie defended or trulie amended, I will referre the reforming thereof vnto those that haue perhaps seene more than I haue, or more deepe considered the thing, to trie out an vndoubted truth: in the meane time, I haue thought good, both to shew what I find in our histories, and likewise in forren writers, to the which we thinke (namelie in this behalfe, whilste the Romans gouerned there) we maie safelie giue most credit, do we other wise neuer so much content our

selues with other vaine and faine conceits.

To proceed yet with the historie as we find it by our writers set forth: it is reported, that after the solemnisation of this marriage, which was done with all honour that might be deuised, Claudius sent certeine legions of souldiers forth to go into Ireland to subdue that countrie, and returned himselfe to Rome.

Legions of
souldiers sent
into Ireland.

Gal.Mon.

10 Aruiragus denieth subiection to the Romans, *Vespasian is sent to repress him* and his power, the Romane host is kept backe from landing, *queene Genissa pacifieth them* after a sharpe conflict: & what the Romane writers say of *Vespasians* being in Britaine, the end of Aruiragus.

North
Went.

The fourth Chapter.

When did king Aruiragus ride about to view the state of his realme, repairing cities and towne decayed by the warre of the Romans, and saw his people gouerned with such iustice and good order, that he was both feared and greatlie beloued: so that in tract of time he grew verie welthie, and by reason thereof fell into pride, so that he denied his subiection to the Romans. Whereupon Claudius appointed Vespasian with an armie to go as lieutenant into Britaine. This tourne was to him the beginning of his aduancement to that honour, which after to him most luckilie befell. But if we shall credit our Britaine writers, he gained not much at Aruiragus hands, for where he would haue landed at Sandwiche or Richborough, Aruiragus was ready to resist him, so as he durst not once enter the haven: for Aruiragus had there such a puissant number of armed men, that the Romans were afraid to approach the land.

Vespasian in
Britaine.
Cornel. Tac.
in viii. Angl.
5. c. 6.
Gal. Mon.
Rutupium.

Polydorus.

Vespasian therefore withdrew from thence, and coasting westward, landed at Totnesse, and coming to Excester, besieged that citie: but about the seventh day after he had planted his siege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the armies sustained great losse of men, and neither part got anie aduantage of the other. On the morrow after queene Genissa made them friends, and so the warres ceased for that time, by hir good mediation.

¶ But seeing (as before I haue said) the truth of this historie maie be greatlie mistrusted, ye shall heare what the Romane writers saie of Vespasian being here in Britaine, beside that which we haue already recited out of Dion in the life of Claudius.

In the daies of the emperor Claudius, through fauour of Parcellus (one that might do all with Claudius) the said Vespasian was sent as coronell or lieutenant of a legion of souldiers into Germanie, and being removed from thence into Britaine, he fought thirtie severall times with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romane obeisance two most mightie nations, and about twentie towne, together with the Ile of Wight; and these exploits he atchiued, partlie vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius ruler of Britaine for the emperor Claudius, and partlie vnder the same emperor himselfe. For as it is euident by writers of good credit, he came first ouer into Britaine with the said Aulus Plautius, and serued verie valiantlie vnder him, as before in place we haue partlie touched. By Tacitus it appereth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Britaine

Vespasian.
Suetonius.
Sabellius.Treasure
or revenue

CalMon.

Britaine with Claudius, and had such successe, as it appeared to what estate of honour he was predestinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken kings prisoners. But now to make an end with Arminius: when he perceived that his force was too weake to preuaile against the Romane empire, and that he should strue but in vaine to shake the yoke of subiection from the necks of the Britains, he made a small peace with them in his old age, and so continued in quiet the residue of his reigne, which he lastly ended by death, after he had gouerned the land by the space of thirtie yeeres, or but eight and twentie, as some other imagine. He died in the yeere of Grace 73, as one author affirmeth, and was buried at Gloucestre.

Joseph of Arimathia came into Britaine and Simon Zelotes, the antiquitie of christian religion, Britaine gouerned by Lieutenants and treasurers of the Romane emperors, the exploits of Ostorius Scapula and the men of Oxfordshire, he vanquisheth the Welshmen, appeaseth the Yorkshiresmen, and bridleth the rage of the Silures.

The fift Chapter.

In the daies of the said Arminius, about the yeare of Christ 53, Joseph of Arimathia, who buried the bodie of our saviour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as Iohn Bale followeth the authoritie of Gildas and other British writers reciteth) after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britaine with diuers other goodlie christian men, & preaching the gospel there amongst the Britains, & instructing them in the faith and lawes of Christ, converted manie to the true beliefe, and baptised them in the wholesome water of regeneration, & there continued all the residue of his life, obtaining of the king a plot of ground where to inhabit, not past a foure miles from Wells, and there with his fellows began to laie the first foundation of the true and perfect religion, in which place (or nere thereunto) was afterward erected the abbey of Glasseburie.

Nicephorus writeth in his second booke and fourth chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britaine. And Theodoretus in his 9. booke De curandis Græcorum affectibus, sheweth that Paule being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached the gospel to the Britains and to other nations in the west. The same thing in manner doth Sophronius the patriarch of Jerusalem witnesse. Tertullian also maie be a witnesse of the ancientnes of the faith receiued here in Britaine, where he writing of these times saith: Those places of the Britains, to the which the Romans could not approach, were subiect vnto Christ, as were also the countries of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scythia, and others. Thus it maie appeare, that the christian religion was planted here in this land shortly after Christes time, although it certeinlie appeareth not who were the first that preached the gospel to the Britains, nor whether they were Greeks or Latins.

Treasurers
or receivers.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romane emperours in this season gouerned this land by lieutenants and treasurers, the which were called by the name of legats and procurators, thereby to keepe the brutillie inhabitants the better in order.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of consuls, was sent hither as the first legat or lieutenant (in maner as before ye haue heard) & after him Ostorius Scapula, who at his comming found the Ile in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuasion into the countrie of those that were friends to the Romans, the more presumptuouslie, for that they thought a new lieutenant, with an armie to him vnacquainted and come ouer now in the beginning of winter, would not be hastie to march forth against them. But Ostorius vnderstanding that by the first successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bred and augmented, hastied forward to encounter with them, and such as he found abroad in the countrie he sue out right on euerie side, and pursued such as fled, to the end they should not come together againe. Now for that a displeasing and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse either to him or to his armie, he took from such as he suspected, their armour. And after this, he went about to defend the riuers of Aunon & Seuerne, with placing his souldiers in camps fortified nere to the same. But the Oxfordshire men and other of those parties would not suffer him to accomplish his purpose in anie quiet sort, being a puissant kind of people, and not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willinglie at the first had ioined in amitie with the Romans. The countries adioining also being induced by their procurement, came to them, & so they chose forth a plot of ground, fenced with a mightie ditch, vnto the which there was no waie to enter but one, & the same verie narrow, so as the horsemen could not haue anie easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he had no legionarie souldiers, but certeine bands of albs, marched forth towards the place within the which the Britains were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, brake through into their campe, where the Britains being impeached with their owne inclosures which they had raised for defence of the place, knowing how that for their rebellion they were like to find small mercee at the Romans hands, when they saw now no waie to escape, laid about them manfullie, and shewed great proofe of their valiant stomachs.

In this battell, the sonne of Ostorius the lieutenant deserued the price and commendation of preseruing a citizen out of the cruell enimies hands. But now with this slaughter of the Oxfordshire men, diuers of the Britains that stood doubtfull what waie to take, either to rest in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to be conformable vnto a reasonable order of peace, in so much that Ostorius lead his armie against the people called Cangt, Cangt, who inhabited that part of Wales now called Denbighshire, which countrie he spoiled on euerie side, no enimie once daring to encounter him: & if anie of them aduentured priuillie to set vpon those which they found behind, or on the outsid of his armie, they were cut short yer they could escape out of danger. Wherevpon he marched straight to their campe and giuing them battell, vanquished them: and vnto the victorie as reason moued him, he lead his armie against those that inhabited the inner parts of Wales, spoiling the countrie on euerie side. And thus sharplie pursuing the rebels, he approached nere vnto the sea side, which lieth ouer against Ireland. While this Romane capteine was thus occupied, he was called backe by the rebellion of the Northshire men, whome shortly vpon his comming vnto them, he appeased, punishing the first authors of that tumult with death.

In the meane tyme, the people called Silures, being a verie fierce kind of men, and valiant, prepared

Aulus Plautius.

Ostorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacitus lib. 12.

which was a certaine crowne, to be set on his head called *cinica corona*.

Cangt.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

pared to make warre against the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughnesse, nor yet with any courteous handling, so that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie souldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to restrain the furious rage of those people and their neighbours, Moxious peopled a towne nere to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old souldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and childzen, according to such maner as was used in like cases of placing naturall Romans in any towne or citie, for the more suertie and defense of the same. Here also was a temple builded in the honoz of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddesse Victoria, and an other of Claudius himselfe.

The coniectures of writers touching the situation of Camelodunum supposed to be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene

Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains go miserablie to wracke, Caratacus is deliuered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners, his brethren yeeld themselves to their enemies.

The sixth Chapter.

BUT now there resteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did stand, of some (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered vpon the aduised consideration of the circumstances of that which in old authozs is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colchester. But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather seeme to be some other towne, situate more westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romaine souldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the representing of the vnquiet Silures, which by consent of most writers inhabited in Southwales, or nere the Welsh marches.

There was a castell of great fame in times past that hight Camaletum, or in British Caermalet, which stood in the marches of Summerstethire: but sith there is none that hath so written before this time, I will not saie that happilie some erroz hath growne by mistaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by such as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet so it might be done by such as found it short or vnperfectlie written, namelie, by such strangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer seene nor heard of. As for example, an Englishman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Wexford, might in taking forth a copie of some writing easilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention also of Camelodunum, but Humphrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneth all one citie.

Notwithstanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, supposing the one to be Colchester in daed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaster or Pontfret. Leland esteeming it to be certeinelie Colchester taketh the Kent men also to be the Northfolke men. But howsoeuer we shall

take this place of Tacitus, it is euident inough that Camelodunum stood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to sake it with Hector Boetius in Scotland; or with Polydor Virgil so far as Doncaster or Pontfret, it maie be thought a plaine erroz.

But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter so doubtfull, we will proceed with the historie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whom (trasting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but also vpon the high prowesse & valiancie of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Brittain, aduanced thereto by manie doubtfull adventures and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better provided than the Romans: so in power of souldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he removed the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Druides inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that mistaked of the Romaine gouernment, he joined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the bittermost hazard of battell.

The place which he thus chose was such, as the entries, the backwaters, and the whole situation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hils. And if there were any easie passage to enter it vpon any side, the same was shut vp with mighty huge stones in manner of a rampire, and above it there ran a riuer without any certeine ford to passe ouer it. This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directed one against an other, but aslope. It is also (they saie) compassed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teme. On three sides thereof the clime is verie steepe and headlong, and no waie easie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratacus hauing thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it, to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recovered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be sustained. He reherced also speciallie by name those their elders, which had resisted Iulius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioiced their wiues and childzen safe and vndeuided. Thus discoursing of manie things with them, in such hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, each one for himselfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owed to the gods of his countrie, not to shrink for feare of any wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enemies weapon.

This cherefullnesse of the Britains greatly astonished the Romaine lieutenant. The hideous course also of the riuer before his face, the fortifications and craggie height of the hils, all set full of enemies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he sawe afore him, but that which seemed dreadfull to those that should assaile. But the souldiers yet seemed to be verie desirous of battell, requesting him to bring them to it, protesting that nothing was able to resist the force of noble prowes. Wherewith the capitains and tribunes discoursing the like, pitched forward the earnest willes which their souldiers

Cornelius
Tacitus
Annal. lib. 12.

Cornelius
Tacitus
lib. Annal.

Hu. Lhoyd

Camelodunum, Colchester.

Silures where they inhabited.

Cornelius
Tacit. lib. 1.
Caratacus
name renowned.

university has to fight.

Sheweth nevertheless such courage and ready will
in the face of war, as well soldiers as captives,
begat to distress himselfe, and best nothing undone
that might serve to set forward their earnest desire
in battell. And having advisedly considered which
wayes were best and most possible to be entered upon,
and which were most safe for his people to find pas-
sage by, he set them forth, being most earnestly bent
to come with the enemy.

John having passed the water without any great difficulty, but coming to the camp, he lost much of his strength, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts, but after that the Romans converting themselves into their targets, came over close together, and approached under the camp, they removed away the stones which the Britains had brought round together, and he came to come with them at handbattles. The Britains being unarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hills, but as well their enemies that were light armed, as the other with heavy armour, followed and broke in among them. In as the Britains could not turn them any way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a fence off, and the heavy armed with weapons at hand, sought to make slaughter and waste of them or set fire, so that this was a heroic bold day for the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratacus were taken prisoners, and his brethren also perished themselves. Her husband escaped, and committing his person unto the discretion of a traitor of Caractacus's queen, of the Brigantes, was by him delivered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine years after the wars in Britain first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italy, the manner how he and his allies were led captives by the Romans in triumph, his courage and manly speech to the emperor Claudius, whereby he and his obtaine mercie and par-

the Romans; the cause why the
Scapula dieth, the citie of
Chester builded.

The seventh Chapter.

The name of Caratacus being brought out of the Isles was already spread over the provinces adjoining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to see what manner of man he was that had for many yeeres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperor whilst he went about to preferre his owne honour, advanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forth as unto some great notable sight or spectacle. The pretorian bandes stood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratacus shuld come. When passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armour, riches, jewels, and other things as had bene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daughter.

ters: and last of all came Cæcilius himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas the fearfull punishment for their rebellion with wastefull countenance granted merke, he neither by countenance nor words shewed any token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperor Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he uttered this speech as followeth.

If there had bene in me too much moderation in
time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth
and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a
friend than as a captaine: neither should I have
thought soone, being borne of most noble parents,
and ruling over many people, to have accepted peack
by waye of warning with your league. Appreier
as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is hono-
rable. I had at commandement, hostes, men, ar-
mour, and great riches: what manuell is it if I were
lothe to forge the same? For if you shall take to go
verne all men, it must needs followe that all men
must be your slaves. If I had at the first pashed my
selfe, neither my powder nor your glorie had bene set
forth to the world. & upon mine execution I should
straighthe have bene forgotten. But if you note gra-
mme my life, I that be a witnessse for ever of your mer-
ciful remembrance.

The emperor with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and his seven, who being loosed from their bands, went also to the place where the emperor Agrippina sat, and furnished off in a house of estate, whom they reverenced with the like peace and thanks as they had done before to the emperor. After this the senate was called together, who discoursed of many things touching this honourable victory achieved by the taking of Caratake, esteeming the same no less glorious, than when P. Scipio triumphed in triumph. Scithar king of the Scythians, and Paulus the Macedonian king Pericles, on other Roman captains with such king whom they had vanquished.

Whereupon it was determined, that Oroonoko should enter the siege of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such victorious success as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not so lucky, either for that after Caratake was removed out of the field, because the Romans as through the treaty had benevolently looked negligent to themselves, either also for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake being so moribund a patient, through fortune forwardly cast into prison, were more earnestly desirous to revenge his quarrell. Whereupon they incorporated the number of the camp, and their legionary bands of soldiers which were left amongst the soldiers to fortifie a place there for the army to lodge in: and if success had not come out of the next towns and castles, the Romans had bene destroyed by siege. The head captive got, and eight tentations, and every one else of the company being moff for ward, were slain. Shortly after they set upon the Romans foragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horsemen as were appointed to guard them. Whereupon Oroonoko sent forth certaine bands of light horsemen, but neither could he staine the flight by that means, till finally the legions entered the battell by whole force they were slain, and at length the Romans obtained the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great loss, by which the safe laws went.

After this, many bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, sometimes they wronged their feasts more like the trade of them that sell to rob by the high wayes, than of those that make open warre, taking their enemies at some advantage.

D. H. 11

Cornelius
Tacit. lib. 12.
Caratakes
name venomous
med.

Cornelius Tacitus
Annal. lib. 12.

souldiers had to fight.

Ostorius perceiuing such courage and readie wills in the men of warre, as well souldiers as capitaines, began to bestirre himselfe, and left nothing undone that might serue to set forward their earnest desire to battell. And hauing aduiseable considered which waies were hard and impossible to be entered upon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he led them forth, being most earnestlie bent to cope with the enimie.

Now hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, but coming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themselves with their targets, came once close together, and approached vnder the rampire, they remoued away the stones which the Britains had roughlie couched together, and so came to ioine with them at handblowes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them any way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, fought to make slaughter and wracke of them on eche side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yelded themselves. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person vnto the assurance & trust of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by her deliuered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yerres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, the manner how he and his alies were led captiues by the Romans in triumph, his courage and manlie speech to the emperor Claudius, whereby he and his obtaine mercie and pardon: the Britains undertake a new reuenge against the Romans; the cause why the Scylures hated the Romans, Ostorius

Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

The seventh Chapter.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.
Caratacus name renowned.



The name of Caratacus being brought out of the Isles was already spread ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. When therefore were desirous to see what manner of man he was that had so manie yerres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, inasmuch that the emperor whilst he went about to preferre his owne honour, advanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forth as vnto some great notable fight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratake shuld come. When passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armour, riches, iewels, and other things as had bene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife and daugh-

ters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailfull countenance craded mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewed any token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperor Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he uttered this speech as followeth.

If there had bene in me so much moderation in time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a capteine: neither should I haue thought lezone, being borne of most noble parents, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by waie of ioining with you in league. My present estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horses, men, armour, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were loth to forgo the same? For if you shall loke to gouerne all men, it must needs follow that all men must be your slaues. If I had at the first yelded my selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had bene set forth to the world, & vpon mine execution I shoud straight haue bene forgotten. But if you now grant me life, I shall be a witnesse for euer of your mercifull clemencie.

The emperor with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being loosed from their hands, went also to the place where the emperesse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had done before to the emperor. After this the senat was called together, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchined by the taking of Caratake, esteeming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perles, or other Romane captiues ante such king whom they had vanquished.

Siphax.
L. Paulus.

Whereupon it was determined, that Ostorius shoud enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or because the Romans (as though the warre had bene finished) looked negligentlie to themselves, either else for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthy a prince, through fond tunes forward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestlie set to reuenge his quarrell. Whereupon they encompassed the maiister of the campe, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Scylures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the next towns and castels, the Romans had bene destroyed by siege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one else of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortly after they set vpon the Romane foragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horsemen as were appointed to gard them. Whereupon Ostorius set forth certaine bands of light horsemen, but neither could he staie the flight by that meanes, till finally the legions entered the battell, by whose force they were slaid, and at length the Romans obtained the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the daie was spent.

After this manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, & oftentimes they fought their feats more like the trade of them that vse to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enimies at some aduantage

D. y. in

pared to make warre against the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughnesse, nor yet with anie courteous handling, so that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie souldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to restraine the furious rage of those people and their neighbours, Moxious peopled a towne nere to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old souldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and childzen, according to such maner as was vsed in like cases of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more suertie and defense of the same. Here also was a temple builded in the honoz of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddesse Victoria, and an other of Claudius himselfe.

The coniectures of writers touching the situation of Camelodunum supposed to be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene

Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains go miserable to wracke, Caratacus is delivered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners, his brethren yeeld themselves to their enemies.

The sixth Chapter.

But now there resteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did stand, of some (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered upon the advised consideration of the circumstances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colchester. But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather seeme to be some other towne, situate more westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romaine souldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the representing of the vnquiet Silures, which by consent of most writers inhabited in Southwales, or nere the Welsh marches.

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But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter so doubtfull, we will proceed with the historie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whom (trusting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but also vpon the high prowesse & valiancie of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Britaine, advanced thereto by manie doubtfull adventures and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better provided than the Romans: so in power of souldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Druides inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that milited of the Romaine government, he ioined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the bittermost hazard of battell.

The place which he thus chose was such, as the entries, the backwaters, and the whole situation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hills. And if there were anie easie passage to enter it vpon anie side, the same was shut vp with mighty huge stones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riuer without anie certeine ford to passe ouer it. This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directlie one against an other, but aslope. It is also (they saie) compassed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teme. On these sides thereof the climate is verie sharpe and headlong, and no waie easie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratacus hauing thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recovered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be sustained. He reher sed also speciallie by name those their elders, which had resisted Julius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enuoyed their wiues and childzen safe and vnderfilled. Thus discourfing of manie things with them, in such hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, ech one for him selfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owed to the gods of his countrie, not to shrink for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chauce vnto them by the enemies weapon.

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Camelodunum, Colchester.

Silures where they inhabited.

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Tacit. lib.
Caratacus name retained.

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Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

Now hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, but comming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themselves with their targets, came once close together, and approached vnder the rampire, they remoued away the stones which the Britains had roughlie couched together, and so came to ioine with them at handblowes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them anie way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, fought to make slaughter and wracke of them on eche side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yelded themselves: he himseke escaped, and committing his person vnto the assurance & trust of Cartemandua quene of the Brigants, was by hir deliuered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yerres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, the manner how he and his alies were led captiues by the Romans in triumph, his courage and manlie speech to the emperor Claudius, whereby he and his obtaine mercie and pardon: the Britains undertake a new reuenge against the Romans; the cause why the Scythians hated the Romans, Ostorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

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The seventh Chapter.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12. Caratacus name renowned.



The name of Caratacus being brought out of the Isles was alreadie spread ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men there fore were desirous to see what manner of man he was that had so manie yerres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperor whilste he went about to preferre his owne honour, advanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forth as vnto some great notable fight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that late before their lodgings, through which field Caratake shuld come. Then passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armour, riches, iewels, and other things as had bene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daugh-

ters: and last of all came Caratacus himseke, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craded mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewed anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperor Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he vttered this speech as followeth.

If there had bene in me so much moderation in time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a captiue: neither should I haue thought scorn, being borne of most noble parents, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by waie of ioining with you in league. My present estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horses, men, armour, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were loth to forgo the same? For if you shall loke to gouerne all men, it must needs follow that all men must be your slaues. If I had at the first yelded my selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had bene set forth to the world, & vpon mine execution I shoulde straight haue bene forgotten. But if you now grant me life, I shall be a witnesse for euer of your mercifull clemencie.

The emperor with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being loosed from their bands, went also to the place where the emperesse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had done before to the emperor. After this the senat was called together, who discoursed of manie things touching this honorable victorie atchieued by the taking of Caratake, esteeming the same no lesse glorious, than when D. Scipio shewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perseus, or other Romane capitaines anie such king whom they had vanquished.

Siphax. L. Paulus.

Wherevpon it was determined, that Ostorius shoulde enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or because the Romans (as though the warre had bene finished) looked negligentlie to themselves, either else for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthy a prince, through fortunes froward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestlie set to reuenge his quarrell. Wherevpon they incompassed the maister of the campe, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the next towns and castles, the Romans had bene destroyed by siege. The head captiue yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one else of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortly after they set vpon the Romane foragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horsemen as were appointed to gard them. Wherevpon Ostorius set forth certeine bands of light horsemen, but neither could he staie the flight by that meanes, till finally the legions entered the battell, by whose force they were slaid, and at length the Romans obtained the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the daie was spent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, & oftentimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vse to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enimies at some aduantage

D. y. in

in woods and bogs, as hap o: force ministred occasion vpon mallice conceiued, o: in hope of prey, soner times by commandement, and sometimes without either commandement o: knowledge of capteine o: officer.

At one time the Britains surprised two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in Alb, and sent forth to forreie abroad vbaduisedlie, through couerousnesse of the capteins. This feat was atchieved by the Silures also, the which in bestowing prisoners and part of the spoile vpon other of their neighbours, procured them likewise to rebell against the Romans, and to take part with them. The Silures were the more earnestlie set against the Romans, by occasion of woods which the emperor Claudius had bittered in their disfauour, as thus: that euen as the Silcambres were destroyed and removed into Gallia, so likewise must the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguisht. These woods being blotne abroad, and knowne ouer all, caused the Silures to conceiue a wonderfull hatred against the Romans, so that they were fullie bent, either to retein their libertie, o: to die in defense thereof vpon the enemies sword.

In the meane time Ostorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warrior, and one who by little & little insuing the steps of Aulus Plautius his predecessor, did what he could to bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accomplished.

There be some led by conjecture grounded vpon god aduised considerations, that suppose this Ostorius Scapula began to build the citie of Chester after the ouerthrow of Caratacus: for in those parties he fortified sundrie holdes, and placed a number of old soldiers either there in that selfe place, o: in some other nere thereunto by waie of a colonie. And for so much (saie they) as we read of none other of anie name thereabouts, it is to be thought that he planned the same in Chester, where his successors did afterwards bide to harbour their legions for the winter season, and in time of rest from iournies which they haue to make against their common enemies.

In deed it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this daie, that the Romans built those vaults o: tauerns (which in that citie are vnder the ground) with some part of the castell. And verelie as Ranulfe Higden saith, a man that shall view and well consider those buildings, maie thinke the same to be the worke of Romans rather than of anie other people. That the Romane legions did make their abode there, no man sene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the ancient name Caer leon ardour deuie, that is, The citie of legions vpon the water of Deuie, proueth it sufficientlie enough.

But to returne vnto Ostorius Scapula, we find in Corn. Tacitus, that during his time of being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certeine cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Britains, who continued faithfull to the Romans vnto the daies of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the said Cornelius Tacitus, who liued and wrote in the emperor Domitianus time. This was done after an old received custom of the people of Rome, to haue both subjects and kings vnder their rule and dominion, as who so shall note the acts and deeds of the Roman emperours from C. Julius Cesar (who chased Pompeie out of Italie, and was the first that obtained the Romane empire to himselfe; of whom also the princes and emperours succeeding him were called Cesars) to Octavian, Tiberius, Caligula, &c: maie easilie marke and obserue. For they were a people of singular magnanimitie, of an ambitious spirit, greedy of honour and renowne, and not vnaptlie termed *Romani totius domini*, &c.

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and lecherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius keepeth the kingdome in spite of the Romans, by what meanes their confines in this Ile were enlarged; the error of Hector Boetius and others touching the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains giue the Romans a shamefull overthrow.

The eight Chapter.

After the decesse of Ostorius Scapula, one A. Didius was sent to supplie his roome, but per he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had banquished the legion whereof Panilius Valens had the conduct: this victorie was set forth by the Britains to the vttermost, that with the brunt thereof they might strike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his first comming ouer. And he himselfe reported it by letters to the emperor after the largest manner, to the end that if he appealed the matter, he might win the more praise; o: if he were put to the worst, and should not preuaile, that then his excuse might seme the more reasonable and worthy of pardon. The Silures were they that had atchieved this victorie, and kept a sowle stir ouer all the countries about them, till by the comming of Didius against them, they were driuen backe and repelled.

But herewith began trouble to be raised in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chiefest and most skillfull capteine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruler of the people named Iugants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enemies, who had married with Cartimanda queene of the Brigants o: Potheshire men. This Cartimanda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratac into the Romans hands, thereby ministering matter for the emperor Claudius to triumph, by which pleasure shewed to the Romans, she increased thorough their friendship in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous lust to satiffie hir wanton appetite, so as she falling at square with hir husband, married Allocatus, one of his esquires, to whom she gaue hir kingdome, and so dishonoured hir selfe. Herevpon ensued cruell warre, in so much that in the end Venutius became enemie also to the Romans. But first they tugged together betwixt themselves, the queene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and cosens of Venutius, but hir enemies nothing therewith discouraged, but kindled the more in wrath against hir, ceased not to go forward with their purpose.

Panie of the Brigants disdaining to be subiect vnto a womans rule that had so relected hir husband, revolted vnto Venutius: but yet the queenes sensuall lust mired with crueltie, mainteined the adulterer. Venutius therefore calling to him such aid as he could get, and strengthened now by the revolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to such a narrow point, that she was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enemies: which the Romans foreseeing, vpon suit made, sent certeine bands of horsemen and footmen to helpe hir. They had diuerse encounters with the enemies at the first, with doubtful successe: but at length they preuailed, and so deliuered the queene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: against whom the Romans were

W.H. in his
cyponologic.

Ran. Hig. alias
Cestrensis.

Corn. Tacit.

Cogidune a
king in Bri-
taine.

A. Didius
lieutenant.

The error
of Hector
Boetius.

Venutius
ruler of the
Jugants.

Cartimanda

A note to
consider
the reader
Hea. Boc

Allocatus

Cor. Tac.
annal. 15.

Venutius
keppeth the
kingdome
despite of the
Romans.

were constrained still to mainteine warre.

About the same time, the legion also which Cæsius passed led, got the upper hand of those Britains against whom he was sent. For Didius being aged, and by victories past enough renowned, thought it sufficient for him to make warre by his capitaines, so to staie and keepe off the enimie. Certaine castles and holds in deed he caused to be built and fortified, further within the countrie than had bene afore attempted by any of his predecessors, and so thereby were the confines of the Romans in this Ile some what enlarged. Thus haue ye heard with what successe the Britains maintained warre in defense of their libertie against the Romans, whilst Claudius ruled the empire (according to the report of the Roman writers.)

The error of Hector Boetius.

¶ But here you must note, that Hector Boetius, following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, of Cornelius Hibernicus, & also of Campbell, remoueth the Silures, Brigants, and Prouants, so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of those countreies which the Scots haue now in possession, and were even then inhabited (as he affirmeth) partly by the Scots, and partly by the Picts (as in the Scottish historie ye may see more at large) so that what notable feat sooner was achieved by the old Britains against the Romans, the same by him is ascribed to the Scots and Picts throughout his whole historie, whereas (in verie truth) forsomuch as may be gathered by coniecture and presumption of that which is left in writing by ancient authors, the Brigants inhabited Yorkshire, the Silures Wales and the Spardes, and the Prouants the countrie of Cumberland.

It note to be considered in the reading of Hector Boetius

But forsomuch as he hath diligentlie gathered in what manner the warres were maintained by those people against the Romans, and what valiant exploits were taken in hand and finished thorough their stoutnesse and valiantie, ye may there read the same, and indge at your pleasure what people they were whome he so much praiseth: aduertising you hereof by the way, that as we haue before exprest, none of the Roman writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Roman empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Constantius, father of Constantine the great: so that if they had bene in this Ile then so famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the same Boetius; maruell might it seeme, that the Roman writers would so passe them over with silence.

Cor. Tac. lib. annal. 15.

After the death of Claudius the emperor of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero succeeded him in gouernement of the empire. In the seventh yere of whose reigne, which was after the incarnation 53, the Romans receiued a great overthrow in Britaine, where neither the lieutenant A. Didius Galus (whom in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Auitus) could during the time of his rule do no more but hold that which was already gotten, beside the building of certaine castles (as before ye haue heard) neither his successor Veranus, beating and foyering the woods, could attaine any further enterprise, for he was by death prevented, so as he could not proceed forward with his purpose touching the warres which he had went to haue folowed, whose last words (in his testament exprest) detected him of manifest ambition: for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neros mind, he wished to haue liued but two yeres longer, in which space he might haue subdued prouinces vnto his dominion, meaning thereby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romans brag, fauouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.

The gouernment of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he inuadeth Anglesey, and winneth it, a strange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miserie and seruitude, and take aduise by weapon to redresse it against the Romans their enimies.

The ninth Chapter.



It now when this great losse chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man most plentifully furnished with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therefore with a right skilfull warriour.

P. Suetonius lieutenant.

This Suetonius therefore wishing to tame such of the Britains as kept out, prepared to assaile the Ile of Anglesey, a countrie full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels. He builded certaine brigantines with flat keeles to serue for the ebbes and shallow shelles here and there, lieng vncerteinlie in the straits which he had to passe. The footmen ferried ouer in those vessels, the horsemen following by the fords, and swimming when they came into the darpe, got likewise to the shore, where stood in order of battell an huge number of armed men close together, redie to beat backe the Romans, and to staie them from comming to land. Amongst the men, a number of women were also running by and downe as they had bene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe about their shoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands. There was also a companie of their priests or philosophers called Druides, who with stretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out curssings against the Romans in most bitter wise.

Anglesey inuaded.

A strange manner of women.

The Druides.

The souldiers were so amazed with the strangenesse of this sight, that (as men benumbed of their lims and senses) they suffered themselves to be wounded and slaine like senselesse creatures, till by the calling vpon of their generall, and ech one encouraging other in no wise to feare a sort of mad & distract women, they pressed forward vnder their ensignes, bearing downe such as stood in their way, and with their owne fire smoldered and burnt them to ashes.

To conclude, the Roman lieutenant got possession of the whole Ile, wherein he placed garisons of men of warre to keepe the people there in subiection. He also caused their woods to be cut downe, that were consecrated to their gods, within the which they were accustomed to sacrifice such as they took prisoners, and by the view of their intrayles, in discerning them, to learne of their gods some oracles and such other things as should come to passe.

Anglesey won by the Romans.

woods cut downe.

But now in the meane time, whilst Paulinus was abroad about this enterprise, the Britains began to conferre together of their great and impossible miseries, of their grievous state of seruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, which they daile suffered: how that by sufferance they profited nothing, but still were oppressed with more heauie burthens. Ech countrie in times past had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenant by his capitaines and souldiers spilling their blood, and the procurator or receiuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and substance. The concord or discord betwixt those that were appointed to rule stier them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the subiects, the lieutenant oppressing them by his capitaines and men of warre, and the procurator or receiuer by force

Lieutenant & procurator.

Dis.

and

and reprochfull demeanours, polling them by insufferable exactions.

There was nothing free from the covetous extortion and filthy concupiscence of these insatiable persons, for in these daies (say they) the greatest spoiler is the valiantest man, and most commonlie our houses are robbed and ransacked by a sort of cowardlie raskals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats at all. Our children are taken from vs, we are forced to go to the musters, and are set forth to serue in forren parties, as those that are ignorant which way to spend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrie. What a number of souldiers haue bene transported ouer from hence to serue in other lands, if a iust account were taken thereof: The Germans by manhood haue cast (said they) from their shoulders the heauie yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the maine Ocean sea, but onelic with a river. Where the Britains haue their countrie, their wiues and parents, as iust causes of war to fight for: the Romans haue none at all, but a covetous desire to gaine by rapine, and to satisfie their excessive lusts.

They might easilie be compelled to depart the countrie, as Julius Cesar was, if the Britains would shew some proue of the noble prowesse that was euidentlie found in their worthie ancestors, and not thinke or quail in courage for the misadventure that should happilie chance by fighting one battell or two. Greatest force and constancie alwaies remaineth with those that seek to deliuer themselves from miserie. Now appeared it that the gods had taken some pittie of the poore Britains, who by their diuine power did withhold the chiefe capteine of the Romans with his armie, as it were banished in another Island. Let vs then (said they) take the opportunity of time and good occasion offered, and forthwith proceed in our businesse: for lesse danger it is mansuallie to aduenture, and to go forward with our purpose, than to be betwixted and taken in these our consultations. Thus hauing taken aduise together, and wholie mistaking their present state, they determined to take weapon in hand, and so by force to seeke for reformation.

Occasion not
to be neglected.

A catalog of causes or grieuances inciting the Britains to rebell against the Romans, wherein is shewed what iniuries they sustained: of diuers strange wonders and apparitions; the chiefe cause of the Britains insurging against the Romans, they admitted as well women as men to publike gouernement. A description of queene Voadicia, hir personage and maner of attire.

The tenth Chapter.

Cor Tac lib. 14

The Britains indeed were occasioned to do as they purposed, thorough manie euill parts practised by the Romans greatlie to their griefe and displeasures. For where as Prasutagus (who is supposed by Hector Boetius to be Arutagus, king of the people called Icent) had made the emperour and two of his owne daughters his heires, supposing by that meane to haue his kingdome and familie preferred from all iniurie: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdome was spoiled by the Romane captiues, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the souldiers, his daughters rauished, the peres of the realme be-

Prasutagus.

The Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire men.

Voadicia alias Boudicca.

rest of their gods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondslaues.

There was also an other great cause that stirred the Britains to this rebellion, which was the contumacious of their gods: for whereas Claudius himselfe had pardoned the chiefe persons of the forfeitures, Decianus Catus the procurator of that Ile maintained that the same ought to be renewed againe. To this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundred sterces, each hundred being 500000 pounns sterling, or thereabout, upon great interest, he required the whole summe together by great rigor and violence, although he forced them at the first to take this monie to vsurie.

Also such old souldiers as were placed by waite of a colonie, to inhabit the towne of Camelodunum, expelled manie of the Britains out of their houses, dyone them out of their possessions and lands, and accounted the Britains as slaues, and as though they had bene captiue prisoners or bondmen. Besides this, the temple there that was built in hono of Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and gouernment, was serued with priests, the which vnder colour of religion did spoile, consume and deuoure the gods of all men.

Moreover, such strange sights and wonders as chanced about the same time, picked the Britains the rather forward. For the image of the goddesse Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum, slipping downe, turned hir backe (as who should saie she gaue place as vanquished) to the enemies. Also in the hall where the courts of iustice were kept, there was a maruellous great noise heard, with much laughing, and a sturre in the theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at such time as it was certeinlie knowne that there was no creature there to make anie noise. The sea at a flying tide appeared of a blonde colour, and when the tide was gone backe, there were scene on the sands the shapen figures of mens bodies. Women also as rauished of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophesied that destruction was at hand, so that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the Romans in feare.

But those things, whether they chanced by the craft of man, or illusion of the diuell, or whether they proceeded of some naturall cause, which the common people oftentimes taketh superstitiouslie, in place of strange wonders signifieng things to follow, he would let passe, least we might be thought to offend religion; the which teaching all things to be done by the prouidence of God, despiseth the vaine predictions of haps to come, if the order of an historie (saith Polydor Virgil) would so permit, the which requireth all things to be written in maner as they fall out and come to passe.

But the Britains were chiefele moued to rebellion by the iust complaint of Voadicia, declaring how vnseemlie she had bene used and intreated at the hands of the Romans: and because she was most earnestlie bent to seeke reuenge of their iniuries, and hated the name of the Romans most of all other, they chose hir to be capteine (for they in rule and gouernement made no difference then of sex, whether they committed the same to man or woman) and so by a generall conspiracie, the more part of the people hauing also allured the Celtic men, bre to rebellion, rose and assembled themselves together to make warre against the Romans. There were of them a hundred and twentie thousand got together in one armie under the leading of the said Voadicia, or Boudicca (as some name hir.)

She therefore to encourage hir people against the enemies,

Dion Cass.

Aluise.

Dion Cass.

Strange wonders.

Dion Cass.

The oration of Voadicia.

Polydor.

Cor Tac lib. 14
Voadicia by
Dion Cass
is called
Boudicca.

The ancient
Britains
admitted
as well
women
as
men
to
publike
gouernment.

enemies, mounted vp into an high place raised vp of turres & fods made for the nonce, out of the which she made a long & verie pitche oration. Hir mightie tall personage, comelic shap, seuer countenance, and sharpe voice, with hir long and yelowe tresses of beare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell also caused the people to haue hir in great reuerence. She ware a chaine of gold, great and verie massie, and was clad in a lose kirtle of sundrie colours, and aloft thereupon she had a thicke Irish mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir custome was) she bare a speare, to shew hirselfe the more dreadfull.

The oration of queene Voadicia full of prudence and spirit to the Britains, for their encouragement against the Romans, wherein she rippeth vp the vile seruitude and shamefull wrongs which their enemies inflicted upon them, with other matters verie motiue, both concerning themselves and their enemies, hir supplication and praier for victorie.

The eleuenth Chapter.



NOW Voadicia being prepared (as you heare) set forth with such maiestie, that she greatlie encouraged the Britains; vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, she vttered this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

The oration of Voadicia.

I doe suppose (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but doth well vnderstand how much libertie and freedome is to be preferred before thalldome and bondage. But if there haue bene ante of you so deceiued with the Romane persuasions, that ye did not for a time see a difference betwene them, and iudged whether of both is most to be desired: now I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes already taken, acknowledge your oversight, and forsake your former error. Again, in that a number of you haue rashlie preferred an eternall soueraintie before the customes and lawes of your owne countrie, you doe at this time (I doubt not) percellie vnderstand how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, whereunto seruitude is annexed; and much wealth in respect of captiuitie vnder forren magistrates, whereupon slaue-rie attendeth. For what thing (I beseech you) can there be so vile & grievous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, sithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Islande:

Are we not all in manner bereaued of our riches & possessions? Doe not we (beside other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs; y^e i for our owne carcases: How much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and false title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption a freedome: How much is it more commendable to lose our liues in defense of our countrie, than to carie about not so much as our heads toll free, but daile oppressed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end doe I remember and speake of these things, since they will not suffer by death to become free? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but he doth well vnderstand. Among other nations

such as are brought into seruitude, are alwaies by death discharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead doe still liue, and all to increafe their commoditie and gaine.

If anie of vs be without monie (as I know not well how and which way we should come by anie) then are we left naked, & spoiled of that which remaineth in our houses, & we our selues as men left desolate & dead. How shall we loke for better dealing at their hands hereafter, that in the beginning deale so vncourteouslie with vs: since there is no man that taketh so much as a wild beast, but at the first he will cherish it, and with some gentlenesse win it to familiarity: But we our selues (to saie the trueth) are authors of our owne mischiefe, which suffered them at the first to set foot within our Island, and did not by and by drive them backe as we did Cesar, or drive them with our swords when they were yet farre off, and that the aduenturing hither was dangerous: as we did sometime to Augustus and Caligula.

Wherefore that inhabit this Island, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean sea, diuiding vs from other nations, so that we seeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a seuerall heauen: we, euen we (I saie) whose name hath bene long kept hid from the wisest of them all, are now contemned and troden vnder foot, of them who studie no things else but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friendes, and kinsfolkes (for I thinke we are all of kin, since we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I saie, because we haue not done it heretofore, and whilst the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) sticke together, and performe that thing which doth pertaine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we maie inioie, not onelie the name of libertie, but also freedome it selfe, and thereby leaue our force and valiant acts for an example to our posteritie: for if we which haue bene liberallie and in honest maner brought vp, should vtterlie forget our paffionate felicitie: what may we hope for in those that shall succed vs, and are like to be brought vp in miserie and thalldome?

I doe not make rehearfall of these things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to mistlike of this present estate of things (for well I know you abhorre it sufficientlie already) neither to put you in feare of those things that are likelie to fall hereafter (because you doe feare and see them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thanks and worthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine so well to prouide for things necessarie (thereby to helpe both me and your selues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puissance.

If you consider the number of your enemies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their strength, they are no stronger than you: and all this doth easily appere by the bassinets, habergeons, & greiues wherewith you be armed; and also by the walls, ditches and trenches that you haue made for your own defense, to keepe off their excursions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deale with vs at hand strokes; as our custome of the warres and martiall discipline doth requite. Wherefore we doe so farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more strong than stone walls, and one of our targets worth all the armour that they do beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we shall some make their captiues: or if we lose the field, we shall easilie escape the danger.

Further

Furthermore, if after the flight we shall inueuour to meet anie where, we haue the marishes here be-
neath to bide vs in, and the hills round about to keepe
them off, so that by no meanes they shall haue their
purpose of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with
heauie armour, shall neither be able to followe, if we
flee; nor escape out of our danger, if they be put to
flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as
desirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to
their appointed places, where we maie take them as
birds alreadie in cage. In all which things, as they
are farre inferior to vs, so most of all in this, that they
can not indure hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and sunne-
shyne, as we can do.

In their houses also and tents, they make much ac-
count of their baked meates, witte, oile, and aboad
of the shadow, that if anie of these do faile them,
they either die forthwith, or else in time they lan-
guish and consume: whereas to vs euerie hearbe and
root is meat, euerie iuice an oile, all water plea-
sant wine, and euerie tree an house. Beside this, there
is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet
vnfriendly to succour vs at need; whereas to the
Romans they are for the most part vnknowne and
altogether dangerous, if they should stand in need:
we can with ease swim ouer euerie riuer both naked
and clad, which they with their great ships are scarce
able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good
lucke let vs set vpon them couragiously, and teach
them to vnderstand, that since they are no better
than hares and foxes, they attempt a wrong match,
when they inueuour to subdue the grehounds and
the wolues. With which words the queene let an
hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to giue pro-
gnostication of hir successe, which comming well to
passe, all the companie shouted, and cried out vpon
such as not long before had done such violence to so
noble a personage. Presentlie vpon this action, Vo-
adicia calling them together againe, proceeded for-
ward with hir praier, which she made before them
all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

I giue thee thanks O Adaste, and call vpon thee
thou woman of women, which reignest not ouer the
burthen-bearing Egyptians, as Sittocris; neither
ouer their merchants, as doth Semiramis, for these
trifles we haue leached latelie of the Romans: nei-
ther ouer the people of Rome, as a little heretofore
Pellalina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is
called by the name of a man, but is in deed a vertie
woman, as doth appere by his voice, his harpe, and
his womans attyre: but I call vpon thee as a god-
desse which gouernest the Britains, that haue lear-
ned not to till the field, nor to be handicrafts men,
but to lead their liues in the warres after the best
manner: who also as they haue all other things, so
haue they likewise their wines and children com-
mon, whereby the women haue the like audacitie
with the men, and no lesse boldnesse in the warres
than they.

Therefore sithens I haue obtained a kingdome a-
mong such a mightie people, I beseech thee to grant
them victorie, health, and libertie, against these con-
tentious, wicked, and vnfatiable men (if they maie
be called men, which vse warme bathings, delicate
fare, hot wines, sweet oiles, soft beds, fine musicke,
and so vnkindlie lusts) who are altogether giuen to
couetousnesse and crueltie, as their doings do de-
clare. Let not I beseech thee, the Peroniar or Domi-
tian tyrannie anie more preuaile vpon me, or (to
saie truth) vpon thee, but let them rather serue thee,
whose heauie oppression thou hast borne withall a
long season, and that thou wilt still be our helper on-
lie, our defender, our fauourer, and our furtherer, O
noble ladie, I hartlie beseech thee.

Queene Voadicia marcheth against the
Romans, to whom she giueth a shamefull
and bloudie ouerthrow without anie
motion of mercie, dreadfull examples
of the Britains crueltie indiffe-
rentlie executed without excep-
tion of age or sex.

The twelfe Chapter.

When Voadicia had made
an end of hir praier, she set
forward against hir enemies,
who at that time were desti-
tute in deed of their lieutenant
Paulinus Suetonius, being
as then in Anglescey (as before
we haue heard.) Wherefore the
Romans that were in Camelodunum sent for aid
vnto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the
emperours agent, treasurer, or receiuer, for in that
citie (although it were inhabited by Romans) there
was no great garrison of able men. Wherevpon the
procurator sent them such aid as he thought he might
well spare, which was not past two hundred men, and
those not sufficientlie furnished either with weapon
or armour.

The citie was not compassed with anie rampire
or ditch for defense, such as hapilie were priue to
the conspiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Ro-
mans that no fortification needed: neither were the
aged men nor women sent awaie, whereby the yong
able personages might without trouble of them the
better attend to the defense of the citie: but euen as
they had bene in all suertie of peace, and free from
suspicion of anie warre, they were suddenlie beset
with the huge armie of the Britains, and so all went
to spoile and fire that could be found without the in-
closure of the temple, into the which the Romane
souldiers (stricken with sudden feare by this sudden
comming of the enemies) had thronged themselves.
Where being assailed by the Britains, within the
space of two daies the place was wonne, and they
that were found within it, laine euerie mothers
somme.

After this, the Britains incouraged with this vic-
torie, went to meet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant
of the legion, surnamed the ninth, and boldlie incoun-
tering with the same legion, gaue the Romans the
ouerthrow, and slue all the footmen, so that Cerealis
with much adoe escaped with his horsemen, and got
him backe to the campe, and laued himselfe within
the trenches. Catus the procurator being put in
feare with this ouerthrow, and perceining what ha-
tred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with
his couetousnesse thus brought the warre vpon the
head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertised of these doings, came
backe out of Anglescey, and with marvellous cou-
stancie marched through the midst of his enemies
to London, being as then not greatlie peopled with
Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but
full of merchants, and well prouided of vittells: he
was in great doubt at his comming thither, whether
he might best staie there as in a place most conueni-
ent, or rather take some other more easie to be defend-
ed. At length considering the small number of his
men of warre, and remembering how Cerealis had
sped by his too much rashnesse, he thought better with
the losing of one towne to saue the whole, than to
put all in danger of irrecoverable losse. And there-
with nothing moued at the praier & teares of them
which besought him of aid and succour, he departed,

80000. faith
Dion.

Corn. Tacit.
Catus Dec-
ianus procur-
tor.

The Bri-
tains were
that time
230000. men
(as Dion
saith.)

Corn. Tacit.
15.
Dion. Cas.

and those that would go with him he received into his armie, those that taried behind were oppressed by the enemies: and the like destruction happened to them of Uerolanium, a towne in those daies of great fame, situate nere to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now standeth.

The Britains leaving the castles and fortresses unassaulted, followed their gaine in spoiling of those places which were easie to get, and where great plenty of riches was to be found, using their victorie with such crueltie, that they slue (as the report went) to the number of 70 thousand Romans, and such as took their part in the said places by the Britains thus won and conquered. For there was nothing with the Britains but slaughter, fire, gallowses, and such like, so earnestlie were they set on reuenge. They spared neither age nor sex: women of great nobilitie and worthie fame they took and hanged by naked, and cutting off their paps, solued them to their mouthes, that they might seme as if they sucked and fed on them, and some of their bodies they stretched out in length, and thrust them on sharpe stakes. All these things they did in great despite whilst they sacrificed in their temples, and made feasts, namelie in the wood consecrated to the honour of Andates, for so they called the goddess of victorie whom they worshipped most reuerentlie.

P. Suetonius the Romane with a fresh power assalteth the Britains, whose armie consisted as well of women as men: queene Voadicia incourageth hir souldiers, so dooth Suetonius his warriors, both armies haue a sharpe conflict, the Britains are discomfited and miserablie slaine, the queene dieth, Penius Posthumus killeth himselfe, the Britains are persecuted with fire, sword, and famine, the grudge betweene Cassianus and Suetonius, whome Polycletus is sent to reconcile, of his traie, and how the Britains repined at him.

The xiiij. Chapter.

In this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion surnamed the 14, and other bands of souldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thousand in the whole, whereupon chieflie because vittels began to faile him) he prepared to giue battell to his enemies, and chose out a plot of ground verie strong within straits, and backed with a wood, so that the enemies could not assault his campe but on the front: yet by reason of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceived by their late prosperous successe, the Britains under the conduct of queene Voadicia aduentured to giue battell, hauing their women there to be witnesses of the victorie, whom they placed in charrets at the uttermost side of their field.

Voadicia, or Voudicia (for so we find hir written by some copies, and Bonitica also by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as she passed by the souldiers of each sundrie countie, told them it was a thing accustomed among the Britains to go to the warres under the leading of women; but she was not now come forth as one borne of such noble ancestors as she was descended from, to fight for hir kingdome and riches; but as one of the meane sort, rather to defend hir lost libertie, and to reuenge hir selfe of the enemy, for their crueltie shewed in scourging hir like a vagabond,

and shamefull despoiling of hir daughters: for the licentious lust of the Romans was so farre spread and increased, that they spared neither the bodies of old nor yong, but were readie most shamefullie to abuse them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to satiffie their filthy concupiscence: but (saith she) the gods are at hand readie to take iust reuenge.

The legion that presumed to encounter with vs is slaine and beaten downe. The residue keepe them close within their holds, or else seek waies how to flee out of the countie: they shall not be once able so much as to abide the noise and clamor of so manie thousands as we are here assembled, much lesse the force of our great puissance and dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (saith she) would wey and consider with your selues your huge numbers of men of warre, and the causes why ye haue moued this warre, ye would surely determine either in this battell to die with honour, or else to banquish the enemy by plaine force, for (quoth she) I being a woman am fullie resolved, as for you men ye maie (if ye list) liue and be brought into bondage.

Neither did Suetonius cease to exhort his people: for though he trusted in their manhood, yet as he had diuided his armie into three battells, so did he make vnto each of them a severall oration, willing them not to feare the shrill and vaine menacing threats of the Britains, sith there was among them more women than men, they hauing no skill in warrelike discipline, and hereto being naked without furniture of armour, would forthwith giue place when they should see the sharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had so often bene put to flight. In manie legions (saith he) the number is small of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore should be the more, for that they being a small number should win the same due to the whole armie, if they would (bringing together) bestow their weapons freely, and with their swords and targets presse forward vpon their enemies, continuing the slaughter without regard to the spoile, they might assure themselves when the victorie was once atchiued to haue all at their pleasures.

Such forwardnesse in the souldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the couragious generall, that euerie one prepared himselfe so readie to do his dutie, and that with such a shew of skill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceived an assured hope of good lucke to follow, caused the trumpets to sound to the battell. The onset was given in the straits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in comparison to their enemies. The fight in the beginning was verie sharpe and cruell, but in the end the Britains being a let one to another (by reason of the narrownesse of the place) were not able to susteine the violent force of the Romans their enemies, so that they were constrained to giue backe, and so being disordered were put to flight, and utterly discomfited.

There were slaine of the Britains that day fewe lesse than 80000 thousand, as Tacitus writeth. For the straits being stopped with the charrets, staid the flight of the Britains, so as they could not easily escape: and the Romans were so set on reuenge, that they spared neither man nor woman, so that manie were slaine in the battell, manie amongst the charrets, and a great number at the woods side, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken prisoners. Those that escaped, would haue fought a new battell, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonitica deceased of a naturall infirmittie, as Dion Cassius writeth, but other say that she poisoned hir selfe, and so died, because she would not

80000. saith Dion.

The Britains were at that time 250000 men, (as Dion writeth.)

Corn. Tacit. lib. 15.
Dion Cassius.

80000. Britains slaine.

Denius
Posthumus
sleeth him-
selfe.

not come into the hands of his bloodthirstie enemies. There died of the Romans part in this most notable battell 400, and about the like number were grievously hurt and most pitifullie wounded.

Denius Posthumus maister of the campe of the second legion, understanding the prosperous success of the other Roman captaine, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refused to obey the commandements of the generall, contrarie to the use of warre, slew himselfe.

After this all the Roman armie was brought into the field to make an end of the residue of the warre. And the emperor caused a supplie to be sent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie souldiers, and 8 bands of aids, with 1000 horsemen, by whose coming the bands of the ninth legion were supplied with legionarie souldiers, and those bands and wings of horsemen were appointed to places where they might winter; and such people of the Britains as were either enemies, or else stood in doubt whether to be friends or enemies in deed, were persecuted with fire and sword.

But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whilest everie man gave himselfe to the warre, and purposed to have lived upon the provision of the Romans and other their enemies, they applied not themselves to tillage, nor to any husbanding of the ground, and long it was yet they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reason that Julius Cæsar, who was sent into Britaine as successor to Catus, fell at square with Suetonius, and by his private grudge hindered the prosperous success of publicke affaires. He stuck not to write to Rome, that except an other were sent to succeed in the same that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. Whereupon one Polydorus, which sometime had beene a bondman, was sent into Britaine, as a commissioner, to surueie the state of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, & also to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

The port which Polydorus bore was great, for he was furnished with no small traine that attended upon him, so that his presence seemed verie dreadfull to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great scoime to see such honorable captaine and men of warre as the Romans were to submit themselves to the order of such a one as had beene a bondslave.

In what state the Iland stood whiles Arviragus reigned; the dissolute and loose government of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Vicinus Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Roman emperours, of Julius Frontinus who vanquished the Silures.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Petronius
Turpilianus
lieutenant.

Trebellius
Maximus
lieutenant.

In place of Suetonius, was 60
Petronius Turpilianus (who had lately bene consull) appointed to have the government of the armie in Britaine, the which neither troubling the enemy, nor being troubled or provoked, did colour forthfall rest with the honest name of peace and quietnesse, and so sat still without exploiting any notable enterprise.

After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made lieutenant of Britaine, who likewise with courteous demeanour sought to keepe the Britains in rest rather than by force to compell them. And

now began the people of the Ile to beare with pleasant faults and flattering vices, so that the civill warres that chanced in those daies after the death of the emperor Nero at home, might easilie excuse the slothfulness of the Roman lieutenants.

Moreover, there rose dissention amongst their men of warre, which being used to lie abroad in the field, could not agree with the idle life; so that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himselfe from the sight of the souldiers being in an uprore against him, till at length humbling himselfe unto them further than became his estate, he governed by waie of intreatie, or rather at their courtlesse. And so was the commotion staid without bloodshed, the armie as it were having by covenant obtained to live licentiouslie, and the captaine swerte to live without danger to be murdered.

Neither Vicinus Volanus that succeeded Maximus whilest the time of the civill warres as yet 20
endured, did trouble the Britains, using the same slacknesse and sloth that the other lieutenants had used before him, and permitted the like licence to the presumptuous souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himselfe, and not hated for any notable crime or vice: so that he purchased favour, although authority wanted.

But after that the emperor Vespasianus had subdued his adversaries, and attained the imperiall government, as well over Britaine as over other parts of the world, there were sent hither right noble captaine, with divers notable bands of souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by invading the Brigantes the mightiest nation of all the whole Iland: and fighting manie battels, and some right bloodie with those people, he subdued a great part of the countrie at the last.

After him succeeded as lieutenant of Britaine, 40
A one Julius Frontinus, who vanquished and brought to the Roman subiection by force of armes the people called Silures, striving not onelie against the stout resistance of the men, but also with the hardnesse & combersome troubles of the places.

Thus may you perceiue in what state this Ile stood in the time that Arviragus reigned in the same, as is supposed by the best histories of the old Britains: so that it may be thought that he governed rather a part of this land, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romans not having so reduced the countrie into the forme of a province, but that the Britains bare rule in diverse parts thereof, and that by the permission of the Romans, which neuertheless had their lieutenants and procurators here, that bare the greatest rule under the aforesaid emperours.

The state of this Iland vnder Marius the sonne of Arviragus, the coming in of the Picts with Roderike their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots

enter into mutuall alliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie over the Picts, his death and interment.

The xv. Chapter.

After the decease of Arviragus, 73
his sonne Marius succeeded him in the estate, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 73. In the old English chronicle he is called Westmer, & was a verie wise man, governing the Britains

Of these you
may reade
more in pag. 9.

Marth. West.

Vicinus
Volanus
lieutenant.

Cor. Tacitus.

Goderike
king of Picts
saith.

Polydor.
Marth. West.

Marth. West
Thus find
in the B.
and Engl
histories
touching this
Marius.

Of these you
maye reade
more in pag. 9.

March. West.

Britains in great prosperitie, honour and wealth.
In the time of this mans reigne, the people called
Picts invaded this land, who are iudged to be de-
scended of the nation of the Scythians, neare kin-
men to the Goths, both by countrie and maners,
a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres.
This people with their ringleader Roderike, or (as
some name him) Londorike, entering the Ocean
sea after the maner of rowers, arrived on the coasts
of Ireland, where they required of the Scots new
seats to inhabit in: for the Scots which (as some
thinke) were also descended of the Scythians, did as
then inhabit in Ireland: but doubting that it should
not be for their profit to receiue so warlike a nation
into that Ile, feining as it were a friendship, and ex-
cusing the matter by the narrownesse of the coun-
trie, declared to the Picts, that the Ile of Britaine
was not farre from thence, being a large countrie
and a plentifull, and not greatly inhabited: wherefore
they counseled them to go thither, promising vnto
them all the aid that might be.

Roderike
king of Picts
cause.

The Picts more desirous of spoile than of rule or
gouernment, without delaye returned to the sea, and
sailed towards Britaine, where being arrived, they
first invaded the north parts thereof, and finding
there but few inhabitants, they began to wast and for-
rey the countrie: whereof when king Marius was
aduertised, with all speed he assembled his people, and
made towards his enimies, and giuing them bat-
tell, obtained the victorie, so that Roderike was there
slaine in the field, and his people vanquished.

Vnto those that escaped with life, Marius gran-
ted licence that they might inhabit in the north part
of Scotland called Catnesse, being as then a coun-
trie in maner desolate without habitation: where by
on they withdrew thither, and settled themselves in
those parties. And because the Britains disdained to
grant vnto them their daughters in marriage, they
sent vnto the Scots into Ireland, requiring to haue
wiues of their nation. The Scots agreed to their re-
quest, with this condition, that where there wanted
lawfull issue of the kings linage to succeed in the
kingdome of the Picts, then should they name one of
the womans side to be their king: which ordinance
was receiued and obserued euer after amongst the
Picts, so long as their kingdome endured.

Polydor.
March. West.

Thus the Picts next after the Romans were the
first of anie strangers that came into this land to in-
habit as most writers affirme, although the Scottish
chronicles auouch the Picts to be inhabitants here be-
fore the incarnation of our sauour. But the victorie
which Marius obtained against their king Roderike,
chanced in the yere after the incarnation 87. In re-
membrence of which victorie, Marius caused a stone
to be erected in the same place where the battell was
fought, in which stone was grauen these words, Marij
victoria. The English chronicle saith that this stone
was set by on Stanefmore, and that the whole coun-
trie therabout taking name of this Marius, was
Messimaria, now called Messmerland.

March. West.
Thus find we
in the British
and English
histories tou-
ching this
Marius.

King Marius hauing thus subdued his enimies,
and escaped the danger of their dreadfull inuasion,
gaue his mind to the good gouernement of his peo-
ple, and the aduancement of the common wealth of
the realme, continuing the residue of his life in great
tranquillitie, and finally departed this life, after he
had reigned (as most writers say) 52, or 53 yeres.
Howbeit there be that write, that he died in the yere
of our Lord 78, and so reigned not past five or six
yeres at the most. He was buried at Caerleill, lea-
uing a sonne behind him called Coill.

Humfrey Lhoyd seemeth to take this man and his
father Aruiragus to be all one person, whether mo-
ued thereto by some catalog of kings which he saw, or

otherwise, I cannot affirme: but speaking of the time
when the Picts and Scots should first come to settle
themselves in this land, he hath these words: Neither
was there anie writers of name, that made menti-
on either of Scots or Picts before Telspasianus
time, about the yere of the incarnation 72: at what
time Spurig or Patu, or Aruiragus reigned in Bri-
taine, in which time our annales doe report, that a
certeine kind of people liuing by piracie and roving
on the sea, came forth of Sweden, or Gothwate, vnder
the guiding of one Rithiercus, who landed in Alba-
nia, wasting all the countrie with robbing and spoil-
ing so farre as Caerleill, where he was vanquished
in battell, and slaine by Muragus, with a great part
of his people: the residue that escaped by flight, fled
to their ships, and so conueied themselves into the
Iles of Orkney and Scotland, where they abode
quietlie a great while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to shew of the
foresaid Lhoyds booke, for that it seemeth to carie a
great likelihood of truth with it, for the historie of the
Picts, which vndoubtedlie I thinke were not as yet
inhabiting in Britaine, but rather first placing
themselves in the Iles of Orkney, made inuasion
into the maine Ile of Britaine afterwards, as occa-
sion was offered. In the British tong they are called
Pighthead, that is Pightheadians, and so likelie were
they called in the Scottish, and in their owne tong.
Now will we shew what chanced in this Ile, during
the time of the foresaid Marius his supposed reigne,
as is found in the Romane histories.

Julius Agricola is deputed by Vespasian to gouerne Britaine, he invaderth the
Ile of Anglesey, the inhabitants yeeld vp them-
selves, the commendable gouernement of A-
gricola, his worthie practises to traine the
Britains to ciuillie, his exploits fortunatelie
achiuied against diuerse people,
as the Irish, &c.

The 16. Chapter.



After Julius Frontinus, the emperor Telspasian sent
Julius Agricola to succeed in
the gouernement of Bri-
taine, who comming ouer a-
bout the midst of summer,
found the men of warre
thorough want of a lieute-
nant negligent inough, as those that looking for no
trouble, thought themselves out of all danger, where
the enimies neuertheless watched vpon the next oc-
casion to worke some displeasure, and were readie on
each hand to moue rebellion. For the people called
Deuonians, that inhabited in the countrie of Chesh-
shire, Lancashire and part of Shropshire, had latelie
before ouerthrowne, and in maner bitterlie destroyed
a wing of such hollemen as sojourned in their par-
ties, by reason whereof all the prouince was brought
almost into an assured hope to recouer libertie.

Julius Agri-
cola lieutenant

Cor. Tacit in
vic. Agr.
The first yere
of Agricola
his gouern-
ment.

Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though sum-
mer was now halfe past, and that the souldiers lod-
ging here & there abroad in the countrie, were more
disposed to take rest, than to set forward into the
field against the enimies, determined yet to resist the
present danger: and therewith assembling the men
of warre of the Romans, and such other aids as he
might make, he invaded their countrie that had
done this foresaid displeasure, and slue the most part
of all the inhabitants thereof. Not thus contented
(for that he thought good to follow the steps of sauour-
table

The Ile of
Anglesey.

rable fortune, and knowing that as the beginning pro-
ued, so would the whole sequelle of his affaires by like-
lihood come to passe) he purposed to make a full con-
quest of the Ile of Anglesey, from the conquest wher-
of the Romane lieutenant Paulinus was called
backe by the rebellion of other of the Britains, as be-
fore ye haue heard.

But whereas he wanted ships for the furnishing
of his enterprise, his wit and policie found a shift to
supplie that defect: for choosing out a piked number of
such Britains as he had there with him in aid, which
knew the fords and shallow places of the streames
there, and withall were verie skilfull in swimming
(as the manner of the countrie then was) he appointed
them to passe ouer on the sudden into the Ile, onelie
with their hostes, armes, and weapon: which enter-
prise they so speedilie, and with so good successe atchi-
ued, that the inhabitants much amazed with that do-
ing (which looked for a nauie of ships to haue trans-
ported ouer their enimies by sea, and therefore wat-
ched on the coast) began to thinke that nothing was
able to be defended against such kind of warriors
that got ouer into the Ile after such sort and manner.

Anglesey peo-
ple to Agri-
cola.

And therefore making sute for peace, they deli-
uered the Ile into the hands of Agricola, whose fame by
these victories daile much increased, as of one that
toke pleasure in trauell, and attempting to atchiue
dangerous enterprises, in stead whereof his predecess-
ors had delighted, to shew the maiesties of their of-
fice by vaine brags, statelie ports, and ambitious
pomps. For Agricola turned not the prosperous
successe of his proceedings into vanitie, but rather
with neglecting his fame, increased it to the utter-
most, among them that iudged what hope was to be
looked for of things by him to be atchiued, which with
silence kept secret these his so worthie doings.

Agricola his
good govern-
ment.

Moreover, perceiving the nature of the people in
this Ile of Britaine, and sufficientlie taught by other
mens example, that armes should little auail where
injuries followed to the disquieting of the people, he
thought best to take away and remoue all occasions
of warre. And first beginning with himselfe and his
souldiers, toke order for a reformation to be had in
his owne household, yielding nothing to fauor, but
altogether in respect of vertue, accounting them
most faithfull which therein most excelled. He sought
to know all things, but not to do otherwise than rea-
son moued, pardoning small faults, and sharpelie
punishing great and heinous offenses, neither yet
delighting alwaies in punishment, but oftentimes in
repentance of the offender. Crations and tributes
he lessened, qualifying the same by reasonable equi-
tie. And thus in reforming the state of things, he wan
him great praise in time of peace, the which either by
negligence or sufferance of the former lieutenants,
was euer feared, and accounted worse than open
warre. This was his practise in the winter time of
his first yere.

His diligence.

But when summer was come, he assembled his
armie, and leading forth the same, trained his souldi-
ers in all honest warlike discipline, commending the
good, and reforming the bad and vnrule. He himselfe
to giue example, toke vpon him all dangers that
came to hand, and suffered not the enimies to line in
rest, but wasted their countreies with sudden inua-
sions. And when he had sufficientlie chastised them, and
put them in feare by such manner of dealing, he spa-
red them, that they might againe conceiue some
hope of peace. By which meanes manie countreies
which vnto those daies had kept themselves out of
bondage, laid rancor aslee, and deliuered pledges, and
further were contented to suffer castles to be builded
within them, and to be kept with garrisons, so that
no part of Britaine was free from the Romane

power, but stood still in danger to be brought vnder
more and more.

In the winter following, Agricola toke paines to
reduce the Britains from their rude manners and
customs, vnto a more ciuill sort and trade of liuing,
that changing their naturall fiercenesse and apt dis-
position to warre, they might through tastling plea-
sures be so inured therewith, that they should desire
to line in rest and quietnesse: and therefore he exhor-
ted them to pacitie, and holpe them publikelie to build
temples, common halls where pleas of law might be
kept, and other houses, commending them that were
diligent in such doings, and blaming them that were
negligent, so that of necessitie they were driuen to
strive who should preuent ech other in ciuilitie. He
also procured that noble mens sonnes should learne
the liberall sciences, and praised the nature of the
Britains more than the people of Gallia, because
they studied to attaine to the knowledge of the Ro-
mane eloquence. By which meanes the Britains in
short time were brought to the vse of god and com-
mendable manners, and sorted themselves to go in
comelie apparell after the Romane fashion, and by
little and little fell to accusome themselves to fine
fare and delicate pleasures, the readie psonnes of
vices, as to walke in galleries, to wash themselves
in bathes, to vse banketting, and such like, which a-
mongst the vnskillfull was called humanitie or cour-
tesie, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part
of thalldome and seruitude, namelie being to excel-
lentie vse.

In the third yere of Agricola his gouernment in
Britaine, he inuaded the north parts thereof (un-
knowne till those daies of the Romans) being the
same where the Scots now inhabit: for he wasted
the countrie vnto the water of Eay, in such wise
putting the inhabitants in feare, that they durst not
once set vpon his armie, though it were so that the
same was verie sore disquieted and vered by tem-
pest and rage of weather. Whereupon finding no
great let or hinderance by the enimies, he builded
certeine castles and fortresses, which he placed in
such conuenient steeds, that they greatlie annoied
his aduersaries, and were so able to be defended, that
there was none of those castles which he builded, ei-
ther wonn by force out of the Romans hands, or giuen
ouer by composition, for feare to be taken: so that
the same being furnished with competent numbers
of men of warre, were safelie kept from the eni-
mies, the which were daile vered by the often issues
made forth by the souldiers that laie thus in garrison
within them: so that where in times past the said e-
nimies would recouer their losses sustained in sum-
mer by the winters aduantage, now they were put
to the worse, and kept backe as well in the winter
as in the summer.

In the fourth summer, after that Agricola was ap-
pointed vnto the rule of this land, he went about to
bring vnder subiection those people, the which before
time he had by incursions and forreies sore vered and
disquieted: and thereupon comming to the waters
of Clide and Loughleuen, he built certeine fortres-
ses to defend the passages and entrees there, driving
the enimies beyond the same waters, as it had bene
into a new Island.

In the fifth summer, Agricola causing his ships to
be brought about, and appointing them to arrive on
the north coasts of Scotland, he passed with his ar-
mie ouer the riuer of Clide; and subdued such people
as inhabited those further parts of Scotland, which
till those daies had not bene discovered by the Ro-
mans. And because he thought it should serue well
to purpose, for some conquest to be made of Ireland,
if that part of Scotland which bordereth on the Irish
seas

The second
yere of Agri-
cola his go-
uernment.

The fourth
yere of Agri-
cola his go-
uernment.

The first
yere of Agri-
cola his go-
uernment.

The third
yere.

The winter
of the
yere.

The fourth
yere of Agri-
cola his go-
uernment.

Clota.
Sodoma.

The fifth
yere.

mins v

Irish
expell
of his
countrie.

The first
yere of Agri-
cola his go-
uernment.

Calende
wood.

In Iulius
King expelled
out of his
countie.

The first part
of Agricola
his govern-
ment.

seas might be kept in due obedience, he placed gar-
risons of souldiers in those parties, in hope verelie
upon occasion to passe ouer into Ireland, and for the
more easie aduancement of his purpose therein, he
intertained with honourable prouision one of the
kings of Ireland, which by ciuill discord was expel-
led and driuen out of his countie. In deed Agricola
perceined, that with one legion of souldiers, and a
small aid of other men of warre, it should be an easie
matter to conquer Ireland, and to bring it vnder
the dominion of the Romans: which enterprise he
iudged verie necessarie to be exploited, for better kee-
ping of the Britains in obedience, if they should see
the iurisdiction of the Romans euerie where exten-
ded, and the libertie of their neighbours suppressed.

In the first summer of Agricola his government,
he proceeded in subduing the furthermost parts of
Scotland northwards, causing his nauie to keepe
course against him by the coast as he marched south
by land, so that the Britains perceiuing how the se-
cret hauens and creekes of their countie were
now discovered, and that all hope of refuge was in
maner cut off from them, were in marvellous feare.
On the other part the Romans were sore troubled
with the rough mounteins and craggie rocks, by the
which they were constrained to passe beside the dan-
gerous rivers, lakes, woods, streits, and other com-
bersome waies and passages.

The danger also of them that were in the ships by
sea was not small, by reason of winds and tempests,
and high spring tides, which tossed and turmoiled
their vessels verie cruellie: but by the painfull dili-
gence of them that had bene brought by and inured
with continuall trauell and hardnesse, all those dis-
commodities were overcome to their great reioi-
sing, when they met and fell in talke of their passed
perils. For oftentimes the armie by land incamped
so by the thore, that those which kept the sea came on
land to make merrie in the campe, and then ech one
would recount to others the aduentures that had
happened, as the manner is in semblable cases.

The Britains of Calenderwood assalt
the Romans vpon aduantage, bloudie bat-
tels fought betwixt them, great numbers slaine
on both sides, the villanous dealing of certeine
Dutch souldiers against their captiues and fellows
in armes, the miserie that they were driuen vnto by famine
to eate one another, a sharpe conflict betwene the Ro-
mans and Britains, with the losse of manie a
mans life, and effusion of much
bloud.

The xvij. Chapter.

Calender-
wood.

The Britains that inhabi-
ted in those daies about the
parts of Calenderwood, per-
ceiuing in what danger they
were to be vtterlie subdued,
assembled themselves tog-
ther, in purpose to trie the for-
tune of battell: whereof Agri-
cola being aduertised, marched south with his armie
divided in three battels, so that the enemies doubting
to trie the matter in open field, espied their time in
the night, and with all their whole puissance set vpon
one of the Romane legions, which they knew to be
most feeble and weake, trusting by a camifado to dis-
tresse the same: and first sleaing the watch, they en-
tered the campe, where the said legion laie, and finding
the souldiers in great disorder, betwixt sleepe and
feare, began the fight euen within the campe.
Agricola had knowledge of their purposed intent,

and therefore with all speed hasted south to come to
the succours of his people, sending first his light
horsemen, and certeine light armed footmen to as-
saile the enemies on their backs, and shortly after
approched with his whole puissance, so that the Ro-
mane standards beginning to appeere in sight by the
light of the daie that then began to spring, the Bri-
tains were sore discouraged, and the Romans renew-
ing their force, fiercelie pceassed vpon them, so that e-
uen in the entrie of the campe, there was a sore con-
flict, till at length the Britains were put to flight and
chased, so that if the marshes and woods had not sa-
ued them from the pursute of the Romans, there had
bene an end made of the whole warre euen by that
one daies worke. But the Britains escaping as well
as they might, and reputing the victorie to haue chan-
ced not by the valiantie of the Romane soldiers, but
by occasion, and the prudent policie of their captiue,
were nothing abashed with that their present losse,
but prepared to put their youth againe into armour:
and thereupon they remoued their wines and chil-
dren into safe places, and then assembling the chiefe
gouernours togither, concluded a league amongst
themselues, ech to aid other, confirming their articles
with doing of sacrifice (as the manner in those daies
was.)

The same summer, a band of such Dutch or Ger-
maine souldiers as had bene leuied in Germanie
& sent ouer into Britaine to the aid of the Romans,
attempted a great and wonderfull act, in sleaing
their captiue, and such other of the Romane sould-
iers which were appointed to haue the training and
leading of them, as officers and instructors to them
in the feats of warre: and when they had committed
that murder, they got into three pinelless, and became
rouers on the coasts of Britaine, and incounting
with diuerse of the Britains that were ready to de-
fend their countie from spoile, oftentimes they got
the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were
chased awate, insonmuch that in the end they were
brought to such extremitie for want of vittels, that
they did eate such amongst them as were the wea-
kest, and after, such as the lot touched, being indiffe-
rentlie cast amongst them: and so being carried about
the coasts of Britaine, & losing their vessels through
want of skill to gouerne them, they were reputed for
robbers, and thereupon were apprehended, first by
the Suabeners, and shortly after by the Friziers, the
which sold diuerse of them to the Romans and other,
whereby the true vnderstanding of their aduentures
came certeinlie to light.

In summer next following, Agricola with his ar-
mie came to the mounteine of Granisben, where he
vnderstood that his enemies were incamped, to the
number of 30 thousand and aboue, and daillie there
came to them more companie of the British youth,
and such aged persons also as were lustie and in
strength, able to wield weapon and beare armour. A-
mongst the captiues the chiefeest was one Calgacus
whom the Scotish chronicles name Calo. This man
as chiefeine and head captiue of all the Britains
there assembled, made to them a pitthe oration, to in-
courage them to fight manfullie, and likewise did Ag-
ricola to his people: which being ended, the armies
on both sides were put in order of battell. Agricola
placed 8 thousand footmen of strangers which he had
there in aid with him in the midst, appointing three
thousand horsemen to stand on the sides of these his
wings. The Romane legions stood at their backs in
fild of a bulworke. The Britains were imbrattled
in such order, that their fore ward stood in the plaine
ground, and the other on the side of an hill, as though
they had risen on height one ranke aboue another.
The midst of the field was couered with their char-
gets.

The tenth
year.

The eight
year of Agri-
cola his go-
uernment.

Calgacus
whome the
Scots name
Calo and will
needs haue
him a Scotish
man.

rets and horsemen. Agricola doubting by the huge multitude of enemies, least his people should be assailed not onlie a front, but also upon euerie side the battels, he caused the ranks so to place themselves, as their battels might stretch farre further in breadth than otherwise the order of warre required: but he took this to be a good remedie against such inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrownesse of the fronts of his battels should haue hemmed them in on eche side.

This done, and hauing conceiued good hope of victorie, he alighted on foot, and putting his horse from him, he stood before the standards as one not caring for anie danger that might happen. At the first they bestowed their shot and darts frælie on both sides. The Britains aswell with constant manhood, as skillfull practise, with broad swords and little round bucklers auoided and beat from them the arrowes and darts that came from their enemies, and therewithall paid them home againe with their shot and darts, so that the Romans were nere hand oppressed therewith, because they came so thicke in their faces, till at length Agricola caused three cohorts of Hollanders, & two of Lukeners to presse forward, & ioine with them at hand-strokes, so as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the sword, which thing as to them (being inured with that kind of fight) it stood greatlie with their aduantage, so to the Britains it was verie dangerous, that were to defend themselves with their mightie huge swords and small bucklers. Also by reason their swords were broad at the ends, and pointlesse, they auailed little to hurt the armed enimie. Whereupon when the Hollanders came to ioine with them, they made so vile wo;ke in slaing and wounding them in most horrible wise.

The horsemen also that made resistance they pulled from their horses, and began to cline the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands desirous to match their fellows in helping to atchieue the victorie, followed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: manie were ouerrun and left halfe dead, and some not once touched with anie weapon, were likewise ouerpressed, such hast the Romans made to follow vpon the Britains. Whilist the British horsemen fled, their charrets ioined themselves with their footmen, and restoring the battell, put the Romans in such feare, that they were at a sudden stay: but the charrets being troubled with pæse of enemies, & vneuennesse of the ground, they could not worke their seat to anie purpose, neither had that fight anie resemblance of a battell of horsemen, when eche one so encumbred other, that they had no come to strike themselves. The charrets oftentimes wanting their guiders were caried atwate with the horses, that being put in feare with the noise and stir, ran hither and thither, bearing downe one another, and whomsoeuer else they met withall.

So to the Britains that kept the top of the hills, and had not yet fought at all, despising the small number of the Romans, began to come downe towards and to cast about, that they might set vpon the backs of their enemies, in hope so to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no lesse, but that some such thing would come to passe, had asprehand foresene the danger, and having reserved foure wings of horsemen for such sudden chances, sent them forth against those Britains, the which horsemen with full random charging vpon them as they rashlie came forward, quicklie disordered them and put them all to flight, and so that purposed deuise and policie of the Britains turned to their some hinderance. For their

horsemen by their captains appointment trauesing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, set vpon that battell of the Britains which they found before them. Then in those open and plaine places a greuous & heauie sight it was to behold, how they pursued, wounded, and took their enemies: and as they were aduised of other to flee those that they had before taken, to the end they might overtake the other, there was nothing but slaing, taking, and chasing, slaughter, spilling of blood, scattering of weapons, grunting and groning of men and horses that lay on the ground, gasping for breath, & readie to die.

The Britains now and then as they saw their aduantage, namelie when they approached nere to the woods, gathered themselves together, and set vpon the Romans as they followed vnadvisedlie, and further (through ignorance of the places) than stood with their suertie, insomuch that if Agricola had not provided remedie, and sent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foot and horsebacke to close in the enemies, and also to beat the wood, some greater losse would haue followed through too much boldnes of them that too rashlie pursued vpon the Britains: who when they beheld the Romans thus to follow them in whole troops and good order of battell, they slippt awate and took them to flight, eche one seeking to saue himselfe, and kept not together in plumps as before they had done. The night made an end of the chase which the Romans had followed till they were throughlie wearied. There were slaine of the Britains that day 10000, and of the Romans 340, among whom Aulus Atticus a capteine of one of the cohorts or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horsebacke (through his owne too much youthfull courage, and fierce vnruines of his horse) was caried into the middle throng of his enemies, and there slaine.

The lamentable distresse and pitifull perplexitie of the Britains after their ouerthrow, Domitian enuieth Agricola the glorie of his victories, he is subtilie deprived of his deputiship, and Cneus Trebellius surrogated in his roome.

The xvij. Chapter.

The night insluing the fore said ouerthrow of the Britains was spent of the Romans in great ioy & gladnes for the victorie atchieued. But among the Britains there was nothing else heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men and women that were mingled together, some busie to beare away the wounded, to bind and dress their hurts; other calling for their sonnes, kinsfolkes and friends that were wanting. Spantes of them sought their houses, and in their desperate mood set them on fire, and choosing forth places for their better refuge and safeguard, forthwith murthering of the same, left them and sought others: herewith diuers of them took counsell together what they were best to do, one while they were in hope, another while they fainted, as people cast into bitter despaire: the beholding of their wiues and children oftentimes moued them to attempt some new enterprise for the preservation of their countrie and liberties. And certaine it is that some of them due their wiues and children, as moued thereto with a certaine

Hector Bo

Cor. Tacit

In haue
led Crab
bis, perad
uenture il
empens.Centurion
Britains
slain.Britains
cous slaine.Cneus T
bellius a
Salustius
cullus as
thinke.

Fabian.

certaine fond regard of pittie to rid them out of further miserie and danger of thraldome.

The next day the certaintie of the victorie more plainlie was disclosed, for all was quiet about, and no noise heard anie where: the houses appeared burning on eij side, and such as were sent forth to discover the countrie into everie part thereof, saw not a creature stirring, for all the people were avoided and withdrawn a farre off.

When Agricola had thus overthrowne his enemies in a pittie field at the mountaine of Granibon, and that the countrie was quite rid of all appearance of enemies: because the summer of this eight yere of his gouvernement was now almost spent, he brought his armie into the confines of the Horrestians, which inhabited the countries now called Angus & Spene, and there intended to winter, and toke hostages of the people for assurance of their loialtie and subiection. This done, he appointed the admirall of the navie to saile about the Ile, which accordinglie to his commission in that point received, luckilie accomplished his enterpryse, and brought the navie about againe into an haven called Eritulensis.

In this meane time, whilst Julius Agricola was thus occupied in Britaine, both the emperor Vespasianus, and also his brother Titus that succeeded him, departed this life, and Domitianus was elected emperor, who hearing of such prosperous successe as Agricola had against the Britains, did not so much reioice for the thing well done, as he envied to consider what glorie and renowne should rebound to Agricola thereby, which he perceived should much darken the glasse of his fame, having a private person under him, who in worthinesse of noble exploits achieved, farre excelled his doings.

To find remedie therefore herein, he thought not good to bitter his malice as yet, whilst Agricola remained in Britaine with an armie, which so much favoured him, and that with so good cause, sith by his policie and noble conduct the same had obtained so manie victories, so much honor, and such plentie of spoiles and booties. Whereupon to dissemble his intent, he appointed to reuoke him forth of Britaine, as it were to honor him, not onelie with deserved triumphs, but also with the lieutenantship of Syria, which as then was void by the death of Atilius Rufus. Thus Agricola being countermanded home to Rome, deliuered his prouince unto his successor Cneus Trebellius, appointed thereto by the emperor Domitianus, in good quiet and safeguard.

Thus may you see in what state Britaine stood in the daies of king Marius, of whome Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the citie of Chester was builded by this Marius, though other (as before I haue said) thinke rather that it was the worke of Moxius Scapula their legat. Touching other the doings of Agricola, in the Scottis chronicle you maie find more at large set forth: for that which I haue written here, is but to shew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of that which Agricola did here in Britaine, without making mention either of Scots or Picts, onelie naming them Britains, Horrestians, and Calidonnians, who inhabited in those daies a part of this Ile which now we call Scotland, the originall of which countrie, and the inhabitants of the same, is greatly controuersed among writers; diuerse diuerlie descanting thereupon, some fetching their reason from the etymon of the word which is Craeke, some from the opening of their ancestors as they find the same remaining in records; other some from comparing antiquities together, and aptlie collecting the truth as nere as they can. But to omit them, and retorne to the continuation of our owne historie.

Of Coillus the sonne of Marius, his education in Rome, how long he reigned: of Lucius his sonne and successor, what time he assumed the government of this land, he was an open professor of christian religion, he and his familie are baptised, Britaine receiveth the faith, 3 archbishops and 28 bishops at that time in this land, westminster church and S. Peters in Cornhill builded, diuers opinions touching the time of Lucius his reigne, of his death, and when the christian faith was receiued in this land.

The 19. Chapter.



Coillus the sonne of Marius.

Coillus was after his fathers deceasse made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 125. This Coillus or Coill was brought vp in his youth amongst the Romans at Rome, where he spent his time not unprofitable, but

applied himselfe to learning & seruice in the warres, by reason whereof he was much honored of the Romans, and holkewise honored and loued them, so that he paid his tribute truelie all the time of his reigne, and therefore lived in peace and good quiet. He was also a prince of much bountie, and verie liberall, whereby he obtained great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some saie, that he made the towne of Colchester in Essex, but others write, that Coill which reigned next after Asclepiodotus was the first founder of that towne, but by other it should seeme to be built long before, being called Camulodunum. Finally when this Coill had reigned the space of 54 yeres, he departed this life at Rome, leauing after him a sonne named Lucius, which succeeded in the kingdome.

Lucius the sonne of Coillus, whose surname (as saith William Harison) is not extant, began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yere of our Lord 180, as Fabian following the authoritie of Peter Pictauiensis saith, although other writers seeme to disagree in that account, as by the same Fabian in the table before his booke partlie appeareth, whereunto Mattheus Westmonasteriensis affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yere of our Lord 115, and was crowned king in the yere 124, as succeeded to his father Coillus, which died the same yere, being of great age per the said Lucius was borne. It is noted by antiquaries, that his entrance was in the 4132 of the world, 916 after the building of Rome, 220 after the comming of Cesar into Britaine, and 165 after Christ, whose accounts I follow in this treatise.

This Lucius is highlie renowned of the writers, for that he was the first king of the Britains that receiued the faith of Iesus Christ: for being inspired by the spirit of grace and truth, euen from the beginning of his reigne, he somewhat leant to the fauoring of Christian religion, being moued with the manifest miracles which the Christians daile wrought in witnesse and profe of their sound and perfect doctrine. For euen from the daies of Ioseph of Arimathea and his fellows, or what other godly men first taught the Britains the gospel of our Saviour, there remained amongst the same Britains some christians which ceased not to teach and preach the word of God most sincerelie unto them: but yet no king amongst them openlie professed that religion, till at length this Lucius perceiuing not onelie some of the Romane lieutenants in Britaine as Trebellius and Pertinax, with others, to haue

E. g.

submitted

Hector Boet.

Cor. Tacitus.

In haven called Eritulensis, per aduenture Britannicis.

Colchester built.

Cneus Trebellius alias Salustius Lucullus as some thinke.

Fabian.

submitted themselves to that profession, but also the emperor himselfe to begin to be favorable to them that professed it, he took occasion by their good example to give care more attentively unto the gospel, and at length sent unto Eleutherius bishop of Rome two learned men of the British nation, Cluane and Meduine, requiring him to send some such ministers as might instruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifully, and to baptize them according to the rules of christian religion.

* Fol. 119.

The reverend father John Iewell, sometime bishop of Salisbury, writeth in his replie unto Hardings answer, that the said Eleutherius, for general order to be taken in the realme and churches here, wrote his advice to Lucius in manner and forme following. You have received in the kingdom of Britaine, by Gods mercie, both the law and faith of Christ; ye have both the new and the old testament, out of the same through Gods grace, by the advice of your realme make a law, and by the same through Gods sufferance rule your kingdom of Britaine, for in that kingdom you are Gods vicar.

Britaine received the faith.

Hereupon were sent from the said Eleutherius two godlie learned men, the one named Fugatus, and the other Damianus, the which baptised the king with all his familie and people, and therewith removed the worshiping of idols and false gods, and taught the right meane and waie how to worship the true and immortall God. There were in those daies within the bounds of Britaine 28 flamines, & three Archflamines, which were as bishops and archbishops, or superintendents of the pagan or heathen religion, in whose place (they being removed) were instituted 28 bishops & three archbishops of the christian religion. One of the which archbishops held his see at London, another at Exeter, and the third at Caerleon Arwiske in Glamorgan-shire. Unto the archbishop of London was subject Cornwall, and all the middle part of England, even unto Humber. To the archbishop of Exeter all the north parts of Britaine from the river of Humber unto the furthest partes of Scotland. And to the archbishop of Caerleon was subject all Wales, within which countrie as then were seven bishops, where now there are but foure. The river of Severn in those daies divided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other parts of Britaine. Thus Britaine partlie by the means of Joseph of Arimathea (of whom ye have heard before) & partlie by the whole some instructions & doctrines of Fugatus and Damianus, was the first of all other regions that openly received the gospel, and continued most steadfast in that profession, till the cruell furie of Dioclesian persecuted the same, in such sort, that as well in Britaine as in all other places of the world, the christian religion was in manner extinguished, and utterly destroyed.

Marth. West.

Josephus of Arimathea.

Polydor. Westminster Church built.

There be that affirme, how this Lucius should build the church of saint Peter at Westminster, though manie attribute that act unto Sibert king of the east Saxons, and write how the place was then overgrown with thornes and bushes, and thereof took the name, and was called Thorney. They ad moreover that Thomas archbishop of London preached, read, and ministered the sacraments there to such as made resort unto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reuerstie of saint Pauls at London, and also a table sometime hanging in saint Peters church in Cornhill, it should seeme that the said church of saint Peter in Cornhill was the same that Lucius builded. But herein (saith Harison anno mundi 4174) doth lie a scruple. Sure Cornhill might some be mistaken for Thorney, speci-

allie in such old records, as time, age, & euill handling have oftentimes defaced.

But howsoever the case standeth, truth it is, that Lucius reioicing much, in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and understanding of the true God, that they needed not to be deceived any longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked spirits, he abolished all prophane worshippings of false gods, and conuerted all such temples as had bene dedicated to their seruice, vnto the use of christian religion: and thus studieng onlie how to aduance the glorie of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his word, without seeking the vaine glorie of worldly triumph, which is got with slaughter and bloudshed of manie a guiltlesse person, he left his kingdom; though not enlarged with broader dominion than he received it, yet greatly augmented and enriched with quiet rest, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be esteemed than all the rest) adorned with Christs religion, and perfectly instructed with his most holie word and doctrine. He reigned (as some write) 21 yeares, though other affirme but twelue yeares. Againe, some testifie that he reigned 77, others 54, and 43.

Polydor. Fabian. John Harl.

Howeuer here is to be noted, that if he procured the faith of Christ to be planted within this realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romane bishop, the same chanced in the daies of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antonius; and about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioined and made partaker of the empire with his father, which was seven yere after the death of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Verus, and in the 177 after the birth of our Saviour Iesus Christ, as by some chronologies is easie to be collected. For Eleutherius began to gouerne the see of Rome in the yere 169, according to the opinion of the most diligent chronographers of our time, and gouerned fiftene yeares and thirtene daies. And yet there are that affirme, how Lucius died at Gloucester in the yere of our Lord 156. Other say that he died in the yere 201, and other 208. So that the truth of this historie is brought into doubt by the discord of writers, concerning the time and other circumstances, although they all agree that in this kings daies the christian faith was first by publike consent openly received and professed in this land, which as some affirme, should chance in the twelue yere of his reigne, and in the yere of our Lord 177. Other iudge that it came to passe in the eight yere of his reigne, and in the yere of our Lord 188, where other (as before is said) alledge that it was in the yere of the Lord 179. Naclerus saith, that this happened about the yere of our Lord 156. And Henricus de Herfordia supposeth, that it was in the yere of our Lord 169, and in the nineteenth yere of the emperor Marcus Antonius Verus: and after other, about the first yere of the emperor Commodus.

Gal. Mon. Marth. Wel.

Polydor.

Naclerus. Hen. Herl.

The first Christian in Britaine.

Lollard? Verus? Lucian?

Julius Caesar? Another built.

Fabian.

Caxton. John Harl.

But to conclude, king Lucius died without issue, by reason whereof after his decesse the Britains fell at variance, which continued about the space of fiftene yeares (as Fabian thinketh) howbeit the old English chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixt them remained fiftie yeares, though Harding affirmeth but foure yeares. And thus much of the Britains, and their kings Collus and Lucius. Now it resteth to speake somewhat of the Romans which gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agri-cola was called backe to Rome, the Britains (and namelie those that inhabited beyond Tweed) partlie being weakened of their former strength, and partlie in consideration of their pledges, which they had deliuered to the Romans, remained in peace certeine yeares.

The

Calphurnius Agricola. Of the death of this Calphurnius Agricola may read in the Roman Chronicle.

The Britains after the deceasse of Lucius (who died without issue) rebell against the Romans, the emperor Adrian comming in his owne person into Britaine appeaseth the broile, they go about to recouer their libertie against the Romans, but are suppressed by Lollius the Roman lieutenant; the vigilantnesse or wakefulnesse of Marcellus, and his policie to keepe the souldiers waking, the Britains being ruled by certaine meane gentlemen of Perhennis appointing doo falselie accuse him to the emperor Commodus, he is mangled and murdered of his souldiers.

The xx. Chapter.

Cneus Trebellius lieutenant.

In the meane time the Roman lieutenant Cneus Trebellius that succeeded Julius Agricola, could not, forsee all things so perfectlie but that the souldiers waxing vnrulie by reason of long rest, fell at variance among themselves, and would not in the end obey the lieutenant, but disquieted the Britains beyond measure. Therefore the Britains perceluing themselves sore oppressed with intollerable bondage, and that daillie the same increased, they conspired together, upon hope to recouer libertie, and to defend their countrie by all meanes possible, and herewith they took weapon in hand against the Romans, and boldlie assailed them: but this they did yet warilie, and so, that they might flie vnto the woods and bogs for refuge upon necessitie, according to the manner of their countrie. Hereupon diuers slaughters were committed on both parties, and all the countrie was now ready to rebell: whereof when the emperor Adrian was aduertised from Trebellius the lieutenant, with all conuenient speed he passed ouer into Britaine, and quieted all the yle, vsing great humanitie towards the inhabitants; and making small account of that part where the Scots now inhabit, either because of the barrennesse thereof, or for that by reason of the nature of the countrie he thought it would be hard to be kept vnder subiection, he deuised to diuide it from the residue of Britaine, and so, caused a wall to be made from the mouth of Tine vnto the water of Esk, which wall contained in length 300 miles.

The wall of Adrian built, Spartianus.

Lollius Trebellius lieutenant.

Julius Capitol. Another wall built.

Calpurnius Agricola.

Of the doings of this Calpurnius in Britaine ye may read more in the second chapter.

After this, the Britains bearing a malicious hatred towards the Roman souldiers, and repining to be kept vnder the bond of seruitude, erstwhile went about to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertisement being giuen, the emperor Pius Antoninus sent ouer Lollius Urbicus as lieutenant into Britaine, who by sundrie battels striken, constrained the Britains to remaine in quiet, and causing those that inhabited in the north parts to remoue further off from the confines of the Roman province, raised another wall beyond that which the emperor Adrian had made, as is to be supposed, for the more suretie of the Roman subiects against the invasion of the enimies. But yet Lollius did not so make an end of the wars, but that the Britains hostile after attempted afresh, either to reduce their state into libertie, or to bring the same into further danger.

Whereupon Marcus Antoninus that succeeded Pius, sent Calpurnius Agricola to succeed Lollius in the gouernement of Britaine, the which easilie ouercame and subdued all his enimies. After this there chanced some trouble in the daies of the emperor Commodus the son of Marcus Antoninus and his successor in the empire: for the Britains

that diuelled northwards, beyond Adrians wall, brake through the same, and spoiled a great part of the countrie, against whom the Roman lieutenant for that time being come forth, gaue them battell: but both he and the Roman souldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and slaine.

Dion Cassius

With which newes Commodus being sore amazed, sent against the Britains one Ulpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence and temperance, but therewith rough and nothing gentle. He vfed the same kind of diet that the common souldiers did vse. He was a captaine much watchfull, as one contented with verie little sleepe, and desirous to haue his souldiers also vigilant and carefull to keepe sure watch in the night season. Cuertie cuening he would write twelue tables, such as they vfed to make on the lind tree, and deliuering them to one of his seruants, appointed him to beare them at seuerall houres of the night to sundrie souldiers, whereby supposing that their generall was still watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to sleepe.

Ulpius Marcellus lieutenant.

And although of nature he could well abstaine from sleepe, yet to be the better able to forbear it, he vfed a marvellous spare kind of diet: for to the end that he would not fill himselfe to much with bread, he would eat none but such as was brought to him from Rome, so that more than necessitie compelled him he could not eat, by reason that the skalenesse toke auaite the pleasant tast thereof, and lesse prouoked his appetite. He was a marvellous contentener of monie, so that bybes might not moue him to do otherwise than dutie required. This Marcellus being of such disposition, sore afflicted the Britains, and put them oftentimes to great losses: through same wherof, Commodus enuiling his renowne was after in mind to make him away, but yet spared him for a further purpose, and suffered him to depart.

After he was remoued from the gouernement of Britaine, one Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard (or pretorian souldiers as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the emperor Commodus, appointed certaine gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the armie in Britaine. Which fond substituting of such pettie officers to ouerse and ouerrule the people, was to them an occasion of hartgudge, and to him a meanes of small mischeefe: both which it is likelie he might haue auoided, had he bene proudent in his deputation. For the souldiers in the same armie grudging and repining to be gouerned by men of base degree, in respect of those that had borne rule ouer them before, being honozable personages, as senators, and of the consular dignitie, they fell at square among themselves, and about fiftene hundred of them departed towards Rome to exhibit their complaint against Perhennis: for what soener was amisse, the blame was still laid to him. They passed forth without impeachment at all, and comming to Rome, the emperor himselfe came forth to vnderstand what they meant by this their comming in such sort from the place where they were appointed to serue. Their answer was, that they were come to informe him of the treason which Perhennis had deuised to his destruction, that he might make his son emperor. To the which accusation when Commodus too lightlie gaue eare, & beleued it to be true, namely, through the setting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he vided him from doing diuerse vnlawfull acts, which he went about vpon a wilfull mind (without all reason and modestie) to practise; the matter was so handled in the end, that Perhennis was deliuered to the souldiers, who cruelly mangled him, and presently put him to a pittifull death.

Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard.

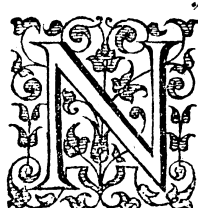
Aelius Laeprius.

Pertinax is sent as lieutenant into Britaine, he is in danger to be slaine of the souldiers, heriddeth himselfe of that perilous office: *Albinus with an armie of Britains fighteth against Seuerus and his power neere to Lions,*

Seuerus is slaine in a conflict against the Picts, Geta and Bassianus two brethren make mutuall warre for the regement of the land, the one is slaine, the other ruleth.

The xxj. Chapter.

Pertinax lieutenant of Britaine.



Now will we saie somewhat of the tumults in Britaine. It was thought needfull to send some sufficient capitaine of authority thither; and therefore was one Pertinax that had bene consull and ruler ouer foure seuerall

consular prouinces, appointed by Commodus to go as lieutenant into that Ile, both for that he was thought a man most meet for such a charge, and also to satisfie his credit, for that he had bene discharged by Verhennius of bearing ante rule, and sent home into Liguria where he was borne, and there appointed to remaine. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, pacified the armie, but not without danger to haue bene slaine by a mutinie raised by one of the legions: for he was stricken downe, and left for dead among the slaine carcasses. But he worthilie reuenged himselfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chastised the rebels, and brought the Ile into meetele god quiet, he sued and obtained to be discharged of that ronne, because as he alledged, the souldiers could not brooke him, for that he kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting such as offended the lawes of armes.

The lieutenant in danger.

Clodius Albinus lieutenant.

Then was Clodius Albinus appointed to haue the rule of the Romane armie in Britaine: whose destruction when Seuerus the emperor sought, Albinus perceiued it quicklie: and therefore choosing forth a great power of Britains, passed with the same ouer into France to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, so that nere to the citie of Lions they ioined in battell and fought right sore, in so much that Seuerus was at point to haue receiued the ouerthrow by the high prowesse and manhood of the Britains: but yet in the end Albinus lost the field, and was slaine. Then Heraclitus as lieutenant began to gouerne Britaine (as writeth Spartianus) being sent thither by Seuerus for that purpose before. And such was the state of this Ile about the yeare of our Lord 195. In which season, because that king Lucius was dead, and had left no issue to succeed him, the Britains (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongst themselves, and so continued till the comming of Seuerus, whome the British chonographers affirme to reigne as king in this Ile, & that by right of succession in blood, as descended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Julius Cesar, as before ye haue heard.

Seuerus.

This Seuerus as then emperor of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in the yeare of our Lord 207, and gouerned the same 4 yeares and od moneths. At length hearing that diu. Fulgentius as then a leader of the Picts was entred into the borders of his countrie on this side Durham; he raised an host of Britains and Romans, with the which he marched towards this da. nities; and meeting with the said Fulgentius in a

place nere unto Forke, in the end after sore fight Seuerus was slaine, when he had ruled this land for the space almost of five yeares, as before is said, and was after buried at Forke, leaving behind him two sonnes, the one named Geta, and the other Bassianus. This Bassianus being borne of a British woman, succeeded his father in the gouernment of Britaine, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord 211. The Romans would haue had Geta

created king of Britaine, bearing more fauour to him because he had a Romane ladie to his mother: but the Britains moued with the like respect, held with Bassianus. And therupon warre was raised betwixt the two brethren, who comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was slaine, and Bassianus with aid of the Britains remained victor, and so continued king, till at length he was slaine by one Carausius a Britaine, borne but of low birth, howbeit right ballant in armes, and therefore well esteemed. In somuch that obtaining of the senat of Rome the keeping of the coasts of Britaine, that he might defend the same from the malice of strangers, as Picts and others, he dyed to him a great number of souldiers and speciallie of Britains, to whome he promised that if they would make him king, he would cleerlie deliuer them from the oppression of the Romane seruitude. Whereupon the Britains rebelling against Bassianus, ioined themselves to Carausius, who by their support vanquished and slue the said Bassianus, after he had reigned 6 or (as some affirme) 30 yeares.

Thus farre out of the English and British writers, the which how farre they varte from likelihood of truth, you shall heare in the next chapter what the approued historiographers, Grekes and Latines, writing of these matters, haue recorded.

Antoninus and Geta.

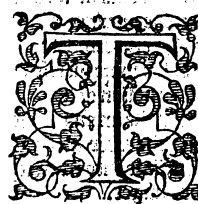
The emperor Seuerus arriveth in Britaine.

Herodianus

The ambitious mind of the old emperor Seuerus, he arriueth in Britaine with a mightie power to suppress the rebellious Britains, the emperours politike prouision for his souldiers in the fens and bogs: the agilitie of the Britains, their nimbleness, the painting of their bodies with diuerse colours, their furniture, their great sufferance of hunger, cold, &c. diuerse conflicts betwene the Romans and the Britains, their subtilie traines to deceiue their enemies, the Romans pitifullie distressed, Seuerus constraineth the Caledonians to conclude a league with him; he falleth sicke, his owne sonne practiseth to make him away: the Britains begin a new rebellion, the cruell commandement of Seuerus to kill and flea all that came to hand without exception, his age, his death, and sepulchre: Bassianus ambitiouslie usurpeth the whole regement, he killeth his brother Geta, and is slaine himselfe by one of his owne souldiers.

He meant the north Britains or sauage Britains as we may call thy

The xxij. Chapter.



The emperor Seuerus receiving aduertisement from the lieutenant of Britaine, that the people there moued rebellion, & wasted the countrie with roads and forraies, so that it was needful to haue the prince himselfe to come thither with great power to resist the enemies, he of an ambitious mind reioiced not a little for those newes, because he saw occasion offered to advance his renowne and fame with increase of new victories now in the west, after so manie triumphs purchased and got by him in the east and north parts of the world: whereupon though he was of great age, yet

The first ture of the uage Britains.

Inconuenient
and Ceta.

yet the desire that he had still to win honour, caused him to take in hand to make a iourne into this land, and so being furnished of all things necessarie, he set forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more ease: for that beside his feeblenesse of age, he was also troubled with the gout. He took with him his two sonnes, Antoninus Bassianus and Ceta, upon purpose as was thought, to avoid occasions of such inconuenience as he perceined might grow by discords mauced betwixt them through flatterers and malicious hypocritants, which sought to set them at variance: which to bring to passe, he perceined there should want no meane whilst they continued in Rome, amidst such pleasures and idle pastimes as were daile there frequented: and therefore he caused them to attend him in this iourne into Britaine, that they might learne to liue soberlie, and after the manner of men of warre.

The emperor
Seuerus
was arraigned
in Britaine.

Seuerus being thus on his iourne towards Britaine, staied not by the waie, but with all diligence sped him forth, and passing the sea verie swiftlie, entered this Ile, and assembled a mightie power together, meaning to assaile his enemies, and to pursue the warre against them to the uttermost. The Britains greatly amazed with this sudden arrivall of the emperor, and hearing that such preparation was made against them, sent ambassadours to him to intreat of peace, and to excuse their rebellious doings. But Seuerus de laing time for answer, as he that was desirous to atchieue some high enterprise against the Britains, for the which he might deserve the surname of Britannicus, which he greatly coveted, still was busie to prepare all things necessarie for the warre; and namely, caused a great number of bridges to be made to lay over the bogs and marshes, so that his souldiers might haue place to stand upon, and not to be incumbered for lacke of firme ground when they should cope with their enemies: for the more part of Britaine in those daies (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fens and marshy ground, by reason of the often flowings and washings of the sea tides: by the which marshy grounds the enemies being thereto accustomed, would run and swim in the waters, and wade up to the middle at their pleasure, going for the more part naked, so that they passed not on the mud and mires, for they knew not the vse of wearing cloths, but wore hopes of iron about their middles and necks, esteeming the same as an ornament and token of riches, as other barbarous people did gold.

Herodianus.

The meane of
the north
Britains of
saueage
Britains
as we
may call them.

Whereouer they marked, or (as it were) painted their bodies in diuerse sorts and with sundrie shapes and figures of beastes and fowles, and therefore they used not to weare any garments, that such painting of their bodies might the more apparantlie be seene, which they esteemed a great brauerie.

They were as the same Herodianus writeth, a people giuen much to war, and delighted in slaughter and bloodshed, using none other weapons or armour but a slender buckler, a ianeline, and a sword tied to their naked bodies: as for headpiece or habergeon, they esteemed not, because they thought the same should be an hinderance to them when they should passe ouer any marsh, or be diuient to swim any waters, or flee to the bogs.

The furniture
of the
saueage
Britains.

Whereouer, to suffer hunger, cold, and trauell, they were so used and inured therewith, that they would not passe to lie in the bogs and mires couered up to the chin, without caring for meate for the space of diuerse daies together: and in the woods they would liue upon roots and barkes of trees. Also they used to prepare for themselves a certaine kind of meate, of the which if they receiued but so much as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke them-

selves satisfied, and feele neither hunger nor thirst. The one halfe of the Ile or little lesse was subiect vnto the Romans, the other was gouerned of themselves, the people for the most part hauing the rule in their hands.

Seuerus therefore meaning to subdue the whole, and vnderstanding their nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided him selfe of all things expedient for the annoiunce of them and helpe of his owne souldiers, and appointing his sonne Ceta to remaine in that part of the Ile which was subiect to the Romans, he took with him his other sonne Antoninus, and with his armie marched forth, and entered into the confines of the enemies, and there began to waste and forrey the countrie, whereby there ensued diuerse conflicts and skirmishes betwixt the Romans and the inhabitants, the victorie still remaining on the Romans side: but the enemies easily escaped without any great losse vnto the woods, mountains, bogs, and such other places of refuge as they knew to be at hand, whether the Romans durst not follow, nor once approach, for feare to be intraped and inclosed by the Britains that were readie to retorne and assaile their enemies upon euery occasion of aduantage that might be offered.

This manner of dealing soe troubled the Romans, and so hindered them in their proceedings, that no speedie end could be made of that warre. The Britains would oftentimes of purpose laie their cattell, as oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like, in places conuenient, to be as a scale to the Romans; and when the Romans should make to them to fetch the same away, being distant from the residue of the armie a good space, they would fall vpon them and distresse them. Beside this, the Romans were much annoied with the vnholefomnesse of the waters which they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to strate abroad, they were snaped by by ambushes which the Caledonians laid for them, and when they were so feeble that they could not through want of strength keepe pace with their fellows as they marched in order of battell, they were slaine by their owne fellows, least they should be left behind for a prey to the enemies. Whereby there died in this iourne of the Roman armie, at the point of fiftie thousand men: but yet would not Seuerus retorne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and so came to the uttermost parts of all the countrie now called Scotland, and at last backe againe to the other part of the Ile subiect to the Romans, the inhabitants whereof are named (by Dion Cassius) *Menta*. But first he forced the other, whom the same Dion nameth Caledonij, to conclude a league with him, upon such conditions, as they were compelled to depart with no small portion of the countrie, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.

Dion Cassius.

In the meane time, the emperor Seuerus being woone with age fell sicke, so that he was constrained to abide at home within that part of the Ile which subiected the Romans, and to appoint his sonne Antoninus to take charge of the armie abroad. But Antoninus not regarding the enemies, attempted little or nothing against them, but sought waies how to win the fauour of the souldiers and men of warre, that after his fathers death (for which he daile looked) he might haue their aid and assistance to be admitted emperor in his place. Now when he saw that his father bare out his sicknesse longer time than he would haue wished, he practised with physicians and other of his fathers seruants to dispatch him by any meane or other.

Whilst Antoninus thus negligentlie looked to his charge, the Britains began a new rebellion, not onlie those that were lately ioined in league with the emperor,

emperor, but the other also which were subjects to the Romane empire. Seuerus toke such displeasure, that he called together the souldiers, and commanded them to invade the countrie, and to kill all such as they might meet within any place without respect, and that his cruell commandment he executed in these verses taken out of Homer:

Iliados. 3.

*Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cademque cruentam,
Non factus grauida mater quem gessit in alio
Horrendam effugiat cadem.*

Herodianus.
Dion Cassius.
Eutropius.
Dion Cassius.

But while he was thus disquieted with the rebellion of the Britains, and the disloyall practises of his sonne Antoninus, which to him were not unknowne, (for the wicked sonne had by diuers attempts discovered his traitorous and unnatural meanings) at length, rather through sorrow and griefe, than by force of sicknesse, he wasted away, and departed this life at Forke, the third daie before the nones of February, after he had gouerned the empire by the space of 17 yeares, 8 moneths, & 33 daies. He liued 65 yerres, 9 moneths, & 13 daies: he was borne the third ides of April. By that which before is recited out of Herodian and Dion Cassius, of the maners & vsages of those people, against whom Seuerus held warre here in Britaine, it may be coniectured, that they were the Picts, the which possessed in those daies a great part of Scotland, and with continual incursions and rodes wasted and destroyed the borders of those countries which were subject to the Romans. To keepe them backe therefore and to represse their inuasions, Seuerus (as some write) either restored the former wall made by Adrian, or else newly built an other ouerthwart the Ile, from the east sea to the west, containing in length 232 miles. This wall was not made of stone, but of turf and earth supported with stakes and piles of wood, and defended on the backe with a deepe trench or ditch, and also fortified with diuerse towers and turrets built & erected vpon the same wall or rampire so nere together, that the sound of trumpets being placed in the same, might be heard betwixt, and so warning giuen from one to another vpon the first descrying of the enemies.

Polydorus.
Herodianus.
211

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our Lord 211, his son Antoninus otherwise called also Bassianus, would faine haue usurped the whole gouernment into his owne hands, attempting with bribes and large promises to corrupt the minds of the souldiers: but when he perceiued that his purpose would not forward as he wished in that behalfe, he concluded a league with the enemies, and making peace with them, returned backe towards Forke, and came to his mother and brother Geta, with whom he toke order for the buriall of his father. And first his bodie being burnt (as the maner was) the ashes were put into a vessell of gold, and so conueyed to Rome by the two brethren and the emperesse Julia, who was mother to Geta the younger brother, and mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Bassianus, & by all meanes possible sought to maintaine loue and concord betwixt the brethren, which now at the first toke vpon them to rule the empire equallie together. But the ambition of Bassianus was such, that finally vpon desire to haue the whole rule himselfe, he found meanes to dispatch his brother Geta, breaking one daie into his chamber, and slaying him cuen in his mothers lap, and so possessed the gouernment alone, till at length he was slaine at Eborac a citie in Mesopotamia by one of his owne souldiers, as he was about to vntruste his points to do the office of nature, after he had reigned the space of 6 yeares, as is aforesaid. Where we are to note Gods iudgment, providing that he which had shed mans blood, should also die by the sword.

Sextus Aurelius.

Of Carausius an obscure Britaine, what countries he gaue the Picts, and whereupon, his death by Alectus his successor, the Romans foiled by Asclepiodotus duke of Cornwall, whereof Walbrooke had the name, the couetous practise of Carausius the vsurper.

The xxij. Chapter.



Carausius a Britan of vnto Carausius.
knowne birth, as witnesseth the British histories, after he had vanquished & slaine Bassianus (as the same histories make mention) was of the Britains made king and ruler over them, in the yere of

our Lord 218, as Galfridus saith: but W. H. noteth it to be in the yere 286. This Carausius either to haue the aid & support of the Picts, as in the British historie is contained, either else to be at quietnesse with them, being not otherwise able to resist them, gaue to them the countries in the south parts of Scotland, which some to England on the east marches, as Spers, Louthian, and others.

But here is to be noted, that the British writers affirme, that these Picts which were thus placed in the south parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scythia by Fulgentius, to aid him against Seuerus, and that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurts received in the battell fought betwixt them at Forke: the Picts toke part with Bassianus, and at length betrayed him in the battell which he fought against Carausius: for he corrupting them by such subtil practises as he used, they turned to his side, to the ouerthrow and utter destruction of Bassianus: for the which traitorous part they had those south countries of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scottish writers it should appeare, that those Picts which aided Fulgentius and also Carausius, were the same that long before had inhabited the north parts of Britaine, now called Scotland. But whatsoever they were, truth it is (as the British histories record) that at length one Alectus was sent from Rome by the senat with 3 legions of souldiers to subdue Carausius, which he did, and slew him in the field, as the same histories make mention, after he had reigned the space of 7, or 8, yeares: and in the yere of our saluation two hundred, ninetie, three.

Aleclus in hauing vanquished and slaine Carausius toke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 293. This Aleclus, when he had restored the land to the subiection of the Romans, did vse great crueltie against such Britains as had maintained the part of Carausius, by reason whereof he purchased much euill will of the Britains, the which at length conspired against him, and purposing to chase the Romans altogether out of their countrie, they procured one Asclepiodotus (whome the British chronicles name duke of Cornwall) to take vpon him as chiefe captaine that enterprize. Wherevpon the same Asclepiodotus assembling a great armie, made such sharpe warres on the Romans, that they being chased from place to place, at length withdrew to the citie of London, and there held them till Asclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Aleclus and his Romans so much, that in the end they issued forth of the citie, and gaue battell to the Britains, in the which much people on both parts were slaine, but the greatest

Fabian.
March West.
Asclepiodotus.
Gal. Mon.
March West.

Walbrooke.

218
Galfrid.

Polychron.
Fabian.

Galfrid.

Asclepiodotus slaine.
March West.
hath 7. yeare

Eutropius.

The couetous
practising of
Carausius

Aleclus.
Of whom our
British histories
do write
after their
maner.
293.

Aspirant
purposeth
to slay Carausius.

Polydor.

Eutropius.

Flavian.
March West.
Asclepiodotus.
Cal. Mon.
May West.

Walbyoke.

Asclepiodotus slain.
May West.
bath x. pentecost.

Eutropius.

The courteous
practising of
Caracallus.

Marinianus
purposeth to
slay Caracallus.

Polydor.

Eutropius.

test number died on the Romans side: and amongst others, Alectus himselfe was slaine. the residue of the Romans that were left alive, retired backe into the citie with a capteine of theirs named Aluius Gallus, and defended themselves within the walles for a time right valiantlie. Thus was Alectus slaine of the Britains, after he had reigned (as some suppose) about the terme of six yeares, or (as some other write) three yeares.

Asclepiodotus, duke of Cornewall, began his reigne over the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 232. After he had vanquished the Romans in battell, as before is related, he laid his siege about the citie of London, and finally by kinglike force entred the same, and slew the forerunner Aluius Gallus nere unto a brooke which in those daies ran through the citie, & threw him into the same brooke by reason whereof long after it was called Gallus or Gallus brooke. And at this present the streete where the same brooke did run, is called Walbyoke.

Then after Asclepiodotus had overcome all his enemies, he held this land a certeine space in good rest and quiet, and ministred iustice uprightlie, in rewarding the good, and punishing the evil. Till at length, through slanderous tongues of malicious persons, discord was raised betwixt the king and one Coill or Collus, that was gouernour of Colchester: the occasion whereof appeareth not by writers. But whatsoeuer the matter was, there insaid such hatred betwixt them, that on both parts great armies were raised, and meeting in the field, they fought a fore and mightie battell, in the which Asclepiodotus was slaine, after he had reigned 30 yeares. Thus haue Geoffrey of Monmouth and our common chroniclers written of Caracallus, Alectus, and Asclepiodotus, which gouerned here in Britaine.

But Eutropius the famous writer of the Romane histories, in the acts of Dioclesian hath in effect these wordes. About the same time Caracallus, the which being borne of most base offspring, attained to high honour and dignitie by order of renowned chualtrie & seruice in the warres, receiued charge at Boilein, to keepe the seas quiet alongst the coastes of Britaine, France, and Flanders, and other countries thereabouts, because the Frenchmen, which yet inhabited within the bounds of Germanie, and the Barons sore troubled those seas. Caracallus taking oftentimes manie of the enemies, neither restored the goods to them of the countrie from whence the enemies had bereft the same, nor yet sent ainte part thereof to the emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vse. Whereupon when suspicion arose, that he should of purpose suffer the enemies to passe by him, till they had taken some prizes, that in their returne with the same he might encounter with them, and take that from them which they had gotten (by which subtilie practise he was thought greatly to haue enriched himselfe) Marinius that was fellow in gouernment of the empire with Dioclesianus, remaining then in Gallia, and aduertised of these doings, commanded that Caracallus should be slaine, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and usurping the imperiall ornaments and title, got possession of Britaine, against whom (being a man of great experience in all warlike knowledge) when warres had bene attempted and folowed in vaine, at length a peace was concluded with him, and so he enioied the possession of Britaine by the space of seven yeares, & then was slaine by his companion Alectus, the which after him ruled Britaine for the space of three yeares, and was in the end oppressed by the guile of Asclepiodotus gouernour of the pretorie, or (as I maie call him) lord lieutenant of some precinct and iurisdiction pertaining to the Romane empire. And so was Britaine reco-

uered by the foresaid Asclepiodotus about ten yeares after that Caracallus had first vsurped the gouernment there, and about the yeare of our Lord 300, as Polydor iudgeth, wherein he varieth much from Flavian and others.

¶ But to shew what we find further written of the subduing of Alectus, I thinke it not amisse to set downe what Mamertinus in his oration written in praise of Marinius doth report of this matter, which shall be performed in the chapter following.

Mamertinus.

The substance of that which is written touching Britaine in a panegyrike oration ascribed to Mamertinus, which he set forth in praise of the emperours Dioclesian and Maximian: it is intuled onelie to Maximian, whereas neuertheless both the emperours are praised; and likewise (as ye may perceiue) Constantius who was father to Constantine the great is here spoken of, being chosen by the two foresaid emperours, to assist them by the name of Cesar in rule of the empire: of whom hereafter more shall be said.

The xxiiij. Chapter.



At the compasse of the earth (most victorious emperor) being now recovered through your noble proovesse, not onelie so farre as the limits of the Romane empire had before extended, but also the enemies borders being subdued, when Almaine had bene so often banquished, and Sarmatia so often restrained & brought vnder, the people called Virungi, Quadi, Carpi so often put to flight, the Goth submitting himselfe, the king of Persia by offering gifts suing for peace: one despitefull reproch of so mightie an empire and gouernement ouer the whole graued vs to the heart, as now at length we will not sticke to confesse, and to vs it seemed the moze intollerable, because it onelie remained to the accomplishing of your perfect renowne and glorie. And verilie as there is but one name of Britaine, so was the losse to be esteemed smal to the common wealth of a land so plentifull of corne, so abundant with store of pastures, so flowing with beines of mettall, so gainfull with reuenues rising of customs and tributes, so enuitoned with hauens, so huge in circuit, the which when Cesar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the first that entered into it, wist that he had found an other world, supposing it to be so big, that it was not compassed with the sea, but that rather by resemblance the great Ocean was compassed with it. Now at that time Britaine was nothing furnished with ships of warre; so that the Romans, soone after the warres of Carthage and Asia, had latelie bene exercised by sea against pirats, and afterwards by reason of the warres against Mithridates, were practised as well to fight by sea as land: besides this, the British nation then alone was accustomed but onelie to the Brits and

Virungi, Quadi, Carpi, and people of Germania and Dolome.

Brits and Britmen.

and Irishmen, enemies halfe naked as yet & not bled to weare armor, so that the Britains for lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romane puissance, insomuch that Cesar might by that boiage onelie glorie in this, that he had sailed and passed ouer the Ocean sea.

But in this wicked rebellious robberie, first the nauie that in times past defended the coasts of Gallia, was led away by the pirat when he fled his waies: and beside this, a great number of other ships were built after the mould of ours, the legion of Romane souldiers was woon, and brought to take part with the enimie, and diuers bands of strangers that were also souldiers were shut vp in the ships to serue also against vs. The merchants of the parties of Gallia were assembled and brought together to the musters, and no small numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in aid of the rebels, trusting to enrich themselves by the spoile of the prouinces: and all these were trained in the wars by sea, through the instruction of the first attemptors of this mischieuous practise.

And although our armies were inuincible in force and manhood, yet were they raw and not accustomed to the seas, so that the same of a grieuous and great trouble by warre that was toward by this shamefull rebellious robberie was blowne and sounded in ech mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Unto the enemies forces was added a long sufferance of their wicked practises without punishment, which had puffed by the presumptuous boldnesse of desperate people, that they bragged of our stay, as it had bene for feare of them, whereas the disadvantage which we had by sea, seemed as it were by a fatall necessitie to deferre our victorie: neither did they beleue that the warre was put off for a time by aduise and counsell, but rather to be omitted through despaire of doing anie good against them, insomuch that now the feare of common punishment being laid aslee, one of the mates slue the archpirat or capteine rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of so great an exploit, to obtaine the whole gouernement into his hands.

This warre then being both so necessarie, so hard to enter vpon, so growne in time to a stubborne stiffenesse, and so well prouided for of the enemies part, you noble emperor did so take it in hand, that so soone as you bent the thundering force of your imperiall maiestie against that enimie, ech man made account that the enterprize was already atchiued. For first of all, to the end that your diuine power being absent, the barbarous nations should not attempt anie new trouble (a thing chieflie to be foresene) it was prouided for aforesaid by intercession made vnto your maiestie: for you your selfe, you (I say) mightie lord Maximian eternall emperor, bouched safe to aduance the com-

ming of your diuine excellencie by the next way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne. You therefore suddenly came to the Rhine, and not with anie armie of horsemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your presence did preserue and defend all that frontire: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruailed anie the greatest armies that were to be found. For you (most inuincible emperor) furnishing and arming diuers nauies, made the enimie so vncertaine of his owne doing and hold of counsell, that then at length he might perceiue that he was not defended, but rather inclosed with the Ocean sea.

Here cometh to mind how pleasant and easfull the good lucke of those princes in gouerning the common wealth with praise was, which sitting still in Rome had triumphs and such names appointed them of such nations as their captiues did banquish. Fronto therefore, not the second, but match with the first honor of the Romane eloquence, when he yielded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renoume of the warre brought to end in Britaine, although he sitting at home in his palace within the citie, had committed the conduct and successe of that warre ouer vnto the same fronto, it was confessed by him, that the emperor sitting as it were at the helme of the ship, deserued the praise, by giuing of perfect order to the full accomplishing of the enterprize. But you (most inuincible emperor) haue bene not onlie the appointer forth how all this boiage by sea, and prosecuting the warre by land should be demeaned, as appertained to you by vertue of your imperiall rule and dignitie, but also you haue bene an exhorter and setter forward in the things themselves, and through example of your assured constancie, the victorie was atchiued. For you taking the sea at sluice, did put an irrenouable desire into their hearts that were readie to take ship at the same time in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, insomuch that when the capteins of that armie did linger out the time, by reason the seas and aire was troubled, they cried to haue the sailes hoisted vp, and signe giuen to lanch forth, that they might passe forward on their iournie, despising certaine tokens which threatened their wrecke, and so set forward on a rainie and tempestuous day, sailing with a crosse wind, for no forewind might serue their turne.

But what was he that durst not commit himselfe vnto the sea, were the same neuer so vnquiet, when you were once vnder saile, and set forward? One voice and exhortation was among them all (as report hath gone thereof) when they heard that you were once got forth vpon the water, What doe we dout? what mean we to staie? He is now losed from land, he is forward on his waie, and peradventure is already got ouer: Let vs put all things in

Long sufferance of euill increaseth boldnesse in the authors.

Carraninus slaine

Fronto commeth to the emperor match.

The good lucke in a game.

profe, let vs benter throughanie dangers of sea whatsoeuer. What is there that we may stand in feare of: we follow the emperor. Neither did the opinion of your good hap deceiue them: for as by report of them selues we doe vnderstand, at that selfe time there fell such a mist and thicke fog vpon the seas, that the enimies nauie laid at the Ile of wight watching for their aduersaries, and lurking as it were in await, these your ships passed by, and were not once perceiued, neither did the enimie then staie although he could not resist.

But now as concerning that the same vniuersall army fighting vnder your ensignes and name, straightwaies after it came to land, set fire on their ships: what moued them so to doe, except the admonitions of your diuine motion: Or what other reason perswaded them to reterue no furtherance for their flight, if need were, nor to feare the doubtfull chances of war, nor (as the prouerbe saith) to thinke the hazard of martiall dealings to be common, but that by contemplation of your prosperous hap, it was verie certeine that there needed no doubt to be cast for victorie to be obtained: There were no sufficient forces at that present among them, no mightie or puissant strength of the Romans, but they had onelie consideration of your vnspokeable fortunate successe comming from the heauens aboue. For whatsoeuer battell dooth chance to be offered, to make full account of victorie, resteth not so much in the assurance of the souldiers, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the capteine generall.

The good lucke in a capteine.

That same ringleader of the vngracious faction, what ment he to depart from that shore which he possessed: Why did he forsake both his nauie and the hauen: But that (most inuincible emperor) he stood in feare of your comming, whose sailes he beheld readie to approach towards him, how soeuer the matter should fall out, he chose rather to trie his fortune with your capteins, than to abide the present force of your highnes. Ah mad man! that vnderstood not, that whither soeuer he fled, the power of your diuine maiestie to be present in all places where your countenance & banners are had in reuerence. But he fleeing from your presence, fell into the hands of your people, of you was he overcome, of your armie was he oppressed.

To be short, he was brought into such feare, and as it were still looking behind him, for doubt of your comming after him, that as one out of his wits and amazed, he wist not what to doe: he halst forward to his death, so that he neither set his men in order of battell, nor marshalled such power as he had about him, but quie with the old authours of that conspiracie, and the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetfull of so great preparation which he had made, ran headlong forwards to his destruction, inso much (noble emperor) your felicitie yeldeth this good hap to the

common wealth, that the victorie being continued in the behalfe of the Romane empire, there almost died not one Romane: for as I heare, all those fields and hills lay couered with none but onelie with the bodies of most wicked enimies, the same being of the barbarous nations, or at the least wise apparellled in the counterfet shapes of barbarous garments, glistering with their long yellow haire, but now with gashes of wounds and bloud all deformed, and lieng in sundrie manners, as the pangs of death occasioned by their wounds had caused them to stretch forth or drab in their maimed lung and mangled parts of their dieng bodies. And among these, the chiefe ringleader of the theues was found, who had put off those robes which in his life time he had vsurped and dishonoured, so as scarce was he couered with one peece of apparell whereby he might be knowne, so were were his words true, vttered at the houre of his death, which he saw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderstood how he was slaine.

Victus found dead.

He had despoiled himselfe of the imperall robes, because he would not be knowne if he chanced to be slaine.

Thus berelie (most inuincible emperor) so great a victorie was appointed to you by consent of the immortall gods ouer all the enimies whome you assailed, but namely the slaughter of the Frankeners and those your souldiers also, which (as before I haue said) through missing their course by reason of the mist that lay on the seas, were now come to the citie of London, where they flue downe right in ech part of the same citie, what multitude soeuer remained of those hired barbarous people, which escaping from the battell, ment (after they had spoiled the citie) to haue got a waie by flight. But now being thus slaine by your souldiers, the subiects of your prouince were both preserved from further danger, and tooke pleasure to behold the slaughter of such cruell enimies. What a manifold victorie was this, worthie vndoubtedlie of innumerable triumphes! by which victorie Britaine is restored to the empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlie destroyed, & by which manie other nations found accessaries in the conspiracie of that wicked practise, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the seas are purged and brought to perpetuall quietnesse.

Francones sine Franci.

London in danger to be spoiled.

Glorie you therefore, inuincible emperor, for that you haue as it were got an other world, & in restoring to the Romane puillance the glozy of conquest by sea, haue added to the Romane empire an element greater than all the compasse of the earth, that is, the mightie maine ocean. You haue made an end of the warre (inuincible emperor) that seemed as present to threaten all prouinces, and might haue spread abroad and burst out in a flame, euen so largelie as the ocean seas stretch, and the mediterrane gulfs doe reach. Neither are we ignorant, although through feare of you that infection did fester within the bowels of Britaine

Britaine onelie, and proceeded no further, with what furie it would haue aduanced it selfe else where, if it might haue bene assured of means to haue ranged abroad so far as it wished. For it was bounded in with no border of mountaine, nor riuer, which garrisons appointed were garded and defended but euen so as the ships, although we had your martiall prowes and prosperous fortune redie to relæue vs, & was still at our elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as either sea reacheth or wind bloweth.

The piracie of the Frankeners called Francis or Francos.

For that incredible boldnesse and unworthie good hap of a few sillie captiues of the Frankeners in time of the emperor Probus came to our remembrance, which Frankeners in that season, conueying awaie certaine vessels from the coasts of Pontus, wasted both Grecia and Asia, and not without great hurt and damage, arriuing vpon diuers parts of the shore of Libia, at length toke the citie of Saragose in Sicile (an haven to bene in times past highlie renowned for victories gotten by sea:) & after this passing thorough the streits of Giberaltarra, came into the Ocean, and so with the fortunate successe of their rash presumptuous attempt, shewed how nothing is shut vp in safetie from the desperate boldnesse of pirats, where ships maie come and haue access. And so therefore by this your victorie, not Britaine alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is safetie restored, which might by the ble of the seas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gaine of commodities in time of peace.

Now Spaine (to let passe the coasts of Gallia) with hir shores almost in sight is in suertie: now Italie, now Africke, now all nations euen vnto the fens of Aethiops are void of perpetuall cares. Neither are they lesse ioisfull, the feare of danger being taken awaie, which to feeles as yet the necessitie had not brought them: but they reioice so much the more for this, that both in the guiding of your prouidence, and also furtherance of fortune, so great a force of rebellion by seamen is calmed, vpon the entring into their borders, and Britaine it selfe which had giuen harbour to so long a mischief, is euidentlie knowne to haue tasted of your victorie, with hir onelie restitution to quietnesse. Not without good cause therfore immediatlie, when you hir long wished reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your maiestie was met with great triumph, & the Britains replenished with all inward gladnesse, came forth and offered themselves to your presence, with their wiues and childzen, reuerencing not onlie your selfe (on whom they set their eyes, as on one descended downe to them from heauen) but also euen the sailes and tackling of that ship which had brought your diuine presence vnto their coasts: and when you should set foot on land, they were readie to lie downe at

Britains restored to quietnes.

The Britains receiue Maximian with great joy and humblenesse.

your feet, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, so desirous were they of you.

Neither was it anie maruell if they shewed them selues so ioisfull, sith after their miserable captiuitie so manie yeres continued, after so long abusing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their childzen, at length yet were they now restored to libertie, at length made Romans, at length refreshed with the true light of the imperiall rule and gouernement: for beside the fame of your clemencie and pitie, which was set forth by the report of all nations, in your countenance (Cesar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eyes mildnesse, in your ruddie cheekes bashfulnesse, in your words iustice: all which things as by regard they acknowledged, so with voices of gladnesse they signified on high. To you they bound themselves by bow, to you they bound their childzen: yea and to your childzen they bowed all the posteritie of their race and offspring.

The trulie (O perpetuall parents and lords of mankind) require this of the immortal gods with most earnest supplication and heartie prayer, that our childzen and their childzen, and such other as shall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicated vnto you, and to those whom you now bring vp, or shall bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can we wish to them that shall succeed vs, than to be enioyers of that felicitie which now we our selues enjoy? The Romane common wealth doth now comprehend in one coniunction of peace, all whatsoeuer at sundrie times haue belonged to the Romans, and that huge power which with too great a burden was shrunke done, and riuen in sunder, is now brought to ioine againe in the assured ioints of the imperiall gouernment. For there is no part of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that either it remaineth quiet through feare, or subdued by force of armies, or at the lestwise bound by clemencie. And is there anie other thing else in other parts, which if will and reason should moue men thereto, that might be obtained? Beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Britaine, which is so recovered by you, that those nations which are nere adioining to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient to your commandments. There is no occasion that may moue you to passe further, except the ends of the Ocean sea, which nature forbiddeth should be sought for. All is yours (most inuincible princes) which are accounted worthy of you, and thereof cometh it, that you may equallie provide for euerie one, sith you haue the whole in your maiesties hands. And therefore as heretofore (most excellent emperor Dioclesian) by your commandement Asia did supplie the desert places of Thracia with inhabitants transported thither, as after ward

Dioclesian and Maximian.

Nations nere to Britaine obedient to emperours.

Francis or Frankeners people of Britaine.

The printed book hath been, but I take the H, to be thus in for N.

The printed
house hath
been, but I
take the 11, to
be that
is for N.

It is scarce
worth of Brit-
tains.

(most excellent emperor Maximian) by your appointment, the Frankens at length brought to a pleasant subiection, and admitted to live vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacant fields of the Peruians, and those about the citie of Trier. And so now by your victories (in- uincible Constantius Cesar) whatsoever did lie vacant about Amiens, Beauois, 10 Trois, and Langres, beginneth to flourish with inhabitants of sundrie nations: yea and moreover that your most obedient citie of Autun, for whose sake I haue a pecu- liar cause to reioice, by means of this tri- umphant victorie in Britaine, it hath receiued manie & diuerse artificers, of whom those prouinces were full, and now by their workmanship the same citie riseth by by repairing of ancient houses, and restoring 20 of publike buildings and temples, so that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherlie incorporation to Rome, is a gaine to hir restored, when she hath you estsones for hir founder. I haue said (in- uincible emperor) almost more than I haue bene able, & not so much as I ought, that I may haue most iust cause by your clemencies licence, both now to end, & of- 30 ten hereafter to speake: and thus I cease.

What is to be obserued and noted out of the panegyrike oration of Mamerti- nus afore remembred, with necessa- rie collections out of other Antiquaries.

The xxx. Chapter.



Now let vs consider what is to be noted out of this part of the foresaid oration. It should seeme that when the emperor Maximian was sent into Gallia by appoint- ment taken betwixt him and Dioclesian, after he had qui- 50 eted things there, he set his

mind forthwith to reduce Britaine vnder the obe- dience of the empire, which was at that present kept vnder subiection of such princes as mainteined their state, by the mightie forces of such number of ships as they had got together, furnished with all things necessarie, & namelie of able seamen, as well Britains as strangers, among whome the Fran- 60 keners were chiefe, a nation of Germanie, as then highly renowned for their puissance by sea, nere to the which they inhabited, so that there were no ra- uers comparable to them.

But because none durst stirre on these our seas for feare of the British fleet that passed to and fro at pleasure, to the great annoiance of the Romane sub- iects inhabiting alongst the coasts of Gallia, Maxi- man both to recouer againe so wealthie and profit- able a land vnto the obedience of the empire, as Britaine then was, and also to deliuer the people of Gallia subiect to the Romans, from danger of be- ing daillie spoiled by those rangers that were main- teined here in Britaine, he provided with all dili- gence such numbers of ships as were thought re- quiste for so great an enterprise, and rigging them in sundrie places, toke order for their setting for- 70 ward to his most advantage for the easie atchiuing of his enterprise. He appointed to passe himselfe from the coasts of Flanders, at that time other of capteines with their fleets from other parts should likewise make saile towards Britaine. By this meanes Alectus that had usurped the title & digni- tie of king or rather emperor ouer the Britains, knew not where to take heed, but yet vnderstanding of the naue that was made ready in the mouth of 80 Saينه, he ment by that which maie be coniectured, to intercept that fleet, as it should come forth and make saile for wards: and so for that purpose he laie with a great number of ships about the Ile of Wight.

But whether Asclepiodotus came ouer with that naue which was rigged on the coasts of Flanders, or with some other, I will not presume to affirme either to or fro, because in deed Mamertinus maketh no expresse mention either of Alectus or As- clepiodotus: but notwithstanding it is euident by that which is contained in his oration, that not Maxi- man, but some other of his capteins gouerned the armie, which slue Alectus, so that we maie suppose that Asclepiodotus was chieftaine ouer some num- ber of ships directed by Maximians appointment to passe ouer into this Ile against the same Alectus: and so maie this, which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that which we doe find in Eutro- 90 pius.

Here is to be remembred, that after Maxim- ans had thus recovered Britaine out of their hands that vsurped the rule thereof from the Romans, it should seeme that not onelie great numbers of arti- ficers & other people were conueied ouer into Gal- lia, there to inhabit and furnish such cities as were run into decaye, but also a power of warlike youths was transported thither to defend the countrie from the inuasion of barbarous nations. For we find that in the daies of this Maximian, the Britains expel- ling the Peruians out of the citie of Spons in Pe- 40 naud, held a castell there, which was called Bretat- mons after them, whereupon the citie was after- ward called spons, retaining the last syllable onlie, as in such cases it hath often happened.

Moreover this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfrey Lhoyd hath very well noted in his booke intituled *Fragmenta historiae Britannicae*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration doth make first mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the 50 ancient Romane writers: so that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to re- turne where we left.

Moreover this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfrey Lhoyd hath very well noted in his booke intituled *Fragmenta historiae Britannicae*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration doth make first mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the 50 ancient Romane writers: so that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to re- turne where we left.

The state of this Iland vnder bloudie Dioclesian the persecuting tyrant, of Al- ban the first that suffered martyrdome in Bri- taine, what miracles were wrought at his death, 60 whereof Lichfield toke the name; of Coilus earle of Colchester, whose daughter Helen was married to Constantius the emperor, as some authours suppose.

The xxxij. Chapter.



After that Britaine was thus recovered by the Ro- mans, Dioclesian and Maxi- man ruling the empire, the Iland tasted of the crueltie that Dioclesian exercised a- gainst the christians, in perse- 70 cuting them with all extre- mities, continuallie for the space of ten yeeres. A- mongst

Franci, or
Frankens,
people of Ger-
manie.

Eutropius.

Beda and
Gyldas.

mongst other, one Alban a citizen of Mellerlamchester, a towne now bearing his name, was the first that suffered here in Britaine in this persecution, being converted to the faith by the zealous christian Amphibalus, whom he receiued into his house: insomuch that when there came sergeants to seeke for the same Amphibalus, the fore said Alban to preserve Amphibalus out of danger, presented himselfe in the apparel of the said Amphibalus, & so being apprehended in his stead, was brought before the iudge and examined: and for that he refused to doe sacrifice to the false gods, he was beheaded on the top of an hill ouer against the towne of Mellerlamchester afore said where afterwards was builded a church and monastrie in remembrance of his martyrdome, insomuch that the towne there restored, after that Mellerlamchester was destroyed, toke the name of him, and so is vnto this day called saint Albons.

It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wrought at the time of his death, insomuch that one which was appointed to doe the execution, was conuerted, and refusing to doe that office, suffered also with him: but he that tooke vpon him to doe it, reioiced nothing thereat, for his eies fell out of his head doونه to the ground, together with the head of that holie man which he had then cut off. Where were also martyzed about the same time two constant witnesses of Christ his religion, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon Arwiske. Moreover, a great number of Christians which were assembled together to heare the word of life, preached by that vertuous man Amphibalus, were slaine by the wicked pagans at Lichfield, whereof that towne toke name, as you would say, The field of dead corpses.

To be briefe, this persecution was so great and greuous, and thereto so continuall, that in manner the Christian religion was thereby destroyed. The faithfull people were slaine, their houses burnt, and churches overthrowne. It is recorded that in one moneths space in diuers places of the world there were 17000 godlie men and women put to death, for professing the christian faith in the daies of that tyrant Dioclesian and his fellow Maximian.

Coelus earle of Colchester began his dominion ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 262. This Coelus or Coell ruled the land for a certeine time, so as the Britains were well content with his gouernement, and liued the longer in rest from inuasion of the Romans, because they were occupied in other places: but finally they finding time for their purpose, appointed one Constantius to passe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Constantius put Coelus in such dread, that immediatlie vpon his arrivall Coelus sent to him an ambassage, and concluded a peace with him, couenenting to pay the accustomed tribute, & gaue to Constantius his daughter in marriage called Helen, a noble ladie and a learned. Shortly after king Coell died, when he had reigned (as some write) 27 yeeres, or (as other haue) but 13 yeeres.

But by the way touching this Coelus, I will not denie, but assuredly such a prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helen, whom he married vnto Constantius the Romane lieutenant that was after emperor, I leaue that to be decided of the learned. For if the whole course of the lineages, as well of the father and the sonne Constantius and Constantine, as likewise of the mother Helen, be considerateli marked from time to time, and yeere to yeere, as out of authors both Greeke and Latine the same may be gathered, I feare least such doubt maierise in this matter, that it will be harder to proue Helen a Britaine, than Constantine to be borne in Brittain (as Nicephorus auoucheth). But forsomuch

as I meane not to step from the course of our countrey writers in such points, where they receiued opinion may seeme to warrant the credit of the historie, I will with other admit both the mother and sonne to be Britains in the whole discourse of the historie following, as though I had forgot what in this place I haue said.

A further discourse of the forenamed Constantius and Helen, his regiment ouer this land, his behaviour and talke to his sonne and counsellors as he lay on his death-bed, a deuise that he put in practise to vnderstand what true Christians he had in his court, his commendable vertues, that the Britains in his time embraced the christian faith is proued.

The xxxij. Chapter.



Constantius a senatour of Rome began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 280, as our histories report. This Constantius (as before we haue heard) had to wife Helen the daughter of the fore said king Coel,

of whom he begat a sonne named Constantius, which after was emperor, and for his worthie doings surnamed Constantine the great. S. Ambrose following the common report, writeth that this Helen was a maid in an inne: and some againe write, that she was concubine to Constantius, and not his wife. But what soeuer she was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romane histories, that Constantius being the daughters sonne of one Crispus, that was brother to the emperor Claudius, came into Britaine, and quieted the troubles that were raised by the Britains, and there (as some write) married the fore said Helen, being a woman of an excellent beaultie, whom yet [after] he was constrained to forsake, and to marrie Theodora the daughter in law of Hercules Maximianus, by whom he had six sonnes, and finally was created emperor, together with the said Galerius Maximianus, at what time Dioclesianus and his fellows Hercules Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the same vnto them. The empire was then diuided betwixt them, so that to Constantius the regions of Italie, Affrike, France, Spaine and Britaine were assigned; & to Galerius, Illyricum, Grecia, and all the east parts. But Constantine being a man void of ambition, was contented to leaue Italie and Affrike, supposing his charge to be great enough to haue the gouernement in his hands of France, Spaine, and Britaine (as Eutropius saith.)

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britains, we haue not to say further than as we find in our owne writers recorded: as for his gouernement in the empire, it is to be considered, that first he was admitted to rule as an assistant to Maximian vnder the title of Cesar: and so from that time if you shall account his reigne, it maie comprehend 11, 12, or 13 yeeres, yea more or lesse, according to the diuersities found in writers. Howbeit, if we shall reckon his reigne from the time onelie that Dioclesian and Maximian resigned their title vnto the empire, we shall find that he reigned not fullie three yeeres. For whereas betwene the daughter of Aletius, and the coming of Constantius, are accounted 8 yeeres and od moneths, not onelie those eight yeeres, but also some space of time before maie be ascribed vnto Constantius.

Beda.
See the booke
of acts and
monuments
set forth by
maister J. For.Iohn Rossus,
Warwicenf.
in lib. de Wigornienf. epif.
Lichfield
whereof it
toke name.

Gyldas.

Ran. Cestren.
Marth. West.
Constantius.

Coelus.

262
Fabian.Gal. Mon.
Fabian.
Caxton.

Lib. 7. cap. 18.

tains

Niceph.

Marth. West.
saith 302.
289

Tropius.

Orosius
Beda.

Cyprian.

Fabian.

Pompon
Laur.

Constantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britaine now this last time (for he had bene here afore, as it well appereth) Alcepiotus goner- ning as legat, albeit vnder Constantius, who had a great portion of the west parts of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue said, of Cesar, yet he was not said to reigne absolutelie, till Dioclesian and Maximian resigned: But now to conclude with the doings of Constantius; at length he fell sicke at Worke, and there died, about the yere of our Lord 306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whilst he late on his death-bed, somewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his sonne Constantine was come, and escaped from the emperours Dioclesian and Maximian, with whom he remained as a pledge (as after shall be partly touched) he receiued him with all joy, and raising himselfe vp in his bed, in presence of his other sonnes & counsellours, with a great number of other people and strangers that were come to visit him, he set the crowne vpon his sonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall robes and garments, erecuting as it were him selfe the office of an herall, and withall spake these words vnto his said sonne, and to his counsellours there about him: Now is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleasant; I haue here a large epitaph and monument of buriall, to wit, mine owne sonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be emperor in my place, which by Gods good helpe shall wipe away the feares of the Christians, and reuenge the crueltie exercised by tyrants. This I reckon to chance vnto me in stead of most felicitie.

After this, turning himselfe to the multitude, he commanded them all to be of good comfort, wishing those that had not forsaken true vertue and godlinesse in Christ, which Christ he undertooke should continue with his sonne Constantine in all enterprises, which in warres or otherwise he should take in hand. That deuile also is worthy to be had in memorie, which he put in practise in his life time, to vnderstand what true and sincere Christians were remaining in his court. For whereas he had bene first a persecuter, and after was converted, it was a matter easie to perswade the world, that he was no earnest Christian: and so the policie which he thought to worke, was the sooner brought to passe, which was this.

He called together all his officers and seruants, seining himselfe to chuse out such as would do sacrifice to diuels, and that those onelie should remaine with him and keepe their office, and the rest that refused so to do, should be thrust out, and banished the court. Whereupon all the courtiers diuided themselves into companies: and when some offered willinglie to do sacrifice, and other some boldlie refused: the emperor marking their dealings, sharpelie rebuked those which were so ready to dishonour the liuing God, accounting them as traitours to his diuine maiestie, and not worthy to remaine within the court gates: but those that constantlie stood in the profession of the christian faith, he greatlie commended, as men worthy to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they should be as chiefe counsellours and defenders both of his person and kingdome, esteeming more of them than of all the treasure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, he was a graue prince, sober, upright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mind euer free from couetous desire of great riches: insomuch that when he should make any great feast to his friends, he was not ashamed to borrow plate and siluer vessel to serue his turne, and to furnish his cupbord for the time, being contented for himselfe to be serued in cruets & earthen vessels. He was wont

to haue this saying in his mouth, that better it was that the subjects should haue store of monie and riches, than the prince to keepe it close in his treasure, where it serued to no use. By such countlesse dealing the prouinces which were in his charge flourished in great wealth and quietnesse: He was a verie wise and politike prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, and verie skillfull in the practise of warres, so that he stood the Roman empire in great stead, and was therefore highlie beloued of the soldiers, insomuch that immediatlie after his deceasse, they proclaimed his sonne Constantine emperor.

What the christian faith was embraced of the Britains in this season, it maie appere, in that Vllastius bishop of Exeter writeth to his brethren in Britaine, and Constantine in an epistle (as Theodoretus saith in his first booke and tenth chapter) maketh mention of the churches in Britaine: which also Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britains after they had receiued the faith, defended the same even with the shedding of their blood, as Amphilas, who in this Constantius daies being apprehended, suffered at Redburne nere to Wetherlamchester, about 15 yeres after the martyrdome of his host S. Albane.

He died in the yere 306, as Mart. West. hath noted, and reigned ouer the Britains but 11. yeres as Galsfrith.

291. John Bale.

Constantine created emperor in Britaine, he is solicited to take vpon him the regiment of those countries that his father gouerned, he is requested to subdue Maxentius the usurping tyrant, Maximianus his father seeketh to depose him, Constantines death is purposed by the said Maxentius the father & his sonne Maxentius, Fausta the daughter of Maximianus & wife to Constantine detesteth hir fathers trecherie for hir husband, Maximianus is strangled at Constantines commandement, league and alliance betwene him and Licinius, he is slain, the emperesse Helen commended, the crosse of Christ found with the inscription of the same, what miracles were wrought thereby, of the nailes, wherewith Christ was crucified, Constantine commended, the state of Britaine in his time.

The xxviij Chapter.

Constantine being the son of the fornamed Constantius, he got of his first wife Helen, the daughter (as some affirme) of Coell late king of the Britains, began to reigne in the yere of our Lord 306. This worthy prince begotten of a British woman, & borne of hir in Britaine (as our writers do affirme) and created certaine emperour in Britaine, did doubtlesse make his native countrie partaker of his high glorie and renowne, which by his great prowes, politike wisdom, worthy government, and other his princelie qualities most abundantly planted in his noble person, he purchased and got thorough the circuit of the whole earth, insomuch that for the high enterprises and noble acts by him happily brought to passe and atchined, he was surnamed (as before is said) the great Constantine. Whilst his Constantine remained at Rome in manner as he had bene a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he being then but young, fled from thence, and with all post hast returned to his father into Britaine, killing or howching by the waie all such hostles as were appointed to stand at innes ready for such as should ride in post, least being pursued, he should haue bene overtaken, and brought backe againe by such as might be sent to pursue him.

At his comming into Britaine, he found his father

Eutropius. Sextus Aurelius Victor.

Crocus king
of the Al-
mains.

Parentius
the tyrant.

Dissemblat-
on.

Ranulphus
Celsensis.

Faulsta the
daughter of
Marimianus
and wife to
Constantine.

Marcellus.

Marimianus
laine.
Ann. Chri. 322.

Licinius cho-
sen fellow
with Mar-
imianus in the
empire.

ther soze bered with sickness, whereof Marcellus after
he died, and then was he by helpe of such as were a-
bout him, encouraged, to take vpon him as empe-
rour: and namelike one Crocus king of the Al-
mains, which had accompanied his father thither, as-
sisted him thereto, so that being proclaimed empe-
rour, he took vpon him the rule of those countries
which his father had in gouernment, that is to saie,
France, Spaine, the Alpes, and Britaine, with o-
ther prouinces here in the west: and ruling the same
with great equitie and wisdom, he greatly won the
fauour of the people, insomuch that the same of his
politike gouernment and courteous dealing being
spred abroad, when Parentius the tyrant that occu-
pied the rule of the empire at Rome and in Italie by
wrongfull usurping & abusing the same, was growne
into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians,
Constantine was earnestlie by them requested, to
come into Italie, and to helpe to subdue Parentius,
that he might reforme the state of things there.

This Parentius was sonne to Hercules Mar-
imianus, and Constantine had married Faulsta the
daughter of the said Marimianus. Now so it was,
that Marimianus, immediatlie after that his sonne
Parentius had taken the rule vpon him, sought
meanes to haue depofed him, and to haue resumed
and taken effones into his owne hands the gouern-
ment of the empire. But soliciting Dioclesian to do
the like, he was much reprobued of him for his unreas-
onable and ambitious purpose: so that when he per-
ceiued that neither Dioclesian would be thereto a-
greeable, nor induce the souldiers to admit him, they
hauing already established his sonne, began to de-
uise waies how to assure the state more strongly to
his said sonne. And hearing that his sonne in last
Constantine was minded to come into Italie a-
gainst him, he purposed to practise Constantines
destruction, insomuch that it was iudged by this
which folloied, that Hercules Marimianus did but
for a colour seeme to dislike that which his said son
Parentius had done, to the end he might the sooner
accomplish his intent for the dispatching of Con-
stantine out of the waie.

Wherevpon (as it were) fleeing out of Italie, he
came to Constantine, who as then hauing appointed
lieutenants vnder him in Britaine, remained in
France, and with all ioy and honour that might be,
receiued his father in law: the which being earnest-
lie bent to compasse his purpose, made his daughter
Faulsta priue thereto: which ladie (either for feare
least the concealing thereof might turne hir to dis-
pleasure, either else for the entire loue which she bare
to hir husband) reuealed hir fathers wicked purpose.
Wherevpon whilest Constantine went about to be
reuenged of such a traitorous practise, Hercules fled
to Marcellus, purposing there to take the sea, and
so to retire to his sonne Parentius into Italie. But
per he could get awaie from thence, he was stran-
gled by commandement of his sonne in law Con-
stantine, and so ended his life, which he had spotted
with manie cruell acts, as well in persecuting the
professours of the christian name, as others.

In this meane time had Marimianus adopted one
Licinius to assist him in gouernance of the empire,
proclaiming him Cesar. So that now at one selfe
time Constantine gouerned France and the west
parts of the empire, Parentius held Italie, Affrike,
and Aegypt: and Marimianus which likewise had
bene elected Cesar, ruled the east parts, and Licini-
us Illvrium and Grecia. But shortly after, the em-
perour Constantine joined in league with Licini-
us, and gaue to him his sister in marriage, named
Constantia, for more sweetie of faithfull friendship
to indure betwixt them. He sent him also against

Marimianus, who gouerning in the east part of the
empire, purposed the destruction of Constantine and
all his partakers: but being vanquished by Licini-
us at Tarsus, he shortly after died, being eaten with
lice. Constantine after this was called into Italie,
to deliuer the Romans and Italians from the ty-
rannie of Parentius, which occasion so offered, Con-
stantine gladlie accepting, passed into Italie, and af-
ter certeine victories got against Parentius, at
length slay him.

After this, when Marimianus was dead, who pre-
pared to make warre against Licinius, that had
married Constantia the sister of Constantine, he fi-
nallie made warre against his brother in law, the
said Licinius, by reason of such quarrels as fell out
betwixt them. In the which warre Licinius was put
to the worse, and at length comming into the hands
of Constantine, was put to death, so that Constant-
ine by this meanes got the whole empire vnder his
rule and subiection. He was a great fauourer of the
Christian religion, insomuch that to aduance the
same, he took order for the conuerting of the tem-
ples dedicated to the honour of idols, vnto the ser-
uice of the true and almightie God. He commanded
also, that none should be admitted to serue as a sould-
ier in the warres, except he were a christian, nor yet
to haue rule of anie countie or armie. He also or-
dained, the weeke before Easter, and that which fol-
lowed to be kept as holie, and no person to do anie
bodilie works during the same.

He was much counselled by that noble and most
vertuous ladie his mother, the emperesse Helen, who
being a godlie and deuout woman, did what in hir
late, to moue him to the setting forth of Gods ho-
nour and increase of the christian faith, wherein as
yet he was not fullie instructed. Some writers al-
ledge, that she being at Jerusalem, made diligent
search to find out the place of the sepulchre of our
Lord, and at length found it, though with much ad-
dole for the infidels had stopped it by, and covered it with
a heape of filthie earth, and builded aloft vpon the
place, a chappell dedicated to Venus, where young wo-
men vsed to sing songs in honour of that vnchaste
goddesse. Helen caused the same to be ouerthrowne,
the earth to be removed, and the place cleaned, so
that at length the sepulchre appeared, and fast by were
found there buried in the earth three crosse and the
nailes. But the crosse wherevpon our Saviour was
crucified, was knowne by the title written vpon it,
though almost worne out, in letters of Hebrew,
Greeke, and Latine: the inscription was this, *Iesus
Nazarenus rex Iudaorum*. It was also perceiued which
was that crosse by a miracle (as it is reported, but
how trulie I can not tell) that should be wrought
thereby: for being laid to a sicke woman, onlie with
the touching thereof she was healed. It was also
said, that a dead man was raised from death to life,
his bodie onlie being touched therewith. Wherevpon
Constantine moued with these things, forbad that
from thenceforth anie should be put to death on the
crosse, to the end that the thing which afore time was
accounted infamous and reprochfull, might now be
had in honour and reuerence.

The emperesse Helen hauing thus found the crosse,
builded a temple there, & taking with hir the nailes,
returned with the same to hir sonne Constantine,
who set one of them in the crest of his helmet, and o-
ther in the bzidle of his horse, and the third he cast in-
to the sea, to assuage and pacifie the furious tempests
and rage thereof. She also brought with hir a parcell
of that holie crosse, and gaue it to hir sonne the said
Constantine, the which he caused to be closed within
an image that represented his person, standing vpon
a pillar in the market place of Constantine, or (as
some

The commu-
dation of
Constantine

Christians
honoured
cherishes.

Polydor.
The praife
the emperesse
Helen.

328

Guilielmus
Malmes-
buryensis
writing in the
warre of
Constantine

Calpurnius
Mant.

Polydor.

Polydor.

Deating
Caxton.
Gouern-
ment of
countrie
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Some late writers haue) he caused it to be inclosed in a coffe of gold, adorned with rich stones and pearls, placing it in a church called *Seduliana*, the which church he indued with manie great gifts and precious ornaments. Manie towkes of great zeale and vertue are remembered by writers to haue bene done by this Constantine and his mother Helen, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduancing of the faith of Christ. But to be brieue, he was a man in whome manie excellent vertues and good qualities both of mind and bodie manifestlie appeared, chiefe he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith herie fortunate, an earnest louer of iustice, and to conserue, borne to all honour.

But now to speake somewhat of the state of Britaine in his time, ye shall understand, that as before is recozded, at his going ouer into France, after that he was proclaimed emperor, he left behind him in Britaine certein gouernours to rule the land, and amongst other one *Maximian* a right valiant capteine. He toke with him a great part of the youth of Britaine, and diuerse of the chiefe men amongst the nobilitie, in whose appoynted manhood, loialtie, and constancie, he conceiued a great hope to go thorough with all his enterprises, as with the which being accompanied and compassed about, he passed ouer into Gallia, entered into Italie, and in euerie place ouercame his enemies.

Some write that Constantine thus conueying ouer sea with him a great armie of Britains, and by their industrie obtaining victorie as he wished, he placed a great number of such as were discharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a part of Gallia towards the west sea coast, where their posteritie remaine vnto this daie, maruellouslie increased afterwards, and somewhat differing from our Britains, the Welchmen, in manners and language. Amongst those noble men which he toke with him when he departed out of this land (as our writers do testifie) were thre vnckles of his mother Helen, that is to say, *Helmus*, *Trahermus*, and *Marinus*, whome he made senators of Rome.

Of Octavius a British lord, his reigne ouer the Britains, he encountereth with Traherne first neere Winchester, and afterwards in Westmerland: Octavius being discomfited sleeth into Norway, Traherne is slaine, Octavius sendeth for *Maximianus*, on whom he bestoweth his daughter and the kingdome of Britaine: the death of Octavius, Helena builded the wals of Colchester and London, she dieth and is buried, Constantine departeth this life, Britaine reckoned among the prouinces that reteined the christian faith, Paulus a Spaniard is sent into Britaine, he dealeth roughlie with the people, Marinius the lieutenant excuseth them as innocent, his vnluckie end, Paulus returneth into Italie.

The xxix. Chapter.

NOW in the meane time that Constantine had obtained and ruled the whole empire, Britaine as it were hauing recovered libertie, in that one of his children being his king, had got the gouernment of the whole earth, remained in better quiet than afore time she had done. But yet in the meane season, if we shall credit the British chronicle and Geoffrey of Monmouth the interpreter thereof; there was a British lord, named Octavius or Octavian, as the old English chronicle nameth him, that was duke of the *Welshes*, and ap-

pointed by Constantine to be ruler of the land in his absence the which Octavius (after that Constantine had reconquered Rome and Italie, and was so busied in the affaires of the empire in those parts; that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britaine) seized into his hands the whole dominion of Britaine, and held himselfe for king.

This Octavius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 329, prouoked Constantine to send against him one of his mothers vnckles, the foresaid Traherne. This Traherne, as some name him Traherne, entered this land with thre legions of souldiers, & in a field nere vnto Winchester, was encountered by Octavius and his Britains, by whome after a sore battell there striken betwixt them; in the end Traherne was put to flight and chased, insomuch that he was constrained to forsake that part of the land, and to drab towards Scotland. Octavius hauing knowledge of his passage, followed him, & in the countrie of Westmerland effronces gaue him battell, but in that battell Octavius was put to the worse, and constrained to forsake the land, fled into Norway, there to purchase aid: and being readie with such powder as he there gathered, that of Britains and Norwegians, to returne into Britaine. Before his landing, he was aduertised that an earle of Britaine which bare him heartie good will, had by treason slaine Traherne: Octavius then comming to land, effronces got possession of Britaine, which should be (as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lord 329, in the 20 yeere of the reigne of the emperor Constantine, and about two yeeres after that the said Octavius first toke vpon him to rule as king.

After this (as the British chronicle affirmeth) Octavius gouerned the land right noble, and greatlie to the contentation of the Britains. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no issue but one daughter, he was counselled to send vnto Rome for one *Maximianus*, a noble young man, cousin to the emperor Constantine, on the part of his mother Helena, to come into Britaine, and to take to his wife the said daughter of Octavius, and so with hir to haue the kingdome. Octavius at the first meant to haue giuen hir in marriage vnto one *Conan* Peridoc duke of Cornetwall, which was his nephue: but when the lords would not thereto agree, at the length he appointed one *Marice* sonne to the said *Conan* to go to Rome to fetch the foresaid *Maximianus*.

Marice according to his commission and instruction in that behalfe receiued, came to Rome, and declared his message in such effectuall sort, that *Maximianus* consented to go with him into Britaine, and so taking with him a conuenient number, set forward, and did so much by his sournies, that finally he landed here in Britaine. And notwithstanding that *Conan* Peridoc past not so much to haue bene doing with him, for malice that he conceiued towards him, because he saw that by his means he should be put beside the crowne, yet at length was *Maximianus* safely brought to the kings presence, and of him honozable receiued, and finally the marriage was knit vp, and solemnized in all princelie manner. Shortlie after, Octavius departed out of this life, after he had reigned the terme of fiftie and foure yeeres, as Fabian gathereth by that which diuers authors do write, how he reigned till the daies that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Roman empire which began to gouerne in the yeere of our Lord (as he saith) 382, which is to be understood of Gratian his reigne after the decess of his vnckle Valens, for otherwise a doubt maie rise, because Valentinie the father of Gratian admitted the said Gratian to the title of Augustus in the yeere of our Lord 351.

West Saxons after held. The name of *Welshes* came in with the Saxons of Guup, &c.

Octavius.

Calfridus.

329

Fabian.

Calfridus.

This agreeth not altogether with that which Hector Boetius writeth, as in the Scottish chronicle appeareth.

Traherne slaine.

See in the Scottish chronicles more of these matters. March. West. saith 316.

Maximianus is sent for.

Conan Peridoc duke of Cornetwall.

This agreeth not with that which is found in the Scottish chronicles.

Maximianus cometh into Britaine.

Octavius departed this life.

382.

The common opinion of Constantine.

Gulielmus Malmes. Britains learning in the warre under Constantine.

Calfridus. Mar. West.

Octavius. Caxton. *Welshes* inhabited the countrie which the

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But

But to leaue the credit of the long reigne of Octavianus, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains since the time of Constantine, vnto our British and Scottish writers, let vs make an end with the gouernement of that noble emperour Constantine, an assured branch of the Britains race, as borne of that worthy ladie the emperesse Helen; daughter to Coell earle of Colchester, and after king of Britaine (as our histories doe witness.) Vnto the which emperesse Constantine bare such dutifull reuerence, that he did not onely honour hir with the name of emperesse, but also made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in manie things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlie admonitions; to the advancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of those that professed the true christian religion. For the loue that she bare vnto Colchester and London, she wailed them about, and caused great bycke and huge tiles to be made for the performance of the same, whereof there is great store to be seene euery yet to this present, both in the walls of the towne and castell of Colchester, as a testimonie of the workmanship of those daies. She liued 79 yeares, and then departed this life about the 21 yeares of hir sonnes reigne. First she was buried at Rome without the walls of the citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir estate appertained: but after hir corps was removed and brought to Constantinople, where it was effrones interred. Hir sonne the emperour Constantine liued till about the yeare of Christ 340, and then deceased at Nicomedia in Asia, after he had ruled the empire 32 yeares and od moneths.

Procephorus:
The emperesse
Helen departeth
this life.

340
The deceasse
of the emperour
Constantine.

We find not in the Romane writers of anie great stir here in Britaine during his reigne more than the British and Scottish writers haue recorded: so that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietnesse, it maie be supposed, that the Britains liued in rest vnder his gouernement, and likewise after vnder his sonnes that succeeded him in the empire, till about the yeare 360, at that time the Picts and Scots invaded the south parts of the land.

360.

But now to end with Octavianus, that the christian faith remained still in Britaine, during the supposed time of this pretended kings reigne, it maie appeare, in that amongst the 36 provinces, out of the which there were assembled about 300 bishops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a synod held there against the Arianians, Britaine is numbred by Athanasius in his second apologie to be one. And againe, the said Athanasius in an epistle which he writeth to the emperour Iouinianus reciteth, that the churches in Britaine did consent with the churches of other nations in the confession of faith articulated in the Nicene councill. Also mention is made by writers of certeine godlie & learned men, which liued in offices in the church in those daies; as Restitutus bishop of London, which went ouer to the synod held at Arles in France, and also one Iulius Corinnus sonne to Salomon duke of Cornewall, and bishop of Anglesey, who instructed the people that inhabited the parts now called North Wales, and them of Anglesey aforesaid verie diligentlie.

Synodus
anno. 351.

Marcellinus,
lib. 14.
Paulus a notarie.

But now to speake somewhat of things chancing in Britaine about this season (as we find recorded by the Romane writers) some trouble was likelie to haue growne vnto the Britains by receiuing certeine men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britaine, whome the emperour Constantine would haue punished, because they had taken part with Maxentius his aduersarie. Paulus a Spaniard and notarie was sent ouer by him, with commission to make inquirie of them, and to see them brought to light to answer their transgressions; which Paulus

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Maximian
Maximianus.

Gal. Mon.
Fabian.
Canton.
Mith. West
The British
youth led fort
of the realm
by Maximus
Britaine in
France.

Dionethus
duke of Cor
wall.
Maximus sent
with.

Ursula the
daughter of
Dionethus

Maximianus or Maximus gouerneth
this Ile, why writers speake ill of him, strife
betwixt him and Conan duke of Cornewall,
Maximus is proclaimed emperour in Britaine, he
transporteth the British youth seruiceable for warres
into France, lisle Britaine in France why so called, eleven
thousand maids sent thither to match with Conans people,
whereof some were drowned, and other some murdred
in the way by Guanius king of Hunnes and
Melga king of Picts, they fle into Ireland,
murder requited with murder, the
words of Gylidas concerning
Maximus.

The xxx. Chapter.



After the deceasse of Octavianus or Octavian (as the old English chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus (as the Romane writers call him) began to rule the Britains in the yere of our Lord 383, he was the sonne of one Leonine, and cosen germane to Constantine the great, a valiant personage, & hardie of stomach: but yet because he was cruell of nature, and (as Fabian saith) somewhat persecuted the christians, he was infamed by writers: but the chiefe cause why he was enill reported, was for that he sleue his soueraigne lord the emperour Gratianus, as after shall appeare, for otherwise he is supposed worthy to haue had the rule of the empire committed to his hands in ech respect. Betwixt him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, chanced strife and debate, so that Conan got him into Scotland, and there purchasing aid, returned, and comming ouer Humber, waisted the countrie on ech side. Maximianus thereof hauing aduertisement, railed his power and went against him, and so fighting with him diuers battels, sometime departed auaie with victorie, and sometime with losse. At length through medi-
ation

Maximianus
or
Maximus

383

Guanius
Melga.

ation of friends, a peace was made betwixt them. Finally this Sparitimus, or (as the Romane histories say) Sparimus, was by the souldiers chosen and proclaimed emperor here in Britaine: although some write that this was done in Spaine.

After he had taken vpon him the imperall dignitie, vpon desire to haue enlarged his dominion, he assembled together all the chosen youth of this land meet to do seruice in the warres, with the which he passed ouer into France, & there (as our writers record) he first subdued the countrie ancientlie called Armorica, and due in battell the king thereof called Amball. This done he gaue the countrie vnto Conan Peridoc, which was there with him, to hold the same of him, and of the kings of great Britaine for ever. He also commanded that the said countrie from thenceforth should be called little Britaine, and so was the name changed. What people soeuer inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britains than any other: for Armorica in the Britishe tongue signifieth as much as a countrie lieng vpon the sea.

Conan then placing himselfe and his Britains in that quarter of Gallia, auoided all the old inhabitants, peopling that countrie onelie with Britains, which abhorring to ioine themselves with women borne in Gallia, Conan was counselled to send into Britaine for maids to be coupled with his people in marriage. Wherevpon a messenger was dispatched vnto Dionethus at that time duke of Cornwall, and gouernour of Britaine vnder Sparitimus, requiring him to send ouer into little Britaine 11000 maids, that is to say, 8000 to be bestowed vpon the meaner sort of Conans people, and 3000 to be ioined in marriage with the nobles and gentlemen. Dionethus at Conans request, assembled the appointed number of maids, and amongst them he also appointed his daughter Ursula, a ladie of excellent beautie, to go ouer and to be giuen in marriage to the foresaid Conan Peridoc, as he had earnestlie requested.

These number of maids were shipped in Thames, and passing for ward toward Britaine, were by force of weather and rage of wind scattered abroad, and part of them drowned, and the residue (among whom was the foresaid Ursula) were slaine by Quanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whose hands they fell, the which Quanius and Melga were sent by the emperor Gracian to the sea coasts of Germanie, to oppresse and subdue all such as were friends and maintainers of the part of Sparitimus. We find in some booke, that there were sent ouer at that time 51000 maids, that is to say, 11000 gentlewomen, and 40000 other.

After that Quanius and Melga had murdered the foresaid virgins, they entred into the north parts of Britaine, where the Scots now inhabit, and began to make sore warre on the Britains, whereof when Sparimus was aduertised, he sent into Britaine one Gratianus with three legions of souldiers, who bare himselfe so manfullie against the enemies, that he constrained the said Quanius and Melga to flie out of the land, and to withdraue into Ireland. In this meane while, Sparimus hauing slaine the emperor Gratian at Lions in France, and after entering into Italie, was slaine himselfe at Aquila (after he had gouerned the Britains eight yeeres) by the emperor Theodosius, who came in aid of Valentini- an, brother to the said emperor Gratian, as ye may find in the abridgement of the histories of Italie.

¶ But here yet before we make an end with this Sparimus or Sparitimus, I haue thought good to set downe the words which we find in Gylas, where he writeth of the same Sparimus, vndoubtedly a

Britaine borne, neyther to the emperesse Helen, and begotten by a Romane. At length (saith Gylas) the spring of tyrants budding vp, and now increasing into an huge wood, the Ile being called after the name of Rome, but holding neither maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather casting the same from it, sendeth forth a branch of hir most bitter planting, to wit Sparimus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperall robes which he neuer wore as became him, nor put them on in lawfull wise, but (after the custome of tyrants) was put into them by the mutining souldiers: which Sparimus at the first by craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his pericure and false suggestion) vnto his wicked gouernement the countries & provinces next adioining, against the imperall state of Rome, stretching one of his wings into Spaine, and the other into Italie, placed the throne of his most vniust empire at Trier, and shewed such rage in his wood dealing against his soveraigne lords, that the one of the lawfull emperours he expelled out of Rome, and the other he bereft of his most religious and godlie life. Now without long tariance, compassed about with such a furious and bold gard as he had got together, at the citie of Aquila he loseth his wicked head, which had cast downe the most honourable heads of all the world from their kingdome and empire.

From thenceforth Britaine being depriued of all hir warlike souldiers and armies, of hir gouernours also (though cruell) and of an huge number of hir youth (the which following the steps of the foresaid tyrant, neuer returned home againe) such as remained being vtterlie vnskillfull in feats of warre, were troden downe by two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, and as men thus quite dismayd, lament their miserable case, not knowing what else to do for the space of manie yeeres together. By reason of whose greuous inuasion and cruell oppression wherewith she was miserable disquieted, she sendeth hir ambassadors vnto Rome, making lamentable sute euen with teares to haue some power of men of warre sent to defend hir against the enemies, promising to be true subiects with all faithfulness of mind, if the enemy might be kept off and remoued. Thus saith Gylas, and more, as in place hereafter you shall find recited.

50 What Gratianus it was that was sent ouer from Rome into Britaine by Maximus, in what estimation the British souldiers haue bene, the prinie treason of Andragatius whereby Gratian came to his end: Maximus and his sonne Victor doo succeed him in the empire, they are both slaine, Marcus the Romane lieutenant succeeding them is murdered, Gratianus also his successeur hath the same end, the election of Constantine a Britaine borne, his praise and dispraise reported by writers, he goeth into France, maketh his sonne Constantine partaker with him of the empire, a sharpe encounter betwixt his power and two brethren that had the keeping of the Pyrenine hills, the issue of the battell.

The xxxj. Chapter.

At now where the British histories, and such of our English writers as follow them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romane, sent ouer with three legions of souldiers by Sparimus, as before ye haue heard: we maie

Gal. Mon.
Fabian.
Caton.
North. West
The British
youth led forth
at the realme
by Sparimus
nus.
Britaine in
France.

Dionethus
duke of Corn-
wall,
Sparitus sent
with.

Ursula the
daughter of
Dionethus.

Quanius and
Melga.

Scotum a
circio, Pictum
ab aquilone.

Sextus Aureli-
us.

Lib. 30.

maie suppose that it was Gratianus the Britaine, that afterwards usurped the imperiall dignitie here in Britaine, in the daies of the emperor Honorius. For it standeth neither with the concurrence of time nor yet with reason of the historie, that it should be Gratianus, surnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the emperor Gratianus, against whom Sparinus rebelled. And yet I remember not that anie of the Romane writers make mention of anie other Gratianus, being a stranger, that should be sent hither as lieutenant to governe the Romane armie, except of the foresaid Gratianus Funarius, who (as appeareth by Amian. Marcellinus) was generall of the Romane armie here in this Ile, and at length being discharged, returned home into Hungarie (where he was borne) with honour, and there remaining in rest, was at length spoiled of his goods by the emperor Constantius as confiscate, for that in time of the ciuill warres he had receiued Sparentius, as he passeth through his countrie.

But let vs grant, that either Gratianus the Britaine, or some other of that name, was sent ouer into Britaine (as before is said) by Sparinus, least otherwise some error may be doubted in the writers of the British historie, as hauing hapilie mistaken the time and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to serue vnder Sparinus, where peradventure that which they haue read or heard of him, chanced long before that time by them supposed: and so through mistaking the thing, haue made a wrong report, where neuertheless it standeth with great likelihood of truth, that some notable seruice of chivalrie was atchieued by the same Gratianus Funarius whilest he remained here in this Ile, if the truth might be knowne of that which hath bene written by authors, and hapilie by the same Am. Marcellinus, if his first thirtene bookes might once come to light and be extant.

But now to end with Sparinus, William of Malmesburie (as ye haue heard) writeth, that not Sparinus, but rather Constantine the great first peopled Armoxica: but yet he agreeth, that both Sparinus, and also Constantine the usurper, of whom after ye shall heare, led with them a great number of the Britains out of this land, the which Sparinus or Sparinianus and Constantine afterwards being slaine, the one by Theodosius, and the other by Honorius, the Britains that followed them to the warres, part of them were killed, and the residue escaping by flight, withdrew vnto the other Britains which Constantine the great had first placed in Armoxica. And so when the tyrants had left none in the countrie but rude people, nor anie in the towne but such as were giuen to sloth and gluttonie, Britaine being void of all aid of hir valiant youth, became a prey to hir next neighbours the Scots and Picts.

Here is yet to be considered, in what price the souldiers of the British nation were had in those daies, with whose onelie puissance Sparinus durst take vpon him to go against all other the forces of the whole Romane empire: and how he prospered in that dangerous aduenture, it is expessed sufficientlie in the Romane histories, by whose report it appeareth, that he did not onlie conquer all the hither parts of France and Germanie, namely on this side the Rhine, but also found means to intrap the emperor Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithful friend called Andragatius, who was admirall of the seas pertaining to the empire. It was therefore agreed betwixt them, that this Andragatius (with a chosen companie of the armie) should be carried in secret wise in a coch toward Lyons, as if it had bene Constantia Posthumia the emperesse, wife to the em-

peror Gratian, byuting aboard there withall, that the said emperesse was comming forward on his waie to Lyons, there to meet with his husband, for that vpon occasion she was verie desirous to commune with him about certeine earnest business.

When Gratian heard hereof, as one mistrusting no such dissimulation, he made hast to meete his wife, and comming at length without anie great gard about him, as one not in doubt of anie treason, approached the coch, where supposing to find his wife, he found those that streightwaies murdered him: so was he there dispatched quite of life by the said Andragatius, who leapt forth of the coch to worke that feate when he had him once within his danger.

Thus did the emperor Gratian finish his life in the 29 yeere of his age, on the 25 of August, in the yeere of Christ 383, and then died. Sparinus succeeded him (making his sonne Flavius Maxus Probilissimus his assistant in the empire) reigning five yeeres and two daies. In the beginning of his reigne Valentinian the yonger made great suit to him to haue his fathers bodie, but it would not be granted. Afterwards also Sparinus was earnestlie requested to come to an enteriue with the same Valentinian, who promised him not onelie a safe conduct, but also manie other beneficiall good turnes beside. Howbeit Sparinus durst not put himselfe in anie such hazard, but rather ment to pursue Valentinian as an usurper, and so at length chased him into Slavonie, where he was deliuered to such a streight, that if Theodosius had not come to releue him, Sparinus had binen him thence also, or else by slaughter rid him out of the waie.

But when Sparinus thought himselfe most assured, and so established in the empire, as he doubted no perils, he liued carelesse of his owne safegard, and therefore dismissed his British souldiers, who retiring into the north-west parts of Gallia, placed themselves there among their countreymen, which were brought ouer by the emperor Constantius, whilest Sparinus passing the residue of his time in delights and pleasures, was surprised in the end and slaine by Theodosius nere vnto Aquilia, the 27 of August, in the yeere of Grace 388, and in the beginning of the first yeere of his reigne, or rather usurpation, as more rightlie it maie be termed. His sonne Flavius Maxus surnamed Probilissimus was also dispatched and brought to his end, not farre from the place where his father was slaine, by the practise of one Arbogastes a Goth, which Flavius Maxus was by the said Sparinus made regent of the Frankeners, and partaker (as before is said) with him in the empire.

After this, the Ile of Britaine remained in meetlie good quiet by the space of twentie yeeres, till one Sparcus (that was then legat, or as we maie call him lord lieutenant or deputie of Britaine for the Romans) was by the souldiers here proclaimed emperor against Honorius, which Sparcus was sone after killed in a tumult raised among the people within few daies after his usurpation began. Then one Gratianus a Britaine borne succeeded in his place, who was also slaine in the fourth moneth, after he had taken vpon him the imperiall ornaments. The souldiers not yet herewith pacified, proceeded to the election of an other emperor, or rather usurper, and so pronounced a noble gentleman called Constantine, borne also in Britaine, to be emperor, who toke that honour vpon him in the 409 yeere after the birth of our Saviour, continuing his reigne by the space of two yeeres and od moneths, as the Romane histories make mention. Some report this Constantine to be of no great towardlie disposition towardie to governe an empire, and that the souldiers chose him rather for the name sake, because they would

383
his Flavius
us Maxus
begat of his
wife Maximian
the daughter
of Gaudens,
H. Lloyd.

Valentinian
put in danger
by Sparinus.

Eutropius.
388

Arbogastes.

Gratianus
Britaine.
He reigned
four yeeres
and was
the British
king.

409

W.H. out of
Paulus Diacon.
lib. 11. & alijs.

Tripert. hist. lib.
9. cap. 21.

His souldiers
were Picts,
and placed a
mong other
men of warre
that serued
vnder the en
signes of the
empire, and
named after
Honorius,
Honoriciani
Blondus.

would haue another Constantine, more than for a
nie vertues or sufficient qualities found in his per-
son. But other commend him both for manhood and
knightedome, wherein to speake a truth, he deserued sin-
gular commendation, if this one note of usurpation
of the imperiall dignitie had not stained his other
noble qualities. But herein he did no more than ma-
nie other would haue done, neither yet after his in-
uesture did so much as was looked for at his hands.

Constantine being placed in the imperiall throne,
gathered an armie with all possible indenuor, pur-
passing out of hand to go ouer therewith into France,
and so did, thinking thereby to win the possession of
that countrie out of the hands of Honorius. At the
least to worke so, as he should not haue the souldiers
and people there to be against him, if he mist to
toine in league with the Suabians, Alanes, and
Caudales, which he sought to perforce. But in the
end, when neither of these his deuises could take
place, he sent ouer for his sonne Constans (whome in
his absence his aduersaries had shorne a monke) &
making him partaker with him in the empire, cau-
sed him to bring ouer with him another armie, which
vnder the conduct of the same Constans he sent into
Spainne to bring that countrie vnder his obedi-
ence.

This Constans therefore comming vnder the pas-
sages that lead ouer the Pyreneine mountains, Din-
dinus and Merianus two brethren, vnto whome
the keeping of those passages was committed to de-
fend the same against the Vandals, and all other e-
nemies of the empire, were ready to resist him with
their seruants and countriemen that inhabited ther-
abouts, giuing him a verie sharpe encounter, and at
the first putting him in great danger of an ouer-
throw, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his
British souldiers, Constans put his aduersaries to
flight, and killed the two capteins, with diuers other
men of name that were partakers with him in the
necessarie defense of that countrie against the en-
emies. When Constans had thus repelled those that
resisted him, the custodie of the passages in the Py-
reneine mountains was committed vnto such bands
of Pias and other, as were appointed to go with him
about the achieving of this enterpryse, who hauing
the possession of those streits or passages in their
hands, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to
inuaide Spainne, who being once entered, pursued the
former inhabitants with fire and sword, settled them
selues in that countrie, and drove out the Romans.

Honorius sendeth earle Constantius
to expell Constantine out of Gallia, the end
of Constantinus the father and Constans the
sonne, the valure and prowesse of the British
souldiers, the British writers reprooued of nec-
ligence for that they haue inserted fables into their
workes, whereas they might haue depofed
matters of truth.

The xxxij. Chapter.

THe emperor Honorius,
perceiuing the reeling state
of the empire, determined
forthwith to recover it, be-
fore it fell altogether into ru-
ine: and therefore sent one
Constantius an earle to
drive Constantine out of
Gallia, which he accordingly performed: for after
certeine bickerings, he slue the said Constantine
at Arles, although not without great bloodshed. He

pursued also the residue of the Britains, driving
them to the verie sea coasts, where they shrowded
themselves among the other Britains, that before
were settled in the countrie there, ancientlie called
(as before we said) Armozica, that is, a region li-
eng on the sea coast: for Ar in the British tong
signifieth upon; and Moure, pertaining to the sea.
And as this Constantine the father was slaine by
Constantius, so was Constans the sonne killed at
Mucina by one of his owne capteins named Ce-
rontius. Whereby it came to passe, that Honorius
shortlie after, hauing thus obtained the victorie of
both these vsurpers, recovered the Ile, but yet not till
the yeare next following, and that by the high indu-
strie and great diligence of that valiant gentleman
earle Constantius. The slaughter of Constantine
& his sonne happened in the 1 yeare of the 297
Olympiad, 465 after the comming of Cesar, 1162
after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter
being A, and the golden number 13, so that the reco-
uering of the Island fell in the yeare of our Lord 411.

Here also is estones to be considered the valure
of the British souldiers, who following this last re-
membred Constantine the vsurper, did put the Ro-
mane state in great danger, and by force brake
through into Spainne, vanquishing those that kept
the streits of the mountains betwixt Spainne and
Gallia, now called France, an exploit of no small
consequence, sith thereby the number of barbarous
nations got free passage to enter into Spainne,
whereof ensued manie battels, sacking of cities and
townes, and wasting of the countries, according-
lie as the furious rage of those fierce people was
moued to put their crueltie in practise.

If therefore the Britaine writers had conside-
red and marked the valiant exploits and noble en-
terpryses which the British aids, armies and legions
achieued in seruice of the Romane emperours (by
whome whilst they had the gouernement ouer this
Ile, there were at sundrie times notable numbers
conueied forth into the parties of beyond the seas,
as by Albinus and Constantius, also by his sonne
Constantine the great, by Sparticus, and by this
Constantine, both of them vsurpers) if I saie the
British writers had taken good note of the num-
bers of the British youth thus conueied ouer from
hence, & what notable exploits they boldlie attemp-
ted, & no lesse manfullie achieved, they needed not
to haue giuen care vnto the fabulous reports for-
ged by their Bardes, of Arthur and other their priu-
ces, worthy in deed of verie high commendation.

And pittie it is, that their fame should be brought
by such meanes out of credit, by the incredible and
fond fables which haue bene deuised of their acts so
vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the
gests written by Ariost the Italian in his booke in-
titled Orlando furioso, sith the same writers had other-
wise true matter inough to write of concerning the
worthy feats by their countriemen in those daies
in forein parts boldlie enterprised, and no lesse
valiantlie accomplished, as also the warres which
now and then they maintained against the Ro-
mans here at home, in times when they felt them-
selues oppressed by their tyrannicall gouernment,
as by that which is written before of Caratacus, Ma-
adicia, Cartimandua, Venustus, Calgacus, or
Calbus (as some name him) and diuers other, who
for their noble valianties deserue as much praise,
as by tong or pen is able to be exprest. But now
to returne vnto the British historie: we will pro-
ceed in order with their kings as we find them in
the same mentioned, and therefore we haue thought
good to speake somewhat further of Gratian, from
whome we haue digressed.

Gratia-

This souldiers
were Picts,
and placed a-
mong other
men of warre
that serued
vnder the en-
signes of the
empire, and
named after
Honorius,
Honoriciani,
Blondus.

Gratians rough regiment procureth his owne destruction, the comming of his two brethren Guanius and Melga with their armies, the Scots and Picts plague the Britains, they send for aid to Rome, Valentinian sendeth Gallio Rauenna to releue them, the Romans refuse anie longer to succour the Britains, whom they taught how to make armour and weapons, the Scots and Picts enter afresh into Britaine and preuaile, the Britains are brought to extreme miserie, ciuill warres among them, and what mischiefe dooth follow therevpon, their lamentable letters: Actius for succour against their painies, their sute is denied, at what time the Britains ceased to be tributaries to the Romans they send ambassadors to the K. of Britaine France, and obtaine their sute.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

Gratia-
nus.



Gratianus then, whose name was Marimus or Mariminus had sent into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maister was slaine, toke vpon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himselfe king therof, in the yeare 390. He was a Britaine borne, as Polydore witeth, conjecturing so, by that he is named of authors to be Municeps, that is to saie, a free man of the countrie or citie where he inhabited. For his sternenesse and rough gouernement, he was of the Britains (as the histories alledge) slaine and dispatched out of the waie, after he had reigned the space of foure yeares, or rather foure moneths, as should seme by that which is found in autentike writers. When the forenamed kings Guanius and Melga, which (as some write) were brethren, returned into this land with their armies increased with new supplies of men of warre, as Scots, Danes, the Postwegians, and destroyed the countrie from side to side. For the Britains in this season were sore infiebled, and were not able to make anie great numbers of souldiers, by reason that Marimus had led forth of the land the floure and chiefe choise of all the British youth into Gallia, as before ye haue heard.

Of the Ro-
mane souldi-
ers as Blon-
dus saith,

Galfrid.
Caxton.

Galfrid.
Math. West.
Caxton.

Gylidas.

Gylidas maketh no mention of these two kings Guanius and Melga of the Hunnes, but rehearsing this great destruction of the land, declareth (as before ye haue heard) that the Scots and Picts were the same that did all the mischiefe; whome he calleth two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots comming out of the north-west, and the Picts out of the north-east, by whome (as he saith) the land was overrun, and brought vnder foot manie yeares after. Wherefore the Britains being thus vered, spoiled, and cruellie persecuted by the Scots and Picts (if we shall so take them) sent messengers with all speed vnto Rome to make sute for some aid of men of war to be sent into Britaine. Wherevpon immediately a legion of souldiers was sent thither in the yeare 414, which easilie repelled the enemies, and chased them backe with great slaughter, to the great comfort of the Britains, the which by this means were deliuered from danger of utter destruction, as they thought.

414.

But the Romans being occasioned to depart againe out of the land, appointed the Britains to make a wall (as had bene aforesaid by the emperours Adrian, Antoninus and Seuerus) overthwart the countrie from sea to sea, stretching from Penuelton vnto the citie of Aclud, whereby the enemies might be staied from entering the land: but this wall being made of turfs and sods, rather than with stones, after the departure of the Romans was easi-

Beda and
Polychron.

lie ouerthrowne by the Scots and Picts, which easily returned to invade the confines of the Britains, and so entering the countrie, wasted and destroyed the places before them, according to their former custome. Wherevpon were messengers with most lamentable letters againe dispatched towards Rome for new aid against those cruell enemies, with promise, that if the Romans would now in this great necessitie helpe to deliuer the land, they should be assured to find the Britains euermore obedient subiects, and redie at their commandement. Valentinian (pitieng the case of the poore Britains) appointed another legion of souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leaue) to go to their succour; the which arriving in Britaine set on the enemies, and giuing them the ouerthrow, sine a great number of them, and chased the residue out of the countrie.

The Romans thus hauing obtained the victorie, declared to the Britains, that from thenceforth they would not take vpon them for enerte light occasion so painefull a iourne; alledging hoto there was no reason why the Romane ensignes, with such a number of men of warre, should be put to stauell so far by sea and land, for the repelling and beating backe of a sort of scattering couers and pilking theues. Wherefore they aduised the Britains to looke to their duties, and like men to indure themselves to defend their countrie by their owne force from the enemies inuasions. And because they iudged it might be an helpe to the Britains, they set in hand to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile, in the same place where the emperor Seuerus caused his trench and rampire to be cast. This wall which the Romans now built with helpe of the Britains, was 8 foot in bredth and 12 in length, trauersing the land from east to west, & was made of stone.

After that this wall was finished, the Romans exhorted the Britains to plate the men, and shewed them the way hoto to make armor & weapons. Besides this, on the coast of the east sea where their ships lay at rode, & where it was doubted that the enemies would land, they caused towres to be erected, with spaces betwixt, out of the which the seas might be discovered. These things ordered, the Romans bad the Britains farewell, not minding to returne thither againe. The Romans then being gon out of the land, the Scots and Picts knowing thereof, by & by came againe by sea, & being more emboldened than before, because of the denial made by the Romans to come any more to the succor of the Britains, they toke into possession all the north and uttermost bounds of the Ile, even vnto the foresaid wall, thence to remaine as inhabitants. And whereas the Britains got them to their wall to defend the same, that the enemies should not passe further into the countrie, they were in the end beaten from it, and diuers of them slaine, so that the Scots and Picts entred vpon them and pursued them in more cruell maner than before, so that the Britains being chased out of their cities, townes, and dwelling houses, were constrained to flie into desert places, and there to remaine and liue after the maner of sauage people, and in the end began to rob and spoile one another, so to auoid the danger of staruing for lacke of food: and thus at the last the countrie was so destroyed and wasted, that there was no other shift for them that was left alieue to liue by, except onelie by hunting and taking of wild beastes and fowles. And to augment their miserie, the commons imputing the fault to rest in the lords and gouernours, arose against them in armes, but were vanquished, and easilie put to flight at two severall times, being beaten downe and slaine (through lacke of skill) in such numbers, especiallie the latter time, that

Gylidas.
Polychron.
Beda.
Math. West.

Blondus.
Gallio Ra-
uenna sent
into Brit-
taine.

Small boat
decayed the
force of the
Britains, what mis-
chiefe follo-
wed small boat

Janus.

A small boat
ouerthwart
the Ile.
Beda.

Gylidas and
Beda.

The Bri-
tains coul-
d not aid
the Roma

Gylidas

This chaunc
in the yeare 41
as M. West.

Hector Boet
Rebellion.

Britains
ceaseth, bu
increaseth

that the residue which escaped, withdrew into the craggie mounteins, where within the bushes and caues they kept themselves close, sometimes coming downe and fetching away from the herds of beasts and flocks of sheepe which belonged to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie, great booties to relieue them withall. But at length oppressed with extreme famine, when neither part could long remaine in this state, as needing one anothers helpe, necessity made peace betwixt the lords and commons of the land, all iniuries being pardoned and cleerlie forgiven. This ciuill warre decayed the force of the Britains, little lesse than the tyrannicall practises of Maximus, for by the auoiding of the commons thus out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof ensued such famine for the space of three yeeres together, that a wonderfull number of people died for want of sustenance.

Ciuill warre
decayed the
force of the
Britains.
what mis-
chiefe followe
of ciuill warres.

Thus the Britains being brought generallie into such extreamie miserie, they thought god to trie if they might purchase some aid of that noble man Actius, which at that time remained in France as yet called Gallia, gouerning the same as lieutenant vnder the emperor Honorius: and hereupon taking counsell together, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof ensueth.

Actius.

To Actius thrise confull.

THe lamentable request of vs the Britains, beseeching you of aid to be ministred vnto the prouince of the Romane empire, vnto our countrie, vnto our wiues and children at this present, which stand in most extreamie perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the sea, and the sea driue vs backe vnto them againe. Hereof rise two kinds of death, for either we are slaine, or drowned, and against such euils haue we no remedie nor helpe at all. Therefore in respect of your clemencie, succor your owne we most instantlie require you, &c.

The Brit-
ains could
get no aid fro
the Romans.

Notwithstanding the Britains thus sought for aid at Actius hands as then the emperours lieutenant, yet could they get none; either for that Actius would not, as he that passed little how things went, because he bare displeasure in his mind against Valentinian as then emperor; or else for that he could not, being otherwise constrained to imploie all his forces in other places against such barbarous nations as then invaded the Romane empire. And so by that means was Britaine lost, and the tribute which the Britains were accustomed to pay to the Romans ceased, iust fve hundred yeeres after that Julius Cæsar first entred the Ile.

The Britains being thus put to their shifts, manie of them as hunger-starued were constrained to yeld themselves into the griping hands of their enemies, whereas other yet keeping within the mounteins, woods and caues, brake out as occasion serued vpon their aduersaries, and then first (saith Gyl-das) did the Britains not putting their trust in man but in God (according to the saying of Philo, Where mans helpe faileth, it is needfull that Gods helpe be present) make slaughter of their enemies that had bene accustomed manie yeeres to rob and spoile them in maner as before is recited, and so the bold attempts of the enemies ceased for a time, but the wickednesse of the British people ceased not at all. The enemies departed out of the land, but the inhabitants departed not from their naughtie doings, being not so readie to put backe the common enemies, as to exercise ciuill warre and discorde among

Discordment
ceaseth, but sin
increaseth.

themselves. The wicked Britsh people departed home, to make retorne againe within a while after. But the Picts settled themselves first at that season in the vttermost bounds of the Ile, and there continued, making insurrections oftentimes vpon their neighbours, and spoiling them of their goods.

This with more also hath Gyl-das, and likewise Beda written of this great desolation of the British people: wherein if the words of Gyl-das be well weighed and considered, it maie lead vs to thinke, that the Scots had no habitations here in Britaine, but onelie in Ireland, till after this season, and that at this present time the Picts, which before inhabited within the Isles of Orkenie, now placed themselves in the north parts of Scotland, and after by procelle of time came and nestled themselves in Louthian, in the Pers, and other countries more nere to our borders. But to proceed.

Galfridus.
Gyl-das his
words are to
be considered.

The British histories affirme, that whilst the Britains were thus persecuted by these two most cruell and fierce nations the Scots and Picts, the noble and chiefeest men amongst them consulted together, & concluded to send an honorable ambassage vnto Alboenus as then king of little Britaine in Gallia, which Alboenus was the fourth from Conan Meri-doc the first king there of the British nation. Of this ambassage the archbishop of London named Cuthbertine or Cuthbertine was appointed the chiefe and principall, who passing ouer into little Britaine, and coming before the presence of Alboenus, so declared the effect of his message, that his suit was granted. For Alboenus agreed to send his brother Constantine ouer into great Britaine with a conuenient power, vpon condition, that the victorie being obtained against the enemies, the Britains should make him king of great Britaine.

An ambassage
sent from the
Britains vnto
Alboenus
king of little
Britaine in
France.

Thus it is apparent, that this land of Britaine was without anie certeine gouernour (after that Gratian the blurper was dispatched) a number of yeeres together, but how manie, writers in their account do varie. Fabian deposeth by diuers coniectures that the space betwixt the death of Gratian, and the beginning of the reigne of the said Constantine, brother to Alboenus, continued nine and thirtie yeeres, during which time the Britains were sore and miserable afflicted by the inuasions of the Scots and Picts, as before ye haue heard by testimonies taken out of Beda, Gyl-das, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers both British and English.

Constantine
the brother of
Alboenus.

Fabian.

What the Roman historiographer Marcellinus reporteth of the Scots, Picts, and Britains vnder the emperor Iulianus, Valentinianus and Valens, they send their vicegerents into Britaine, the disquietnesse of that time, London called Augusta, the worthie exploits of Theodosius in this land against the enimie, Valentinus a banished malefactor deuileth his destruction, he is taken and executed, he reformeth manie disorders and inconueniences, the first entering of the Saxons into Britaine, they are dawning at the verie sight of the Romane ensignes, the Saxons lying in wait for their enemies are slaine euerie monthers sonne.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

AT now sith no mention is made of the Scots in our histories, till the daies of Maximus the usurper or tyrant, as some call him, who began his reigne here in Britaine about the yeere of our Lord 383, and that till after he

Maximus.

Ammianus
Marcellinus
lib. 20.
The emperor
Julianus.

360.

Scots and
Picts trouble
the state of
this Ile.

Lupicinus
sent into
Britaine.

Scots and
Picts trouble
the state of
this Ile.

Rome.

Of the displa-
cing of these
men the tears
shed may be
more in Am.
Mar.

Lib. 26.

Ammianus
Marcellinus
lib. 26.

The Almans.
The Sax-
marians.

he had bereft the land of the chiefest forces thereof, in taking the most part of the youth over with him: we find not in the same histories of any troubles wrought to the Britains by that nation. Therefore we have thought good here to come backe to the former times, that we may shew what is found mentioned in the Romane histories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scots and Picts, as also the Saxons, and especially in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentieth booke intreating of the doings of the emperor Julianus, he saith as followeth.

In this state stood things in Illyricum or Slaunonia, and in the east parts, at what time Constantius bare the office of consull the tenth time, and Julianus the third time, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 360, when in Britaine quietnesse being disturbed by roads made by the Scots and Picts, which are wild and savage people, the frontiers of the countrie were wasted, and feare oppressed the provinces wearied with the heape of passed losses. The emperor [he meaneth Julianus] as then remaining at Paris, and having his mind troubled with many cares, doubted to go to the aid of them beyond the sea, as we have shewed that Constantius did, least he should leave them in Gallia without a ruler, the Almans being even then provoked and stirred up to crueltie and warre.

He thought good therefore to send Lupicinus unto these places to bring things into frame and order, which Lupicinus was at that time master of the armorie, a warlike person and skillfull in all points of chivalrie, but proud and high-minded beyond measure, and such one as it was doubted long whether he was more covetous or cruell. Whereupon the said Lupicinus setting forward the light armed men of the Heruli and Baraui, with divers companies also of the people of Persia now called Bulgare; when winter was well entered and come on, he came himselfe to Bulleine, and there providing ships, and imbarcking his men, when the wind served his purpose, he transported over unto Sandwich, and so marched forth unto London, from thence purposing to set forward, as upon advice taken according to the quality of his businesse he should thinke meet and expedient.

In the meane time, whilst Lupicinus was busie here in Britaine to repress the enemies, the emperor Constantius displaced certaine officers, and among other he deprived the same Lupicinus of the office of the master of the armorie, appointing one Gumbabarius to succeed him in that roome, before any such thing was knownen in these parties. And where it was doubted least that Lupicinus (if he had understood so much whilst he was yet in Britaine) would have attempted some new trouble, as he was a man of a stout and loftie mind, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was sent a notarie unto Bulleine, to watch that none should passe the seas over into Britaine till Lupicinus were returned: and so returning over from thence per he had any knowledge what was done by the emperor, he could make no surer, having no such assistants in Gallia, as it was thought he might have had in Britaine, if he should have moved rebellion there.

The same Marcellinus speaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus, being elected emperor, had admitted his brother Valens as fellow with him in government, hath these words. In this season as though trumpets had blowne the sound to battell through out the whole Romane empire, most cruell nations being stirred up, invaded the borders next adjoining, the Almans wasted and destroyed the parts of Gallia and Aethia, as the Sarmatians

and Quadi did Paunonia, the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacots vered the Britains with continuall troubles, and grievous damages; the Austrians and the people of the Alpes overran the countrie of Affrike more sharpelie than in time past they had done; the pillaging troops of the Goths spoiled Thracia; the king of Persia set in hand to subdue the Armenians, and sought to bring them under his obedience, hasting with all speed toward Paunonia, pretending (though untrue) that now after the deceasse of Jovinius, with whom he had contracted a league and bond of peace, there was no cause of let what he ought not to recover those things, which (as he alledged) did belong to his ancestors: and so forth.

Whereover, the same Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wise, where he speaketh of the said Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and hasting to Trier, he was troubled with grievous newes that were brought him, giving him to understand, that Britaine by a conspiracie of the barbarous nations was brought to utter povertie, that Petaribus one of the emperours house earle of the sea coast, having charge of the parties towards the sea, was slaine, and that the generall Bulghaude was circumvented by traitnes of the enemies. These things with great honour being knowne, he sent Severus as then erle, or (as I may call him) lord steward of his household, to reforme things that were amisse, if hap would so permit, who being shortly called backe, Jovinius going thither, and with speed hasting forward, sent for more aid and a great power of men, as the instant necessitie then required. At length, for many causes, and the same greatlie to be feared, the which were reported and advertised out of that Ile, Theodosius was elected and appointed to go thither, a man of approved skill in warlike affaires, and calling together an hardie youthfull number of the legions and cohorts of men of warre, he went forth, no small hope being conceived of his good speed; the same whereof speed and went afore him.

A little after, Marcellinus adding what people they were that troubled the Britains in this wise, saith thus. This shall suffice to be said, that in this season the Picts divided into two nations Dicalidones, and Victuriones, and in like maner the Attacotti a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made soverle worke in places where they came. The confines of France were disquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers unto them, curie one as they could breaking forth, & doing great harme by cruell spoile, fire, and taking of prisoners. To withstand those doings if god fortune would give him leave, that most able capitaine going unto the uttermost bounds of the earth, when he came to the coast of Bullen which is severed from the contrarie coast on the other side by the sea, with a narrow straight, where sometime the water goeth verie high and rough, & shortly after becommeth calme & pleasant, without hurt to those that passe the same, transporting over at leisure, he arrived at Sandwich (or rather Richburto) where there is a quiet road for vessels to lie at anchor. Whereupon the Baraui and Heruli, with the souldiers of the legions called Louij, and Victores, being companies that trusted well to their owne strength, marched forth & drew towards London, an ancient citie, which now of late hath bin called Augusta. Herewith dividing his armie into sundrie parts, he set upon the troops of his enemies as they were abroad to forrey the countrie, pestered with burdens of their spoiles and pillage, and speedilie putting them to flight, as they were leading away those prisoners which they had taken, with their

The Quadi
Picts and
Saxons.

Austrians.
The Alps.

Lib. 27.

Comes maritus
traffus.

Comes domus
curia.

Theodosius
sent into the
tains.

Theodosius
requireth to
have Curlius
sent to him.
Dulcius.

London call
Augusta.

Picts divided
into two
nations.
Attacotti.

Theodosius
passeth over
into Britaine.

Baraui and
Heruli.

London call
Augusta.

Valentinian
Valeria no
Sister mari

boties of cattell, he bereft them of their preie, the which the poore Britains that were tributaries has lost. To be brieue, restoring the whole, except a small portion bestowed amongst the wearie souldiers, he entred the citie which before was oppressed with troubles, but now suddenlie refreshed, because there was hope of reliefe and assured preservation.

After this, when Theodosius was comforted with prosperous successe to attempt things of greater importance, and searching waies how with good aduise to worke surerlie: whilest he remained doubtfull what would insue, he learned as well by the confession of prisoners taken, as also by the information of such as were fled from the enimies, that the scattered people of sundrie nations which with practise of great crueltie were become fierce and vnbanded, could not be subdued but by policie secretlie practised, and sudden inuasions. At length therefore setting forth his proclamations, and promising pardon to those that were gone awaie from their captiues or charge, he called them backe againe to serue: and also those that by licence were departed and laie scattered here and there in places abroad. By this meanes, when manie were returned, he being on the one side earnestlie prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, requiried to haue one Cuslus by name sent to him to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britaine in stead of the other gouernours, a man of sharpe wit, and an earnest maintainer of iustice. He likewise required that one Dulcitus a capteine renowned in knowledge of warlike affaires might be sent ouer to him for his better assistance. These things were done in Britaine.

Theodosius requiried to haue Cuslus sent to him. Dulcitus.

Againe, in his eight and twentieth booke, the same Marcellinus reciteth further that the same Theodosius atchued in Britaine, hath in effect these words: Theodosius berelie a capteine of worthie fame, taking a valiant courage to him, and departing from Augusta, which men of old time called London, with souldiers assembled by great diligence, did succour and relieue greatlie the decayed and troubled state of the Britains, preuenting enerie conuenient place where the barbarous people might lie in wait to doe mischief: and nothing he commanded the meane souldiers to doe, but that whereof he with a cherefull mind would first take in hand to shew them an example. By this meanes accomplishing the rone of a valiant souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble capteine, he discomfited and put to flight sundrie nations, whose presumption (nourished by securitie) emboldened to inuade the Roman prouinces: and so the cities and castels that had bene sore endamaged by manifold losses and displeasures, were restored to their former state of wealth, the foundation of rest and quietnesse being laid for a long season after to insue.

London called Augusta.

But as these things were a doing, one wicked practise was in hand & like to haue burst forth, to the greuous danger of setting things in boile, if it had not bene staied euen in the beginning of the first attempt. For there was one Valentinus, borne in the parties of Valeria adioining to Pannonia, now called Satermarke, a man of a proud and loftie stomack, byother to the wife of Mariminus, which Valentinus for some notable offense had bene banished into Britaine, where the naughtie man that could not rest in quiet, deuised how by some commotion he might destroy Theodosius, who as he saw was onelie able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about manie things both prauillie and apertlie, the force of his vnnaturable desire to mischief still increasing, he sought to procure aswell other that were in semblable wise banished men, & inclined to mischief like him selfe, as also diuers of the sould-

Valentinus, Valeria now Satermarke.

ers, alluring them (as the time serued) with large promises of great wealth, if they would ioine with him in that enterprise. But euen now in the heuie nicke, when they shuld haue gone in hand with their vngenerous exploit, Theodosius warned of their intent, boldlie aduanced himselfe to see due punishment executed on the offenders that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conspiracie.

Theodosius committed Valentine with a few of other of his trustie complices vnto the capteine Dulcitus, commanding him to see them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike skill (wherein he passed all other in those daies) what might follow, he would not in anie wise haue anie further inquirie made of the other conspirators, least through feare that might be spread abroad in manie, the troubles of the prouinces now well quieted, should be againe renewed. After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse manie things as need required, all danger was quite removed: so that it was most apparent, that fortune fauored him in such wise, that she left him not destitute of hir furtherance in anie one of all his attempts. He therefore restored the cities & castels that were appointed to be kept with garri- sons, and the borders he caused to be defended and guarded with sufficient numbers to keepe watch and ward in places necessarie. And hauing recovered the prouince which the enimies had gotten into their possession, he so restored it to the former state, that upon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull gouernour was assigned to rule it, and the name was changed, so as from thenceforth it shoulde be called Valentia for the princes pleasure.

Dulcitus is appointed to put Valentinus to death.

A part of Britaine called Valentia.

The Areani, a kind of men ordeined in times past by our elders (of whose somewhat we haue spoken in the acts of the emperor Constance) being now by little and little fallen into vices, he removed from their places of abiding, being openlie conuicted, that allured with bribes and faire promises, they had oftentimes betraied vnto the barbarous nations what was done among the Romans: for this was their charge, to runne vp and doone by long iournies, and to giue warning to our captiues, what surer the people of the next confines were about to make.

Theodosius therefore hauing ordered these & other like things, most worthilie & to his high fame, was called home to the emperours court, who leauing the prouinces in most triumphant state, was highlie renowned for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had bene an other Camillus or Cursos Papirius, and with the fauor and loue of all men was conuied vnto the sea side, and passing ouer with a gentle wind, came to the court, where he was receiued with great gladnesse and commendation, being immediatlie appointed to succed in the rone of Valence Iouinus that was maister of the horse. Finallie, he was called by the emperor Gratianus, to be associated with him in the imperiall estate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauio: 379, and reigned emperor, surnamed Theodosius the great, about 16 yeares and 2 daies.

The praise of Theodosius.

Hereto also reade that he applied which the foresaid Marcellinus writeth in the same booke, touching the inuasion of the Saxons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repelled of the emperor Valentinianus the first, by the conduct and guiding of Seuerus. The same yeere (saith he) that the emperours were the third time consuls, there brake forth a multitude of Saxons, & passing the seas, entred stronglie into the Romane confines: a nation fed oftentimes with the slaughter of our people, the bzunt of

379 Wil. Har.

Wolf. Laz.

Seuerus.

Seuerus
coronell of the
footmen.

whose first inuasion earlie Pompeus sustained, one
which was appointed to defend those parties, an ap-
pointed capteine, & with continuall travell in warres
berie expert. But then incounting with desperate
and forlorne people, when he perceived some of his
souldiers to be overthorne and beaten downe, and
himselfe wounded, not able to abide the often as-
saults of his enemies, he obtained this by informing
the emperor that was necessarie and ought to be
done, in such that Seuerus, maister of (as I
maie call him) coronell of the footmen, was sent to
helpe and relieue things that stood in danger: the
which bringing a sufficient power with him for the
state of that businesse, when he came to those places,
he diuiding his armie into parts, put the Saxons in
such feare and trouble before they fought, that they
did not so much as take weapon in hand to make re-
sistance, but being amazed with the sight of the glit-
tering ensignes, & the eagles figured in the Romane
standards, they straight made sute for peace, and at
length after the matter was debated in sundrie wise
(because it was iudged that it should be profitable
for the Romane commonwealth) truce was gran-
ted vnto them, and manie young men (able for ser-
uice in the warres) deliuered to the Romans accord-
ing to the covenants concluded.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart
without impeachment, & so to returne from whence
they came, who being now out of all feare, and pre-
paring to go their waies, diuers bands of footmen
were sent to lie in wait in a certaine hid ballie so
ambushed, as they might easilie breake forth vpon
the enemies as they passed by them. But it chanced
far other wise than they supposed, for certeine of those
footmen stirred with the noise of them as they were
comming, brake forth out of time, and being sudden-
lie discovered whilst they hasted to knite and knif
themselves together, by the hideous crie and shout
of the Saxons they were put to flight. Yet by and
by closing together againe, they staid, and the ex-
tremities of the chance ministering to them force
(though not sufficient) they were diuised to fight it
out, and being beaten downe with great slaughter,
had died euerie mothers sonne, if a troope of horse-
men armed at all points (being in like maner pla-
ced in an other side at the entering of the waie to as-
saile the enemies as they should passe) aduertised by
the dolefull noise of them that fought, had not spee-
dilie come to the succour of their fellowes.

Then ran they together more cruellie than before,
and the Romans bending themselves towards their
enemies, compassed them in on each side, and with
bravone swords slue them downe right, so that there
was not one of them left to returne home to their
native countrie to bring newes how they had sped,
nor one suffered to liue after anothers death, either
to reuenge their ruine, or to lament their losse.
Thus were the limits of the Romane empire pre-
served at that time in Britaine, which should seeme
to be about the yere of our Lord 399.

Thus were the Romans, as commonlie in all
their martiall affaires, so in this incounter berie for-
tunate, the happie issue of the conflict falling out on
their side. And strange it is to consider and marke,
how these people by a celestiall kind of influence
were begotten and borne as it were to proweesse and
renowme; the course of their dealings in the field
most aptlie answering to their name. For (as some
suppose) the Romans were called of the Greke word
ἐκτανα, signifieng power and mightinesse: and in old
time they were called Valentians, a Valendo, of pre-
uailing: so that it was no maruell though they were
victorious subduers of forren people, sithens they
were by nature created and appointed to be conquere

1025, and thereof had their denomination.

What the poet Claudianus saith of the
state of Britaine in the decaye of the Ro-
mane empire, of the Scots and Picts cruellie
vexing the Britains, they are afflicted by inuasion
of barbarous nations, the practise of the Saxons,
of the Scots first comming into this land, and from
whence, the Scottish chronographers no-
ted for curiositie and vanitie.

The xxxv. Chapter.

After this, in the time of Honorius the
emperor, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons,
old enemies inuaded the fron-
tiers of the Romane prouince
in Britaine, as appeareth by
that which the poet Clau-
dianus writeth, in attributing
the honour of preserving the same frontiers vnto
the said emperor, in his booke intituled Panegyricus
serij consularis (which fell in the yere 396) as thus:

Ille leues Mæuros nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumq; vaga mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas,
Et geminis fulgens utroq; sub axe trophæis,
Tethys alterna refusus calcavit arenas.

The nimble Mores and Picts by right
so cald, he hath subdued,
And with his wandring sword likewise
the Scots he hath pursued:
He brake with bold couragious oare
the Hyperborean waue,
And shining vnder both the poles
with double trophies braue,
He marcht vpon the bubbling sands
of either swelling seas.

The same Claudianus vpon the fourth consularship
of Honorius, saith in a tetrastichon as followeth:

Quid rigor æternus celi? quid frigora profundi?
Ignoramus fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcaes, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Sotorum cumulos steris glaciæ Hyberne.
What lasting cold? what did to them
the frostie climats gaine?
And sea vnknowne? bemoistened all
with bloud of Saxons slaine

The Orknies were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And ylie Ireland hath bewaild
the heaps of Scottish harme.

The same passe giueth he to Stilico the sonne in
law of Honorius, and maketh mention of a legion of
souldiers sent for out of Britaine in the periphrasis
or circumlocution of the Gotish bloudie warres:

Veni ex extremis legio præsentia Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroq; notatas
Perleget exanimis Picto moriente figuras.

A legion eke there came from out
the farthest Britains bent,
Which bridleth hath the Scots so sterne:
and marks with iron brent
Vpon their liuelesse limbs dooth read,
whiles Picts their liues relent.

He rehearseth the like in his second Panegyricus of
Stilico, in most ample and pittie manner insuing:

Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monstro,
Ferro Picta genas, cuius vestigia verris
Cæculus, Oceanig; æstum mentitur amictus,
Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Munus Stilio, totam quæm Scotus Hybernæ
Mouit, et infesto spumans remige Tethi,

Ilium

Solinus.
Adri. lun.Britaine af-
fected by in-
uasion of ba-
barous nati-
ons.Sidon. Apol.
8. Epist.The practise
of the Sax-
ons.Thule some
take to be
Iceland, some
Scotland.

*Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scoticæ Pictum tremorem, ne lictore toto
Proficere dubijs venturum Saxona ventu.*
Then Britaine whom the monsters did
of Calidone surround,
Whose cheekes were pearst with scolding Steele,
whose garments swept the ground,
Resembling much the marble hew
of ocean seas that boile,
Said, She whom neighbour nations did
conspire to bring to spoile,
Hath Scilico munited strong, when
raisd by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enemies ores
the salt sea some did slic,
His care hath causd, that I all feare
of Scottish broiles haue bard,
Ne do I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrie coasts to gard
Gainst Saxon troops, whom changing winds
sent sailing hitherward.

Britaine af-
fected by in-
uasion of bar-
barous nati-
ons.

Sidon. Apol. li.
8. Epist.

The piracie
of the Sax-
ons.

Thus maie it appere, that in the time when the
Romane empire began to decate, in like manner as
other parts of the saunc empire were inuaded by bar-
barous nations, so was that part of Britaine which
was subiect to the Romane emperors grieuoulie af-
fected by the Scots and Picts, and also by the Sax-
ons, the which in those daies inhabiting all alongst
the sea coasts of low Germanie, euen from the Elbe
vnto the Rhine, did not onelie trouble the sea by con-
tinuall roving, but also vied to come on land into di-
uerse parts of Britaine and Gallia, inuading the
countreies, and robbing the same with great rage and
crueltie.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth,
writing to Panatius. The messenger did assuredlie
affirme, that lastelie ye blew the trumpet to warre in
your nation, and betwixt the office one while of a ma-
riner, and another while of a souldier, wasted about
the crooked hozes of the ocean sea against the flat
of the Saxons, of whome as manie rousers as ye be-
hold, so manie archpirats ye suppose to see: for do they
altogether with one accord command, obeie, teach,
and learne to plaie the parts of rousers, that euen
now there is god occasion to warne you to beware.
This enemie is more cruell than all other enemies.
He assaileth at vnwares, he escapeth by forseeing the
danger afore hand, he despiseth those that stand a-
gainst him, he throweth downe the vnwarie: if he be
followed he snatcheth them by that pursue him, if he

see he escapeth.

Of like effect for proue hereof be those verses
which he wrote vnto Panatius his panegyrike o-
ration, following in Latine and in English verse.

*Tot maria intrasti duce te, longeq. remotas
Sole sub occiduo gentes, vntus in Casar
Signa Calidonio transiit ad usq. Britannia.
Fudor et quanquam Scutum, & eum Saxone Pictum,
Postheque sinit quem iam natura vetabat,
Quod cre plus homines, &c.*

So manie seas I entered haue,
and nations farre by west,
By thy conduct, and far harh
his banners borne full prest
Vnto the furthest British coast,
where Calidonians dwell,
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he subdued fell,
Yet would he enemies seeke vnknewen
whom nature had forbid, &c.

Thus much haue we thought god to gather out
of the Romane and other writers, that ye might per-
ceiue the state of Britaine the better in that time of
the decate of the Romane empire, and that ye might
haue occasion to marke by the waie, how not onelie
the Scots, but also the Saxons had attempted to in-
uade the Britains, before anie mention is made of
the same their attempts by the British and English
writers. But whether the Scots had anie habitation
within the bounds of Britaine, till the time supposed
by the Britaine writers, we leaue that point to the
iudgement of others that be trauelled in the search of
such antiquities, onelie admonishing you, that in the
Scottish chronicle you shall find the opinion which
their writers haue conceived of this matter, and also
manie things touching the acts of the Romans
done against diuerse of the Britains, which they pre-
sume to be done against their nation, though shad-
dowed vnder the generall name of Britains, or of
other particular names, at this daie to most men be
knowne. But whensoever the Scots came into this
Ile, they made the third nation that inhabited the
same, coming first out of Scythia, or rather out of
Spaine (as some suppose) into Ireland, and from
thence into Britaine; next after the Picts, though
their writers fetch a farre more ancient beginning
(as in their chronicles at large appereth) referring
them to the reading thereof, that desire to under-
stand that matter as they set it forth.

Polydor,

Thus farre the dominion and tribute of the Romans ouer this land of Britaine,
which had continued (by the collection of some chronographers) the
space of 483. yeeres. And heere we thinke it con-
uenient to end this fourth booke.





THE FIFT BOOKE

of the Historie of England.

Constantinus at the generall
sute of the Britains undertaketh
to gouerne this Iland, he is crowned
king, his three sonnes, he is traitorouslie
slaine of a Pict, Constantius the eldest sonne of
Constantine hauing bene a monke is created king,
the ambitious & sly practises of duke Vortigern
so aspire to the government, he procureth certaine Picts and
Scots to kill the king who had retained them for the
gard of his person, his craftie deuises and deepe
disimulation vnder the pretence of in-
nocencie, he winneth the peoples
harts, and is chosen their
king.

The first Chapter.



HAuing ended our
former booke with
the end of the Ro-
mane power ouer
this Iland, wherein
the state of the I-
land vnder them
is at full described;
it remaineth now
that we proceed to
declare, in what
state they were af-
ter the Romans
had refused to gouerne them any longer. Wherefore
we will aduise our selues to saie somewhat tou-
ching the succession of the British kings, as their hi-
stories make mention.

Constantinus the brother of Alboenus king of
little Britaine, at the sute and earnest request of the
archbishop of London, made in name of all the Bri-
tains in the Ile of great Britaine, was sent into the
same Ile by his said brother Alboenus vpon coue-
nants ratified in manner as before is recited, and
brought with him a conuenient power, landing with
the same at Totnesse in Denonshire. Immediatlie
after his coming on land, he gathered to him a great
power of Britains, which before his landing were
hid in diuerse places of the Ile. Then went he forth
with them, and gaue battell to the enemies, whom he
banquished: & sue that tyrannicall king Guanius
there in the field (as some bookes haue.) Howbeit,
this agreeth not with the Scottish writers, which as-
sume that they got the field, but yet lost their king
named Dongard (as in their historie ye maie read.)

But to proceed as our writers report the matter.
When the Britains had thus overcome their eni-
mies, they conueied their captaine the said Constan-
tine vnto Cicest, and there in fulfilling their pro-
mise and covenant made to his brother, crowned
him king of great Britaine, in the yere of our Lord
433, which was about the fift yere of the emperor

Valentinianus the second, and third yere of Clodius
king of the Frankners after called Frenchmen,
which then began to settle themselves in Gallia,
whereby the name of that countrie was afterwards
changed and called France. Constantine being thus
established king, ruled the land well and noblie, and
defended it from all inuasion of enemies during his
life. He begat of his wife three sonnes (as the British
historie affirmeth) Constantius, Aurelius Ambrosi-
us, and Alar surnamed Penragon. The eldest, be-
cause he perceiued him to be but dull of wit, and not
vertie toward, he made a monke, placing him with-
in the abbie of Amphibalus in Winchestr.

Finallie this Constantine, after he had reigned
ten yeres, was traitorouslie slaine one day in his
owne chamber (as some writers) by a Pict, who was in
such fauor with him, that he might at all times haue
free access to him at his pleasure. Neither the Ro-
mane writers, nor Beda, make any mention of this
Constantine: but of the other Constantine they
write, which immediatlie after the blasphe-
mous Gratian was dispatched out of the way (as before ye haue
heard) was aduanced to the rule of this land, and
titled of emperor, onelie in hope of his name, and for
no other respect of towardnesse in him, as for
being but a meane soldier, without any degree of
honour. The same Constantine (as writers record)
going ouer into Gallia, adorned his sonne Constan-
tius with the title and dignitie of Cesar, the which
before was a monke, and finally as well the one as
the other were slaine, the father at Arles by earls
Constantius, that was sent against him by the em-
perour Honorius; and the sonne at Maserina (as be-
fore ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called
Gerontius (as in the Italian historie ye may see
more at large.) This chanced about the yere of our
Lord 415.

¶ This haue we thought good to repeat in this
place, for that some may suppose that this Constan-
tine is the same that our writers take to be the bro-
ther of Alboenus king of little Britaine, as the cir-
cumstance of the time and other things to be con-
sidered may giue them occasion to thinke, for that
there is not so much credit to be yielded to them that
haue written the British histories, but that in some
part men may with iust cause doubt of sundrie mat-
ters contained in the same: and therefore haue we in
this booke bene the more diligent to shew what the
Romans and other forreine writers haue registered
in their bookes of histories touching the affaires of
Britaine, that the reader may be the better satisfied
in the truth. But now to returne to the sequelle of the
historie as we find the same written by the British
chroniclers.

After that Constantine was murdered (as be-
fore ye haue heard) one Vortigerus, or Vortigernus,
a man of great authoritie amongst the Britains,
was brought so with the residue of the British nobilitie,
that Constantius the eldest sonne of their king the
fore-remembered Constantine, was taken out of the
abbie of Winchestr where he remained, and was
straight-

Consta-
tius.
Matt. Wel-
saith 415.

He Act B

Constan-
tine

The sub-
stanting o
Vortiger

Aureliu
honorius.
Alar Pen-
ragon.

415

Constan-
tius.
Gal. Mon.
Matt. Westm.

Caxton saith
11000, but
Gal. and o-
thers say
but 1000.

The British
historie disa-
greeth from
the Scottish.

Marth. West.
saith 435.

Vortiger
chosen k
Britain

This Vor-
tigernus was
duke of the
Strutles and
Cornwall,
as Rad. Celli
reporteth.
Gal. Mon.

through the false suggestion of Vortigern, had bene wrongfullie and most cruellie put to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruell warre against the Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their towne, and giuing them the ouerthrow in a pitch field, as in the Scottish historie more plainlie appeareth. To be briefe, the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to take for remedie in such present perill, likelie to be ouerrun and vtterlie vanquished of their enemies. In the meane time Vortigern not onelie troubled with these imminent euils, but fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter Pendragon, began to consider of the state of things, and esteeming it most sure to worke by aduise, called together the principall lords and chiefe men of the realme to haue their counsell and opinion, how to proceed in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, measured both his owne force, and also the force of his enemies, and according to the condition and state of the time, diligentlie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had and provided.

At length after they had thoughtlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way deuised, than to send into Germanie for the Saxons to come to their aid: the which Saxons in that season were highlie renowned for their valiancie in armes, and manifold aduentures heretofore atchiued. And so forthwith messengers were dispatched into Germanie, the which with monie, gifts, and promises, might procure the Saxons to come to the aid of the Britains against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons glad of this message, as people desirous of intertainment to serue in warres, choosing forth a picked companie of lustie yong men vnder the leading of two brethren Hengist and Horsa, got them aboard into certeine vessels appointed for the purpose, and so with all speed directed their course towards great Britaine.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Vortigerns reigne, as the most autentike writers both British and English seeme to gather, although the Scottish writers, and name, Hector Boetius doe varie herein, touching the iust account of yeares, as to the perusers of the writings aswell of the one as the other may appeare. But others take it to be in the 4th yeere of his reigne: whereto Beda seemeth to agree, who noteth it in the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the consularie of Protogenes and Ausertius, and third yeare of Speroneus king of France.

These Saxons thus arriuing in Britaine, were courteously receiued, & hartlie welcomed of king Vortigern, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and forthwith led them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroying the countrie before them. Whereupon comming to foine in battell, there was a sore fight betwixt the parties for a while. But at length when the Saxons called to their remembrance that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an euerlasting name of manhood by victorie, or else of reproch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, that the enemies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on eche side with great slaughter.

The king hauing gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers according to their well seruings, as by whose promise he had thus vanquished

his enemies, which (as some write) were come as farre as Stamford, and sited at that time to fight with long darts and speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelie with long swords and axes.

Some haue written that the Saxons were not sent for, but came by chance into the Ile, and the occasion to be this. There was an ancient custome among the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the countrie was not able to susteine and feed them, by commandement of their princes, they should chuse out by lots a number of yong and able persons fit for the warres, which should go forth to seeke them new habitations: and so it chanced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres.

Hengist the Saxon shooteth at the crowne and scepter of the kingdome by craftie and subtile practises, a great number of forren people arriue in Britaine for the augmentation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his daughter, wherof Wednesday and Fridaye take their name, of the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigern being inflamed with the loue of Hengists daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigern giueth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come ouer by heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie moue the king to auoid them, he is deprived of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

The third Chapter.

IN Dw Hengistus, being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisdom, vnderstanding the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceiuing the fruitfulness of the countrie, presensitie began to consider with himselfe, by what titles and craft he might by little little settle here, and obtaine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish the same to him and his for euer.

Therefore first he induozed with all speed possible to sente that part of the countrie, which was giuen him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garrisons appointed in places most conuenient. After this he did what he could to perswade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the land being fortified with such strength, the enemies might be put in feare, and his subjects holden in rest. The king not foreseeing the hap that was to come, did not despise this counsell tending to the destruction of his kingdome, and so was more aid sent for into Germanie: whereupon now at this second time there arriued here 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the ladie Rowen or Konir (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comelinesse, able to delight the eyes of them that should behold hir, and speciallie to win the heart of Vortigern with the dart of concupiscence, wherewith he was of nature much inclined, and that did Hengist well perceiue.

There came ouer into this land at that time, and some after, three maner of people of the German nation, as Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, ouer the which the said Hengist and Horsa being brethren, were capitaines & rulers, men of right noble parentage in their countrie, as descended of that ancient prince Woden, of whom the English Saxon kings

Gylfas.
Wil. Malm.
Beda.
The Saxons
sent for.

10000 hath
Hector Boet.
Gylfas and
Beda mention
on: he but of
3 plates of
gallies, but
Hector Boet.
hath 30.

449
Wil. Malm.

Scots vanquished by the
Saxons.

Henric Bar.

Gal. Mon.

Wednesday
and Fridaye
whereof the
name.
Beda

Cor. Tacit.

Polydor.

Kolwen, or
Konowen
Hengists
daughter.

Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm.
18 Follies of
places fast the
Scottish
towers, and
5000 men in
the same.
The Saxons
call these
Wells of
Wales, and
our old
names
Cogones.

Gal. Mon.

Swadail, i
it signitie

The Vin
Jutes are called
Friti.
Alex. Nov.

kings too for the moze part fetch their pedigree, as lineallie descended from him, vnto whome also the English people (falselie reputing him for a god) consecrated the fourth daie of the weeke, as they did the first to his wife Frea: so that the same daies toke name of them, the one being called Woden's daie, and the other Freadaie, which words after in continuance of time by corruption of spech were somewhat altered, though not much, as from Woden's daie, to Wednesday, and from Freadaie to Fridaye. The foresaid Woden was father to Meta, the father of Wictigis that was father to the foresaid Wengist and Hozus.

But now to rehearse further touching those three people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Wites or Jutes (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentishmen descended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with those also that inhabit ouer against the same Ile. Of the Sarons came the east, the south, & the west Sarons. Hozon, of the Angles proceeded the east Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men. That these Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth also by Cornelius Tacitus, who called them Angli, which word is of three syllables (as Polydor saith:) but some write it Angli, with two syllables. And that these Angli, or Angli were of no small force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this land, maie appeare, in that they are numbred amongst the twelue nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themselves, according to the which the state of their common wealth was gouerned, they being the same and one people with the Thuringers, as in the title of the old Thuringers lawes we find recorded, which is thus: *Lex Anglorum & Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum*. The law of the Angles and Werinians that is to saie the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saronie, as in the description of that countrie it maie appeare.

But now to the matter. Wengist perceiving that his people were highlie in Woztigners fauour, began to handle him craftilie, deuising by what means he might bring him in loue with his daughter Konowen, or Konowen (as some write) which he beleued well would easilie be brought to passe, because he vnderstood that the king was much giuen to sensuall lust, which is the thing that often blindeth wise mens vnderstanding, and maketh them to dote, and to lose their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to destruction, though by such pleasant poison they feele no bitter taste, till they be brought to the extreme point of confusion in deed.

A great supper therefore was prepared by Wengist, at the which it pleased the king to be present, and appointed his daughter, when euerie man began to be somewhat merrie with drinke, to bring in a cup of gold full of good and pleasant wine, and to present it to the king: saleng; Wastail. Which she did in such comelie and decent manner, as she that knew how to do it well though, so as the king marvelled greatly thereat, and not vnderstanding what she ment by that salutation, demanded what it signified. To whom it was answered by Wengist, that she wished him well, and the meaning of it was, that he should drinke after her, joining thereto this answer, Drinke haile. Whereupon the king (as he was informed) took the cup at the damels hand, and drinke.

If malice, this young ladie beheld his selfe with such pleasant words, comelie countenance, and amiable grace, that the king beheld her so long, till he felt himselfe so farre in loue with her person, that he burned in continuall desire to inioy the same: inso much that shortly after he forsooke his owne wife, by the

which he had three sonnes, named Woztignus, Castragrinus, and Walsentius, and required of Wengist to haue his daughter, the said Konowen, or Konowen in marriage. Wengist at the first seemed strange to grant to his request, and excused the matter, for that his daughter was not of estate and dignitie meet to be matched with his maiestie. But at length as it had bene halfe against his will he consented, and so the marriage was concluded & solemnized, all Kent being assigned vnto Wengist in reward, the which countrie was before that time gouerned by one Wozongus (though not with most equall iustice) which Wozongus was subiect vnto Woztignus, as all other the potentats of the Ile were.

This marriage and liberalitie of the king towards the strangers much offended the minds of his subiects, and hastened the finall destruction of the land. For the Sarons now vnderstanding the affinitie had betwixt the king and Wengist, came so fast ouer to inhabit here, that it was wonder to consider in how short a time such a multitude could come together: so that because of their great number and approved puissance in warres, they began to be a terror to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Wengist being no lesse politike in counsell than valiant in armes, abusing the kings lacke of discretion, to serue his owne turne, perswaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Woca and his sonne named Ebusa, being men of great valure, to the end that as Wengist defended the land in the south part: so might they keepe backe the Scots in the north.

Whereupon by the kings consent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coasting about the land, they sailed to the Isles of Wyknie, and soe bered the people there, and likewise the Scots and Wits also, and finally arrived in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they settled themselves at that present, and so continued there euer after: but none of them taking vpon him the title of king, till about 99 yeeres after their first comming into that countrie, but in the meane time remaining as subiects vnto the Saron kings of Kent. After their arriual in that prouince, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and ouercame them, chasing away such as made resistance, and appeased the residue by receiuing them vnder allegiance.

When the nobles of Britaine saw and perceived in what danger the land stood, by the daily repaire of the huge number of Sarons into the same, they first consulted together, and after resorting to the king, moued him that some order might be taken for the auoiding of them, or the moze part of them; least they should with their power and great multitude bitterlie oppresse the British nation. But all was in vaine, for Woztignus so esteemed and highlie fauoured the Sarons, and namelie by reason of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, no nor yet anie thing esteemed his owne naturall kinsmen and chiefe friends, by reason whereof the Britains in fine depeiued him of all kinglie honour, after that he had reigned 16 yeeres, and in his stead crowned his sonne Woztignus.

Gyldas and Beda make no mention of Woztignus, but declare that after the Sarons were receiued into this land, there was a covenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Sarons should defend the countrie from the inuasion of enemies by their knightlie force: and that in consideration thereof, the Britains should find them prouision of vittels: wherewith they held them contented for a while. But afterwards they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not sufficientlie furnished of their due proportion of vittels, threatening that if they were

Polydor. Fabian.

Wil.Malm.

Wil.Malm.

Gal. saith he was Wengists sonne, and Ebusa his vncles sonne. Woca and Ebusa leaders of Sarons.

Wil.Malm. de Regib.

Fabian. The great numbers of strangers suspected to the Britains.

Woztignus depeiued.

Gyldas. Beda. H.Hunt.

Wednesday, and Fridaye, whereof they came.

Cot.Tacitus.

Polydor.

Konowen, or Konowen Wengists daughter.

Wil.Malm.

Gal.Mon.

Wastail, what it signifieth.

The mis-
erable destruc-
tion made by
the Saxons
in this land.

were not prouided more largelie thereof, they would surely spoile the countrie. So that without deferring of time, they performed their wordes with effect of deeds, beginning in the east part of the Ile, & with fire and sword passed forth, wasting and destroying the countrie, till they came to the uttermost part of the west: so that from sea to sea, the land was wasted and destroyed in such cruell and outrageous manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regarded, but all committed to the fire: the priests slaine and murdered euen afore the altars, and the prelates with the people without any reuerence of their estate or degree dispatched with fire and sword, most lamentable to behold.

Manie of the Britains seeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which diuers being apprehended, were cruellie slaine, and other were glad to come forth and yeld themselves to eternall bondage, for to haue relêse of meate and drinke to assuage their extremitie of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into strange lands, so to saue themselves; and others abiding still in their countrie, kept them within the thicke woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a poore wretched life, in great feare and inquietnesse of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrowne to their houses, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, issuing forth of those places where they had lien hid, and with one consent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preserved from bitter destruction, they began vnder the conduct of their leader Aurelius Ambrose, to prouoke the Saxons to battell, and by the helpe of God they obtained victorie, according to their owne desires. And from thence forth, one while the Britains, and an other while the Saxons were victors. So that in this British people, God (according to his accustomed maner) as it were present Israell, tried them from time to time, whether they loued him or no, untill the yeare of the siege of Wabon hill, where afterwards no small slaughter was made of the enemies: which chanced the same yeare in the which Gyl-das was borne (as he himselfe witnesseth) being about the 44 yeare after the coming of the Saxons into Britaine.

So Gyl-das
was borne in
the yeare of
our Lord 493.

Thus haue Gyl-das & Beda (following by likeli-hood the authoritie of the same Gyl-das) written of these first warres begun betwene the Saxons and Britains. But now to go forth with the historie, according to the order of our chronicles, as we doe find recorded touching the doings of Vortimer that was elected king (as we haue heard) to gouerne in place of his father Vortigern.

Vortimer is created king in the roome of his father Vortigern, he giueth the Saxons sore and sharpe battels, a combat fought betwene Catigern the brother of Vortimer and Horsus the brother of Hengist, wherein they were both slaine, the Britains drive the Saxons into the Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengist procureth Vortimer to be poisoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as some writers report, they ioine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains and discomfit them.

The fourth Chapter.

Vortimer.

Fabian.
Galf. Mon.
Marth. West.
saith 454.

464



His Vortimer being eldest sonne to Vortigern, by the common assent of the Britains was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 464, which was in the fourth yeare of the emper-

our Leo the fift, and about the first yeare of Childericus king of France, as our common account runneth, which is far disagreeing from that whereof W. Harison both speake in his chronologie, who noteth Vortigern to be deposed in the 8 after his exaltation to the crowne, 454 of Christ, and 5 current after the coming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Aeronius, as by his chronologie doth more at large appeare.

But to proceed, Vortimer being thus advanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all hast made sore warre against the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battell vpon the riuer of Dertwent, where he had of them the vpper hand. And the second time he fought with them at a place called Epiford, or Agliethrop, in the which encounter Catigern or Catigernus the brother of Vortimer, and Horsus the brother of Hengist, after a long combat betwixt them two, either of them slue other: but the Britains obtained the field (as saith the British historie.) The third battell Vortimer fought with them nere to the sea side, where also the Britains chased the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was stricken nere to a moore called Colomoe, the which was sore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great danger to the Britains, because the foresaid moore inclosed a part of their host so stronglie, that the Britains could not approach to them, being beaten off with the enemies shot, albeit in the end the Saxons were put to flight, & manie of them drownded and swallowed vp in the same moore. Beside these foure principall battels, Vortimer had diuers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Dorset, also nere to Colchester in Essex: for he left not till he had bereft them of the more part of all such possessions as before time they had got, so that they were constrained to keepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes assailed them with such ships as he then had. When Rowen the daughter of Hengist perceived the great losse that the Saxons sustained by the martiall prowesse of Vortimer, she found means that within a while the said Vortimer was poisoned, after he had ruled the Britains by the space of 6 or 7 yeares and od moneths.

By the British historie it should seeme, that Vortimer before his death handled the Saxons so hardlie, keeping them besieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were constrained to sue for licence to depart home into Germanie in safetie: and the better to bring this to pas, they sent Vortigern, (whome they had kept still with them in all these battels) vnto his sonne Vortimer, to be a meane for the obtaining of their lute. But whilest this treatie was in hand, they got them into their ships, and leauing their wiues and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Galf. Mon. But how unlike this is to be true, I will not quake any further discourse, but onelie refer euery man to that which in old autentike historiographers of the English nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmes. Henr. Hunt. Marianus, and others: vnto whom in these matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedlie and safelie giue most credit.

William Malmes. writing of his Vortimer, or Vortigern, and of the warres which he had against the Saxons, varieth in a maner altogether from Geoffrey of Monmouth, as by his words here following ye maie perceiue. Vortimer, the sonne of Vortimer (saith he) thinking not good long to dissemble the matter, for that he saw himselfe and his countreymen the Britains persecuted by the craft of the English Saxons, set his full purpose to drine them

Hengist had
the victorie
saith Ka. Hig
Wolfe and
Catigern
slaine.

The riuer of
Dertwent.

Epiford.

The Ile of
Tenet.

Hen. Hunt.
Colomoe.

Fabian.
Tetford in
Dorset.
Colchester.

Polydor.

The Brit-
tains disce-
ssed by the
Saxons.

Will. Malmes.

Sigebertus.

Hengist had
the victory in
this battell
saith Ka. Hig.
Horse and
Catigern
saith.

them out of the realme, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He therefore being the author and procurer, seven yeares after their first coming into this land, the league was broken, and by the space of 20 yeares they fought oftentimes together in many light encounters, but four times they fought puissance against puissance in open field: in the first battell they departed with like fortune, whilst the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons lost their capitaine Horse that was brother to Hengist, and the Britains lost Catigern an other of Hengist's sonnes.

In the other battells, when the Englishmen went over awaie with the upper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Hengist being taken out of this world by course of fatall death, the which much differing from the soft and milde nature of his father, right noble would have governed the realme, if God had suffered him to have lived. But these battells which Hengist gave to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) should appeare by that which some writers have recorded, to have chanced before the supposed time of Hengist's or Hengist's attaining to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeare after the first coming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengist. And hereto W. Harison giueth his consent, referring the mutuell slaughter of Hengist and Catigern to the 6 yeares of Spartianus, & 455 of Christ. Whobeit Polydor Virgil saith, that Hengist succeeded his father, and that after his fathers deceasse the English Saxons, of whom there was a great number then in the Ile, coming over daily like swarmes of bees, and having in possession not onelie Kent, but also the north parts of the realme towards Scotland, together with a great part of the west countrie, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of warre: and first therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, upon the sudden they turned their weapons points against the Britains, and most cruellie pursued them, as though they had received some great injury at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were marvellouslie abashed herewith, perceiving that they should have to doe with Hengist, a capitaine of so high renowne, and also with their ancient enemies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they must fight or else become slaves. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage stirred up manhood in them, so that they assembled together, and boldly began to resist their enemies on each side: but being too weake, they were easilie discomfited and put to flight, so that all hope of defense by force of armes being utterly taken awaie, as men in despair to preuaile against their enemies, they fled as sheepe scattered abroad, some following one capitaine and some another, getting them into desert places, woods and marsh grounds, and moreover left such townes and fortresses as were of no notable strength, as a prey unto their enemies.

Thus saith Polydor Virgil of the first breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and the Britains, which chanced not (as should appeare by that which he writeth thereof) till after the death of Hengist. Whobeit he denieth not that Hengist at his first coming got seates for him and his people within the countie of Kent, and there began to inhabit. This ought not to be forgotten, that king Hengist (as Sigebertus hath written) restored the christian religion after he had vanquished the Saxons, in such places where the same was decayed by the enemies' invasion, whose dist was not onelie to overrun the land with violence, but also to erect their owne lawes and liberties without regard of clemencie.

Vortigern is restored to his regiment, in what place he abode during the time of his sonnes reigne, Hengist with his Saxons re-enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are appointed to meet on Salisburie plaine, the priue-treason of Hengist and his power whereby the Britains were slaine like sheepe, the machood of Edol earle of Glocester, Vortigern is taken prisoner, Hengist is in possession of three prouinces of this land, a description of Kent.

The fifth Chapter.



After all these bloudie broiles and tempestuous tumults ended, Hengist was restored and set againe into the kingdome of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 471. All the time of his sonnes reigne, he had remained in the parties now called Wales, where (as some write) in that meane time he builded a strong castle called Generon, or Guaneren, in the west side of Wales nere to the riuer of Guana, upon a mountaine called Cloaricus, which some referre to be builded in his second returne into Wales, as shall be shewed hereafter. And it is so much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had sight of, affirmeth, that Hengist was kept vnder the rule of certaine gouernours to him appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaved himselfe in such commendable sort towards his sonne, in aiding him with his counsell, and otherwise in the meane season whilst his sonne reigned, that the Britains by reason thereof began so to fauour him, that after the death of Hengist they made him king againe.

Shortly after that Hengist was restored to the rule of the kingdom, Hengist aduertised thereof, returned into the land with a mightie armie of Saxons, whereof Hengist being aduised, assembled his Britains, and with all speed made towards him. When Hengist had knowledge of the huge host of the Britains that was coming against him, he required to come to a communication with Hengist, which request was granted, so that it was concluded, that on Maie day a certaine number of Britains, and as manie of the Saxons should meet together upon the plaine of Salisburie. Hengist hauing deuised a new kind of treason, when the day of their appointed meeting was come, caused euerie one of his allowed number secretly to put into his hose a long knife (where it was ordeined that no man should bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie instant when this watchword should be vttered by him, Nempt your sexes, then should euerie of them plucke out his knife, and slay the Britaine that chanced to be next to him, except the same should be Hengist, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not slaine.

At the day assigned, the king with his appointed number of traine of the Britains, mistrusting nothing lesse than anie such maner of vnfaithfull dealing, came vnto the place in order before prescribed, without armor or weapon, where he found Hengist readie with his Saxons, the which received the king with amiable countenance and in most louing sort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengist meaning to accomplish his deuised purpose, gaue the watchword, immediatlie whereupon the Saxons drew out their knives, and suddenly fell on the Britains, and slue them as sheepe being fallen within the danger of wolues. For the Britains

Math. West.
saith 461.
471

Caerleon
Arwisc.

Math. West.
saith 400.
He might easily returne, for except I be deceived he was neuer driven out after he had once set foot within this Ile.

Nempt your sexes, what if it were melles

There died of the nobles of Britaine 450, as Gal. saith.

Polydor.

The Britains discomfited by the Saxons.

Sigebertus

Ran. Cestren.
Fabian.

Gal. faith 70.
March West.
Ran. Cestren.

Wil. Malan.

Kingdome of
Kent.

Britains had no weapons to defend themselves, except arie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Amongst other of the Britains, there was one Chol earle of Glocester, or (as other say) Chelster, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of Ambrie, now called Salisburie, and so saved his owne life. Hloztiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constrained to deliver unto Hengist thre prouinces or countries of this realme, that is to say, Kent & Essex, or as some write, that part where the south Saxons after did inhabit, as Sussex and other: the third was the countie where the East Angles planted themselves, which was in Dorseth and Suffolke: When Hengist being in possession of those thre prouinces, suffered Hloztigerne to depart, & to be at his libertie.

William Malmesburie writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Hloztigerne, during whose reigne, after the decesse of his sonne Hloztimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the meane time Hengist by colozable craft procured his sonne in law Hloztigerne to come to a banquet at his house, with thre hundred other Britains, and when he had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptying of cups, and of purpose touched euerie of them with one bitter talunt or other, they first fell to multipling of malicious words, and after to blowes that the Britains were slaine, euerie mothers sonne to yelding by their ghosts euent amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons thre prouinces, and so escaped out of bondage.

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agree) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute lord & gouernor, in the yere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yere of Hloztigerne last reigne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent to be when Hengist had first gitt thereof, the same kingdome began in the yere 455, and contained the countie that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuer of Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuer of Thames aforesaid, and the countie of Essex.

The heptarchie or seuen kingdoms of this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be peopled with Saxons, the decaie of Christian religion, the Pelagians with their hereticall and false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scots assist the Britains against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germane and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British armie to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains vnder bishop Germanus fortunate conduct draue into the Saxons by the outcrie of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germane departeth out of the land, and to redresse the Pelagian heresie commeth againe at the clergies request, he confirmeth his doctrine by a miracle, banneth the Pelagians out of the land, the death of Germane, murder requited with murder.

The vij. Chapter.

Hengist and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seuen parts of this realme, are called by writers Reguli, that is, little kings or

rulers of some small dominion: so that Hengist is counted a little king, who when he had got into his hands the foresaid thre prouinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the countie, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decayed within the land, for the Saxons being pagans, did that they could to extinguishe the faith of Christ, and to plant againe in all places their heathenish religion, and worshipping of false gods: and not onlie here by was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger daile to decaye, but also the erroneous opinions of the Pelagians greatlie prevailed here amongst the Britains, by meanes of which famous preachers as in that troublesome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all manner of reprehension.

Certaine yeres before the coming of the Saxons, that heresie began to spread within this land berie much, by the lewd industrie of one Leporius Agricola, the sonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale faith) a bishop of that loze. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obtaine saluation by his owne free will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without originall sinne, &c.

This erroneous doctrine being taught therefore, and maintained in this troublesome time of warres with the Saxons, soe disquieted the goodlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to receive it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions used by the professors thereof, thought god to send ouer into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some goodlie and profound learned men might be sent ouer from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughty teachers of so blasphemous an error: Whereupon the bishops of Gallia soe lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieue their present need, speciallie in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein taking counsell to consider who were most meet to be sent, it was decreed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe ouer into Britaine to confirme the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their iourne, finally arrived in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through stormes & rage of winds, stirred (as hath bene thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to haue hindered their proceedings in this their god and well purposed iourne. After they were come ouer, they did so much good with conuincing the wicked arguments of the aduersaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the word of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong waie, were some brought into the right path againe.

About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, vnto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantinus the king of Scots, that in no wise he should aid the Saxons being infidels against the Britains: whose exhortation toke so good effect, that the said Constantinus did not onlie forbear to assist the Saxons, but contrarie holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did maintaine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into utter ruine and decaye. In the meane time, the Saxons renewed their league with the Picts, so that their powers being ioined together, they began afresh to make soe warres vpon the Britains,

The decaye
of christian
religion.

Beda.

The arriu
the Britai
newlie ch
sured.

Beda.

Alleluia.

A synod cal
in Gallia.

Germanus
and Lupus

March. We

448.

Beda.
Palladius

Constantin
king of
Scots.

P. Hunt
Beda.

Britains, who of necessity were constrained to assemble an armie, & murthering their owne strength, required aid of the two bishops, Germane and Lupus, who hasting forward with all speed came into the armie, bringing with them no small hope of good lucke to all the Britains there being assembled. This was done in Kent.

Now such was the diligence of the bishops, that (the people being instructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earnestly came by troops to receive the grace of God offered in baptism, so that on Easter day which then ensued, the more part of the armie was baptised, and so went forth against the enemies, who hearing thereof, made halt towards the Britains, in hope to overcome them at pleasure. But their approach being knowne, bishop Germane took upon him the leading of the British host, and over against the passage thorough the which the enemies were appointed to come, he chose forth a faire vallie inclosed with high mountains, and within the same he placed his new washed armie. And when he saw the enemies now at hand, he commanded that everie man with one generall voice should answer him, crying aloud the same cry that he should begin. So that even as the enemies were ready to give the charge upon the Britains, supposing that they should have taken them at unware, and before any warning had been given, suddenly bishop Germane and the priests with a loud and shrill voice called Alleluia, thrice: and therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with one voice cried the same cry, with such a loud shout, that the Sarons were therewith so amazed and affrighted (the echo from the rocks and hills adjoining, redoubling in such wise the cry) that they thought not onlie the rocks and cliffs had fallen upon them, but that even the skie it selfe had broken in peeces and come tumbling downe upon their heads: herewith therfore throwing awaie their weapons, they took them to their feet, and glad was he that might get to be forsooke in running awaie. Many of them for haile were drowned in a river which they had to passe. Polydor taketh that river to be Trent. The Britains having thus vanquished their enemies, gathered the spoile at good leisure, & gave God thanks for the victorie thus got without blood, for the which the holie bishops also triumphed as best became them. Now after they had settled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, from whence they came (as is before rehearsed.)

By one author it should appere that this battell was wonne against the Scots and Picts, about the yere of our Lord 448, a little before the coming of the Sarons into this land under Hengist, in which yere Germane first came hither to weed out the heresie of Pelagius, as by the same author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, some chronographers alledge out of Prosper & other, and note the first coming of Germane to have bene in the 429 yere of Christ, and under the consulship of Florentius and Dionysius. And this should seeme to agree with the truth, for that after some, the foresaid Germane should die at Ravenna, about the yere of our Lord 450, as Vincentius noteth, which was the verie yere of the coming of the Sarons: notwithstanding, when or whereforever he died, it was not long after his returne into Gallia, upon his first iourne made hither into this land, who no sooner obtained the victorie before mentioned, but word was brought againe unto him, that the heresie of the Pelagians was spread abroad in Britaine, and therefore all the priests or clergie made request to him that it might stand with his pleasure to come over againe, and de-

send the cause of true religion which he had before continued.

Whereupon bishop Germane granted as to doe, and therfore taking with him one Severus (that was disciple unto Lupus, and ordained at that time bishop of Eriers) took the sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people steadfast in the same belief wherein he had left them, & perceived the fault to rest in a few: whereupon in quickning out the authors, he condemned them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifest miracle by restoring a yong man that was lame (as they saie) unto the right vse of his lims; he confirmed his doctrine. Then followed preaching to persuade amendment of errors, and by the generall consent of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being banished the land, were deliuered unto bishop Germane and to his fellow Severus, to conuict them away in their companie unto the parties beyond the seas, that the region might so be deliuered of further danger, and they receiue the benefit of due amendment.

By this meanes it came to passe, that the true faith continued in Britaine sound and perfect a long time after. Things being thus set in good order, these holie men returned into their countries, the foresaid bishop Germane went to Ravenna to sue for peace to be granted unto the people of Britaine Armoike, where being receiued of the emperor Valentinian and his mother Placidia in most reuerend manner, he departed in that citie out of this transitory life, to the eternall ioyes of heaven. His bodie was afterwards conueied to the citie of Auxerre, where he had bene bishop with great opinion of holines for his sincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortly after was the emperor Valentinian slaine by the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whome he had before caused to be put to death.

By this it maie appere, that bishop Germane came into this realme both the first and second time, whilst as well Hengist, as also Hottigerne were living: for the said Valentinian was murdered about the yere of our Lord 454, where the said kings lived and reigned long after that time, as maie appere both before and after in this present booke.

What part of the realme the Saxons possessed, Hottigerne buildeth a castell in Wales for his safetie, Aurelius and Vter both brethren returne into Britaine, they assault the vsurper Vortigerne, and with wild fire burne both him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the same, Vortigerne committeth incest with his owne daughter, feined and ridiculous wondrous of S. Germane, a shepheard made a king.

The seventh Chapter.

Now will we returne to Hottigerne, of whome we read in the British historie, that after the Sarons had constrained him to deliuer into their hands a great part of the south and east parts of the realme, so that they had in possession London, Dorke, Lincoln, & Winchester, with other citties & townes, he not onlie fearing their puissance, but also the returne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Uterpendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he began to build a strong castell upon a mountaine called Bryche, or after other Cloaric, nere to the river of Onana, which is in the west side of Wales in a place within the compasse of the same hill called Gwenton

Germane returneth againe into Britaine.

Anno 450, 88
Vincentius noteth, lib. 20. ca. 15.
The emperor Valentinian slaine.

454

The armie of the Britains newlie christened.

Alleluia.

Marth. West.

448.

Gallia.

Caxton.

Fabian.

Polychron.

or

Mount Erie
he calleth it in
one place of
his booke.

of Cuetneren. Of the building of this castell, and of the hinderance in erecting the same, with the monstrous birth of Merlin and his knowledge in prophesie, the British historiestell a long pcedent, the which in Caxton, and in Galfides booke is also set forth; as there ye maie see: but for that the same is not of such credit as deserteth to be registered in any found historie, we haue with silence passed it ouer.

Aurelius and
Uter brethren
returne into
Britaine.

Whilēt Uortigerne was busied in building of this castell, the two foresaid brethren Aurelius and Uter prepared a manie of ships, and an armie of men, by helpe of such their kinsmen and friends as they found in Britaine Armozike, and so passed the sea, and landed at Cotenesse: whereof when the Britains were aduertised, the which were scattered abroad and seuered in diuers parties and countries, they drew vnto the said two brethren with all speed that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Uter perceiued that they were sufficientlie furnished of people, they marched forth towards Wales against Uortigerne, who hauing knowledge of their approach, had fortified his castell verie strongly with men, munition and vittels, but yet all auailed him nothing, for in the end after his enemies had giuen diuers assaults to the said castell, they found meanes to throw wild fire to burne it downe to the earth, and so consumed it by fire together with the king, and all other that were within it.

Uortigerne
burnt to death.

wild fire not
yet inuented
as some think.

Thus did Uortigerne end his life (as in the British historie is recorded.) Such euill is reported of him by the same historie, and also by other writers, and among other things it is written, that he should lie by his owne daughter, and of his beget a sonne, in hope that kings should come of him, and therefore he was excommunicated by S. Germane. It is also said, that when the same S. Germane came into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) this Uortigerne on a time should denie the same S. Germane harbour: but one that kept the kings heards of cattell receiued him into his house, and lodged him, and due a calfe for his supper, which calfe after supper was ended, S. Germane restored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, he caused Uortigerne to be deposed from his kingly estate, and toke the heardman and made him king. But Ranulfe Hig. in his Polychronicon, alledging Gyl-das for his author, saith that this chand to a ceking that ruled in Powsey, whose name was Bulie, and not to Uortigerne: so that the successors of that Bulie reigning in that side of Wales, came of the lineage of the same heardman.

Polychron.
A feined tale
of S. Ger-
mane.

A caluist
narration.

H. Hunt.

Moreouer it hath bene said (as one writer recordeth) that when Uortigerne refused to heare the preaching of saint Germane, and fled from him as he would haue instructed him, one night there fell fire from heauen vpon the castell wherein the king was lodged, and so the king being destroyed with the fall of the house and the fire together, was neuer after scene. But these are fables, and therefore I passe them ouer, hoping that it shall suffice to shew here with what stricke our old historiographers haue scarced by their huge volumes, not so much regarding the credit of an historie, as satisfieng the vanitie of their owne fond fantasies, studieng with a pretended skilfulnesse to cast glorious colours vpon lies, that the readers (whom they presupposed either ignorant or credulous) would be led away with a flowing streame of wordes void of reason and common sense. Which kind of men knew not (belike) that the nature of an historie defined to be *rei vere gestæ memoria* will not beare the burthen or lode of a lie, sith the same is to be true: otherwise they would haue deposed matters conspiring with the truth.

Aurelius Ambrosius the brother to Constantius created king of Britaine, he incouñtereth with the Saxons, Hengist their generall is beheaded, Occa his sonne submitte himselfe to Aurelius, he putteth all the Saxons out of the land, repaireth places decayed, and restoreth religion, the memorable monument of the stones that are so much spoken of on Salisbury plaine, the exploits of Pascentius Vortigerns yongest sonne, Aurelius lieth sicke, Uter goeth against Pascentius and giueth him the ouerthrow, Aurelius is poisoned of a counterfet moonke, the place of his buriall, Polydor Virgils report of the ads and deeds of Aurelius against the Saxons, Hengist is slaine, Ofca and Occa his two sonnes make a fowle spoile of the west part of the lan, Vortimer dieth, the disagreement of writers touching matters interchangeable passed betwene the Britains and Saxons.

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The eight Chapter.



Aurelius Ambrose, the second sonne of king Constantine, brother to Constantius, and murdered by the treason of Uortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Britaine in the yere of our Lord 481, which was about the thirde yere of the reigne of the emperor Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France, Odoacer king of the Herulians then usurping the government of Italie. When this Aurelius Ambrosius had dispatched Uortigerne, and was now established king of the Britains, he made towards Powke, and passing the riuer of Humber, incouñtered with the Saxons at a place called Spaelbell, and ouerthrew them in a strong battell, from the which as Hengist was fleeing to haue saved himselfe, he was taken by Edoll earle of Gloucester, or (as some say) Chester, and by him led to Conningthorow, where he was beheaded by the counsell of Eldad then bishop of Colchester.

Aurelius
Ambro-
sius.

Fabian.

Man. Well
saith 486.

Gal. Mon.

Polydor.

Hengist taken
and beheaded.

Man. Well

Occa

Stonesheng

Gal. Mon.

Hengist is
slaine.

Howbeit there be some that write, how that Hengist was taken at another battell fought vpon the riuer of Dune, in the yere of our Lord 489, and not in the chase of the battell which was fought at Spaelbell in the yere 487, as the same authors do alledge. Occa the son of Hengist by flight escaped to Powke, and being there besieged, at length was constrained to yeld himselfe to Aurelius: who dealing favourably with him, assigned vnto him and other of the Saxons a countrie bordering nere to the Scots, which (as some affirme) was Gallotway, where the said Occa and the Saxons began to inhabit. Then did Aurelius Ambrosius put the Saxons out of all other parts of the land, & repaired such cities, towne and also churches, as by them had bene destroyed or defaced, and placed againe priests, and such other as should attend on the ministerie and seruice of God in the same churches.

Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britains that were slaine on the plaine of Salisbury by the treason of Hengist, he caused stones to be fetched out of Ireland, and to be set vp in the same place where that slaughter was committed, and called the place Stonesheng, which name continueth vnto this day. Fiftene thousand men (as Galfid saith) were sent for those stones, vnder the leading of Uter Pendragon the kings brother, who giuing battell vnto Silomanus king of Ireland that went about to resist the Britains, and would not permit them to fetch away the same stones out of his countrie, discomfited him and his people, and so (maugre his hart) brought the stones away with him.

Shottlie

Shortly after, Vascenius that was Morgerns
poungest sonne, and had escaped into Ireland (when
Aurelius Ambrosius came into Britaine) returned
with a great power of strange nations, and took the
citie of Eborac in Wales, afterwards called saint
Walds, and did much hurt in the countrey with fire
and sword. At which time the same Aurelius Ambro-
sius lay sicke at Winchester, and being not able to
go forth himselfe, desired his brother Uter Pendra-
gon to assemble an armie of Britains, and to go a-
gainst Vascenius and his adherents. Uter, accom-
panying to his brothers request, gathering his people,
went forth, and encountering with the enemies gaue
them the overthrow, slue Vascenius and Gellomare
or Gelloman king of Ireland, that was come ouer
with him in aid against the Britains.

In the meane while, a Saxon or some other stran-
ger, whose name was Gopa or Gopa, not long before
procured thereto by Vascenius, fained himselfe to
be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting him-
selfe a monk, and to haue great knowledge in phy-
sicke, was admitted to minister as it were medi-
cins to Aurelius: but in stead of that which should
haue brought him health, he gaue him poison, whereof
he died shortly after at Winchester aforesaid, when
he had reigned after most accord of witters nintene
yeres: his bodie was conueied to Stoneheng and
there buried. Thus find we in the British and com-
mon English histories of the doings of Aurelius
Ambrosius, who (as ye haue heard) makes him a Bri-
taine borne, and descended of the blood of the ancient
Britains. But Gyldas and Beda report him to be a
Romane by descent, as before is mentioned.

Polydor Virgil writeth in this sort of the victorious
acts achieved by the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius.
Then (saith he) the Saxons hauing already gotten
the whole rule of the Ile, practised their outrageous
cruelties speciallie against the princes of the Bri-
tains, to the end that the said princes being ouer-
come and destroyed, they might with more ease ob-
taine possession of the whole Ile, which thing they on-
ly sought. But the fauour of almighty God was
not wanting to the miserable Britains in that great
necessitie. For behold, Aurelius Ambrosius was at
hand, who had no sooner caused the trumpet to sound
to armes, but euerie man for himselfe prepared and
repaiied unto him, praiering & beseeching him to helpe
to defend them, and that it might stand with his plea-
sure to go forth with them against the enemies in
all speed.

Thus an armie being assembled, Aurelius Am-
brosius went against them, and valiantly assailed
them, so that within the space of a few daies they
fought three battels with great fiercenesse on both
sides, in triall of their high displeasures and utter-
most forces, in which at length the Britains put the
Saxons to flight. Hozius the brother of Hengist be-
ing slaine with a great number of his people. But
yet notwithstanding the enemies rage was little a-
bated hereby, for within a few daies after receiuing
out of Germanie a new supplie of men, they brake
forth upon the Britains with great confidence of
victorie. Aurelius Ambrosius was no longer aduer-
sised thereof, but that without delay he set forward
towards Poike, from whence the enemies should
come, and hearing by the way that Hengist was in-
camped about senche trentie miles distant from
that citie, nere to the bankie of a river at this day
called Dune, in the place where Hozius was now
slained, he returned out of his waile, and marched
towards that place, and the next day set on the eni-
mie and vanquished him. Hengist at the first ma-
king of the battell being slaine, with a great number
of the Germans. The fall of this victorie saith Po-

lydor is had in memorie with the inhabitants of
those parties euen unto this day, which victorie was
soe diminiſh the power of the Saxons, insomuch
that they began now to thinke it should be more for
their profit to sit in rest with that dishonour, than to
make anie new warres to their great disadvantage
and likelihood of present losse.

Hengist left behind him two sonnes, Dea and
Oeca, which as men most sorrowfull for the over-
throw of late receiued, assembled such power as they
could together, and remoued therewith towards the
west part of the Ile, supposing it to be better for them
to drab that way forth, than to returne into Kent,
where they thought was already a sufficient num-
ber of their people to resist the Britains on that side.
Now therefore when they came into the west parts
of the land, they waſted the countrey, burnt villages,
and abstained from no manner of crueltie that might
be shewed. These things being reported unto Aure-
lius Ambrosius, he straightwaies hastened thither to
resist those enemies, and so giuing them battell, es-
sones discomfited them: but he himselfe receiuing
a wound, died thereof within a few daies after. The
English Saxons hauing thus sustained so manie
losses within a few moneths together, were conten-
ted to be quiet now that the Britains stirred nothing
against them, by reason they were brought into
some trouble by the death of such a noble capitaine
as they had now lost. In the meane time Mortimer
died, whome Uter surnamed Pendragon succeeded.

Thus hath Polydor written of the foresaid Aure-
lius Ambrosius, not naming him to be king of Bri-
taine, and differing in deed in sundrie points in this
behalf from diuerse ancient witters of the English
histories: for where he attributeth the victorie to the
Britains in the battell fought, wherein Hozius the
brother of Hengist was slaine, by the report of Poly-
chronicon, and others, the Saxons had the victorie in
that reincounter: and William of Malmesburie
saith, that they departed from that battell with equal
fortune, the Saxons losing their capitaine Hozius,
and the Britains their capitaine Katigern (as be-
fore ye haue heard.) But there is such contrarietie in
witters touching the doings betwixt the Britains
and Saxons in those daies, as well in account of
yeres, as in report of things done, that setting as-
fection aside, hard it is to iudge to which part a man
should giue credit.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aure-
lius Ambrosius began his reigne ouer the Britains
about the yere of our Lord 481, and Hozius was
slaine about the yere 458, during the reigne of
Mortimer, as above is mentioned, so that it can-
not stand with the truth of the British histories (the
which Fabian followeth) that Hozius was slaine by
Aurelius Ambrosius, if according to the same histo-
ries he returned not into Britaine, all the time there
supposed. But diuerse such number of contrarieties
shall ye find, in perusing of these witters that haue
written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons,
the which in euerie point to recte, would be too sedi-
ous and combersome a matter, and therefore we are
forced to passe the same ouer, not knowing how to
bring them to anie iust accord for the satisfiing of all
mens minds, prevaile the cironies, which may with
diligent search satiffie the themselves happilie much bet-
ter, than anie other shall be able to do in offering
his opinion here to much at large, and agreeable to
a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it
were by the waies to touch what diuerse authors do
write, leaving it so to euerie mans iudgement to
construe thereof, as his affection leadeth him. We
find in the writings of those that haue registred the
doings of these times, that Aurelius hauing van-
quished

Aurelius de-
eth of a wound

Mortimer de-
parteth this
life.

Wil. Malm.

Katigern.

458

Sigebertus.

Al. B. Boet.

12. 12.

Polydor.

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Hengist is
slaine.

Marth. West.
saith 488.

quished the Saxons, restored churches to the furtherance of the christian religion, which by the invasion of the Saxons was greatly decayed in diuerse parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperour Theodosius the younger.

The beginning of the kingdome of the South Saxons commonlie called Suffex, the Britains with their rulers giue battell to Ella the Saxon & his three sonnes, disagreement betweene the English and British chronographers about the battell fought by Hengist and his death, the beginning of the Kentish kingdome, a battell fought betweene the Britains and Saxons, the first are conquered, the last are conquerors.

The ninth Chapter.

Ella entered
this land as
Marth. West.
saith ann. 477.

In the time of the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius, one Ella a Saxon with his 3 sonnes Cymen, Plettinger and Elfa, came out of Germanie with thre ships, and landed in the south parts of Britaine, and being incountred with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneuhoze, discomfited them, and chased them vnto a wood then called Andredelcester, and so toke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himselfe king and lord thereof, in somuch that afterwards the same countrie was named the kingdome of the South Saxons, which had for limits on the east side Kent, on the south the sea and Ile of Wight, on the west Hamshire, and on the north part Southerie. This kingdome (after some) began vnder the foresaid Ella, about the 32 yere after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, which by following that account, should be about the second yere of the reigne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and about the yere of our Lord 482. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yere after the first comming of Hengist, which should be two yeres sooner.

The kingdome
of the South-
Saxons doth
begin.

482

William Harison differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yere after the death of Hengist, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1243 of Rome, 492 of Christ, and 43 after the comming of the Saxons: his words are these. Ella erected the kingdome of the South Saxons, in the 15 after his arrivall, and reigned 32 yeres, the chiefe cite of his kingdome also was Chichester, and after he had inioied the same his kingdome a while, he ouerthrew the cite called Andredelcester, which as then was taken for one of the most famous in all the south side of England. ¶ For my part I thinke my dutie discharged, if I shew the opinions of the writers: for if I should thereto add mine owne, I should but increase coniectures, thereof already we haue superfluous store. So proceed thereto: as I find.

About the ninth yere after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiuing that he with his Saxons still enlarged the bounds of his lordship by entring further into the land, assembled themselves together vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his sonnes at Gredelshourne, where they departed with doubtful victorie, the armies on both sides being sore diminished, and so returned to their homes. Ella after this battell sent into his countrie for more aid.

But now touching Hengist, who as ye haue heard, reigned as king in the prouince of Kent, the writers of the English kings varie somewhat from the

with histories, both in report of the battels by him fought against the Britains, and also for the manner of his death: as thus. After that Closter was dead, who departed this life (as some write) in the first yere of the emperour Leo, surnamed the great, and first of that name that gouerned the empire, who began to rule in the yere of our Lord 457, we find that Hengist and his sonne Decca or Decca gathered their people together that were before sparkled, and hauing also receiued new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britains at a place called Crecenford, where were slaine of the Britains foure dukes or capitaines, and foure thousand of other men, the residue were chased by Hengist out of Kent vnto London, so that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengist the twelue yere after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengist reigned in Kent after this (as the same writers agree) foure and twentie yeres.

It is remembered that those Germans which lately were come ouer to the aid of Hengist, being chosen men, mightie and strong of bodie, with their axes and swords made great slaughter of the Britains in that battell at Crecenford or Cressford, which Britains were ranged in foure battels vnder their aforesaid foure dukes or capitaines, and were (as before is mentioned) slaine in the same battell. About the first yere of the said emperour Leo, which was in the 17 yere after the comming of the Saxons, Hengist and his sonne Decca or Decca fought at Elliptes field in Kent, nere to a place called Tong with the Britains, and slue of them twelue dukes or capitaines, & on the part of the Saxons was slaine beside common souldiers but onlie one capitaine called Ellipet, of whom the place after that daie toke name.

This victorie was nothing pleasant to the Saxons, by reason of the great losse which they sustained, as well by the death of the said Ellipet, as of a great number of others: and so of a long time neither did the Saxons enter into the confines of the Britains, nor the Britains presumed to come into Kent. But whilst outward wars ceased among the Britains, they exercised ciuill battell, falling together by the eares among themselves, one striving against another. Finally, Hengist departed this life by counle of nature, in the 39 yere after his first comming into Britaine, hauing proceeded in his businesse no lesse with craft and guile than with force and strength, following therewith his natieue crueltie, so that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentleness. After him succeeded a sonne whom he left behind him, who being attentiu rather to defend than to enlarge his kingdome, neuer set foot out of his fathers bounds, during the space of 24 yeres, in the which he reigned.

About thre yeres after the deccasse of Hengist, a new supplie of men of warre came out of Germanie vnto the aid of Ella king of Suffex, who hauing his power increased, besieged the cite of Andredelcester, which was verie strong and well furnished with men and all things necessarie. The Britains also assembling together in companies, greatly annoyed the Saxons as they lay there at siege, laicng ambushes to destitoe such as went abroad, and calling not to giue alarms to the campe in the night season: and the Saxons could no sooner prepare themselves to giue the assault, but the Britains were ready to smite them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themselves into two companies, appointed the one to giue the assault, and the other to encounter with the armie of the Britains without, and so finally by that meanes prevailed, toke the cite, and destroyed man, woman and child. Neither is

Polychron.

Henric.

Wil. Mal.

Cressford.

Elliptes.

Elliptes.

Elliptes.

Elliptes.

Elliptes.

Elliptes.

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Elliptes.

The king-
dome of the
east Angles
began not till
Burchins Ce-
narius reig-
ned.

561

Cerdic.

Wil. Malin.

495

Fabian.

Polychron.

Wil. Malin.

Fortie yere

saith H. Hunt.

By this it is

evident that

he was not

born out of

the land where

he had once

set foot before

it.

Marth. West.

H. Hunt.

The cite of

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

Andredelcester.

contented, they did also utterlie race the said citie, so as it was neuer after that daie builded or reedified againe.

The east Angles kingdome beginneth, the arriual of Cerdic and Kenric with fūe ships of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains to flight, the west Saxons kingdome beginneth, Vter Pendragon made king of Britaine, the crymon of his name, he taketh Occa and Osca the two sonnes of Hengist prisoners, how Hector Boetius varieth from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in loue with the duke of Cornwall's wife, killeth him, and marieth hir. Occa and Osca escape out of prison, they freshlie assault the Britains, they are both slaine in a foughten field, the Saxons send and looke for aid out of Germanie, Pendragon is poisoned.

The tenth Chapter.

The kingdome of the east Angles began not till Iurcius Cerdic's reign.

561

Moreouer, in the daies of the afore-named Aurelius Ambrosius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the east Angles began under a Saxon named Issa. This same kingdome contained Northfolke and Suffolk, hauing on the east and north parts the sea, on the north west Cambridgeshire, and on the west saint Edmunds ditch with a part of Hertfordshire, and on the south side lieth Essex. At the first it was called Issines dominion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the first named Issines, but at length they were called east Angles.

Cerdic.

W. L. Malin.

495

F. B. B.

Polychron.

W. L. Malin.

Furthermore, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the eight yeare after that Hengist was dead, one Cerdicus and his sonne Kenricus came out of Germanie with fūe ships, and landed at a place called Cerdicshore, which as some thinke is called Portsmouth in Northfolke. He was at the first receiued with battell by the Britains, but being an old skilfull warriour, he easlie bente backe and repelled the inconstant multitude of his enemies, and caused them to flee: by which good successe he procured both vndoubted assurance to himselfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by resistance, submitted themselves to his pleasure: but yet did not he then giue himselfe to slothfull rest, but rather extending his often achieved victories on eche side, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obtained the rule of the west parts thereof, and gouerned there as king, so that the kingdome of the west Saxons began under the said Cerdicus in the 519 of Christ, as after shall be shewed.

520

Thus ye maie see, that Aurelius Ambrosius did succeed Vortigerne, and reigned in the time supposed by the British histories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his daies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains fore bereed by the Saxons that entred the same, so that the Britains were daile hampered, and brought under subiection to the valiant Saxons, or else driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victors. But now to proceed with the succession of the British kings, as in their histories we find them registered, which I deliuer such as I find, but not such as I do wish, being written with no such colour of credit as we maie safely put forth the same for an vndoubted truth.

After that Aurelius Ambrosius was dead, his brother Vter Pendragon (whome some call Aurelius Uterius Ambrosianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the seuenth yeare of the emperor Anastasius, and in the fiftenth yeare of Clodouens king of the Frenchmen. The cause why he was surnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merlin the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuitie maruelouslie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blasing star, as is reported. But others supposed he was so called of his wisdom and serpentine subtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner. This Vter, hearing that the Saxons with their captains Occa or Otta the sonne of Hengist, and his brother Issa had besieged the citie of Exeter, hastened thither, and giuing them battell, discomfited their power, and toke the said Occa and Issa prisoners.

Marth. West. north.

500

From this varieth Hector Boetius in his chronicle of Scotland, writing of these doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit monke, which poisoned Aurelius Ambrosius, was suborned and sent to worke that feat by Occa, and not by his brother Pascenius: and further, that about the selfsame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Vter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullie recovered of a sore sickness, wherewith of late he had bene much bereed. Yet the lords of Britaine after the buriall of Aurelius Ambrosius, came vnto him and crowned him king: and though he was not able to go against the Saxons (which as then by reason of Aurelius Ambrosius his death were verie buisie, and more earnest in pursuing the warre than before) yet an armie was prepared and sent forth with all conuenient speed under the leading of one Pethalliod, a man neither of anie great ancient house, nor yet of skill in warlike affaires.

Hector Boet.

The noble men were nothing pleased herewith, as mistaking altogether the lacke of discretion in their new king, & doubted sore, least in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the men of base degree, than such as were descended of noble parentage. Yet because they would not put the state of the common wealth in danger through anie mutinie, they agreed to go forth with him in that iourne. Occa had advertisement giuen him by certaine letters sent to him from some close friends amongest the Britains of the whole matter: and therefore in hope of the better speed, he hastened forth to incounter the Britains, and so the whole armie comming within sight of the other, they prepared to the battell, and shortly after buckling together, the Britains were sone discomfited, by reason that one of their chiefeest captains called Gorthlois disdaining to be at the appointment of Pethalliod, got him vp to the next hill with the next battell which he led, leauing the other Britains in all the danger: which they seeing began by & by to flee. There died no great number of the Britains, except those that were killed in the fight: for Occa mistrusting what Gorthlois meant by his withdrawing aside, would not suffer the Saxons to follow the chase, but in the night following Gorthlois got him auaile, and rested not till he was out of danger. Occa then perceiving himselfe to haue the upper hand, sent an herald vnto king Vter with a certaine message, threatening destruction to him and to his people, if he refused to do that which he should appoint.

Vter perceiving what dissolaltie rested in the hearts of his owne subiects, agreed that the matter might be committed to eight graue and wise counsellors, foure Britains and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an end of all controuersie.

V. G.

trouer.

trouerfies and variances depending betwixt the two nations. Decca was likewise contented therewith, whereupon were named on either part foure persons, of fuch wifedome, knowledge and experience, as were thought meetest for the ordering of fuch a twaightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, alward and downe of thofe eight perfons authorifed thereto, a league was concluded vpon certeine articles of agreement, amongst the which the chiefest was, that the Sarons from thenceforth fhould quietlie inioy all that part of Britaine which lieth fore againft the Almaine feas, the fame to be called euer after Engifland, and all the refidue fhould remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far Hector Boetius.

Gozulus duke
of Cornewall,

But now to returne vnto Uter according to that we find in the Britifh hiftories, and to proceed after our owne hiftorians; we find, that when he had vanquifhed the Sarons and taken their two chiefestins prifoners, in proceffe of time he fell in loue with a verie beautifull ladie called Agwarne or Aggera, wife to one Gozulus or Gozlois duke of Cornewall, the which duke he fwe at length nere to his owne caftell called Dinulloc in Cornewall, to the end that he might inioy the faid ladie, whome he afterwards married, and begot on hir that noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Amie or Anna. Decca and Decca efcaping alfo out of prifon afsembled effones a power of Sarons, and made warre againft the Britains, whereof Uter hauing aduertifement prepared to refift them, and finallie went himfelfe in perfon againft them, and at faint Albans (as fome write) gaue them battell, and fwe them both in the field.

Harding.

By that which Polydor Virgil writeth, it fhould feeme that Germane the bifhop of Auerre came into Britaine in the daies of this Uter, by whose prefence the Britains had victorie againft the Sarons (as before ye haue heard) after which victorie both refted from troubling either other for a time. The Sarons as it were affonied with that prefent miracle, & the Britains not following their good fucceffe, fhortlie after fell at difcord amongst themfelues, which finallie brought them to bitter decaie, as after fhall appeare. But the Sarons defirous to fpoile the Britains of the whole poffeffion of that part of the Ile which they held, whereas they accounted the cities and townes of fmall ftrength to be defended, they got them to an high mountaine called Badon hill, which Polydor fuppofeth to be Blackamore that lieth nere to the water of Theife, which divideth the bifhopricke of Durham from Northefhire, hauing at the mouth thereof an haven meet to receiue fuch fhips as come out of Germanie, from whence the Sarons looked for aid, hauing already fent thither for the fame.

Badon hill.

The Britains being thereof aduertifed, made haft towards the place, and befieged it on euerie fide. They alfo laie the fea coafte full of fouldiers, to keepe fuch of the enimies from landing as fhould come out of Germanie. The Sarons kept themfelues for a certeine fpace aloft vpon the high ground, but in the end conftrained through want of vittells, they came downe with their armie in order of battell to the nere plaines, and offering to fight, the battell was anon begun, which continued from the morning till far in the day, with fuch slaughter, that the earth on euerie fide fhewed with blood: but the Sarons fuffained the greater losse, their captieins Decca and Decca being both flaine, fo that the Britains might feeme quite deliuered of all danger of thofe enimies: but the fatall definie could not be auoided, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the slaughter made of the Sarons at Badon hill, where

of Gyltas maketh mention, and chanced the fame yeare that he was borne, which was in the 44 yeare after the firft comming of the Sarons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction.

About the fame time Uter departed out of this life (faith Polydor) fo that this account agreeth nothing with the common account of thofe authors, whome Fabian and other haue followed. For either we muft prefuppofe, that Uter reigned before the time appointed to him by the faid authors, either elfe that the fiege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it fhould feeme in deed by that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth thereof, as hereafter fhall be alfo fhewed. Finallie (according to the agreement of the Englifh writers) Uter Pendragon died by poifon, when he had governed this land by the full terme of 16 yeares, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stoneheng, otherwife called Chocra Giganum, leauing his fonne Arthur to fucceed him. ¶ Here ye muft note that the Scottifh chronicles declare, that in all the warres for the more part wherein the Britains obtained victorie againft the Sarons, the Scots aided them in the fame warres, and fo likewife did the Scots, but the fame chronicles do not onelie varie from the Britifh writers in account of yeares, but alfo in the order of things done, as in the fame chronicles more plainelie may appeare, & namelie in the difcours of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this Uter. For whereas the Britifh hiftories, as ye haue heard, attribute great praife vnto the fame Uter for his victories atchieued againft the Sarons and their king Decca, whome he fwe in battell, and obtained a great victorie, the Scottifh writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the prefence of bifhop Germane he obtained victorie in one battell againft them: but fhortlie after the Britains fought againe with the Sarons, and were difcomfited, although Decca in following the chafe ouer rashlie chanced to be flaine: after whose decaie the Sarons ordeined his fonne named alfo Decca to fucceed in his place, who to make himfelfe ftrong againft all his enimies, fent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the which with a great power of Dutchmen came ouer into this our Britaine, and conquered by Deccas appointment the countrie of Northumberland, fittuate betwene Tyne and Tweed, as in the Scottifh chronicles may further appeare.

Alfo this is to be remembred, that the victorie which was got againft the Sarons by the Britains, at what time Germane bifhop of Auerre was prefent: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by authoritie of Veremond that wrote the Scottifh chronicles) to haue chanced the fecond time of his comming ouer into this land, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his firft being here. Againe the fame Boetius writeth, that the fame victorie chanced in the daies of Uter Pendragon. Which can not be, if it be true that Beda writeth, touching the time of the death of the faid Germane: for where he departed this life before the yeare of our Lord 459, as aboue is faid, Uter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yeare of our Lord 500 or as the fame Hector Boetius faith 503, fo that bifhop Germane was dead long before that Uter began to reigne.

In deed fome writers haue noted, that the third battell which Hoftimer fought againft the Sarons, was the fame wherein Germane was prefent, and procured the victorie with the crye of Alleluia, as before ye haue heard. Which feemeth to be more agreeable to truth, and to ftand alfo with that which holie Beda hath written, touching the time of the being here of the faid Germane, that the opinion of other, which affirme that it was in the time of the reigne

Gyltas.

492
The death
of Uter
Pendragon.

Stoneheng
Chocra G.
giganum.

Decca.
34 faith
the Hunt.
corrupted
pms.

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reigne of Aler. The like is to be found in the residue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the time speciallie of the reignes of the British kings that governed Britaine about that season. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambrosius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but seven yeares, and then succeeded Aler, which reigned 18 yeares, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 521.

Notwithstanding the premises, here is to be remembered, that whatsoever the British writers have recorded touching the victories of this Aler had against the Saxons, and how that Meca the sonne of Hengist should be slaine in battell by him and his power: in those old writers which have registred the acts of the English Saxon kings we find no such matter, but rather that after the deceasse of Hengist, his sonne Meca or Meca reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdome onelie, and not seeking to enlarge it (as before is touched.) After whose death his sonne Mth, and Irmennike sonne to the same Mth succeeded, more resembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reignes are assigned fiftie and three yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned jointly together, or severallie & apart either after other, it is not certeinlie perceived.

Dea.
34 hath Hen-
ric Hunt. in
corrupted co-
pied.

Porth the Saxon arriueth at Portesmouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are overthrowen and slaine, the kingdome of the west Saxons beginneth, the compassse or continet thereof, the meanes whereby it was enlarged.

The eleventh Chapter.

NOW will we hereofelie discourse upon the incidents which first happened during the reigne of Aler Pendragon. We find that one Porth a Saxon with his two sons Pegla and Weda came on land at Portesmouth in Suffex, about the beginning of the said Alers reigne, and slue a noble young man of the Britains, and manie other of the meaner sort with him. Of this Porth the tolonge & haven of Portesmouth toke the name, as some have thought. Moreover, about 40 yeares after the coming of the Saxons into this land with their leader Hengist, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongst the Britains, assembled all the power he could make to fight with Certicus king of the Westsaxons, who understanding of the great power of his enemies, required aid of Meca king of Kent, also of Elle king of Suffex, and of Porth and his sonnes which were latelie before arrived as ye have heard. Certicus being then furnished with a convenient armie, divided the same into two battels, reserving the one to himselfe, and the other he appointed to his sonne Henrike. King Nazaleod perceiving that the wing which Certicus led, was of more strength than the other which Henrike governed, he set first upon Certicus, thinking that if he might distresse that part of the enemies armie, he should easilie overcome the other. Hereupon he gave such a fierce charge upon that wing, that by verie force he opened the same, and so overthrowen the Saxons on that side, making great slaughter of them as they were scattered. Which manner of dealing when Henrike saw, he made forward with

all speed to succour his father, and rushing in amongst the Britains on their backs, he brake their armie in peeces, and slue their king Nazaleod, and withall put his people to flight. There died of the Britains that daie 5000 men, and the residue escaped by fleeing as well as they might. In the first yeare after this battell, Stuff and Wightgar that were nephues to Certicus, came with three ships, and landed at Certicessford, and overthrowen a number of Britains that came against them in order of battell, and so by the coming of those his nephues being valiant and hardie capteins, the part of Certicus became much stronger. About the same time Elle king of the Southsaxons departed this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Cissa, of whome we find little left in writing to be made account of.

About the yeare of our Lord 519, and in the yeare after the coming of the Saxons 71, which was in the 26 yeare of the emperor Anastasius, the Britains fought with Certicus and his sonne Henrike at Certicessford, where the capteins of the Britains stood to it manfully: but in the end they were discomfited, and great slaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had bene, if the night coming on had not parted them, and so manie were saved.

From that day forward Certicus was reputed & taken for king of Westsaxons, & so began the same kingdome at that time, which was (as W. Harrison noteth) in the yeare of Christ 519, after the building of Rome 1270, of the world 4485, of the coming of the Saxons 70, of Iustinus Anicinus emperor of the east, the first and third of the renowned prince Patricius Arthurus then reigning over the Britains. The said kingdome also contained the countries of Wiltshire, Summersetshire, Barkeeshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwell, having on the east Hamshire, on the north the river of Thames, and on the south and west the Ocean sea. Howbeit, at the first the kings of the Westsaxons had not so large dominions, but they daile wan ground upon the Britains, and so in the end by enlarging their confines, they came to intop all the foresaid countries, and the whole at the last.

In the ninth yeare of the reigne of Certicus, he esstones fought with the Saxons at Certicessford as foresaid, where great slaughter was made on both parts. This Certicessford was in times past called Nazaleod of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Britains. About this season at sundrie times divers great companies of the Saxons came over into Britaine out of Germanie, and got possession of the countries of Mercia and Eastangle: but as yet those of Mercia had no one king that governed them, but were under certein noble men that got possession of divers parts in that countrie, by means wherof great warres and manie incounters ensued, with a common waste of land both arable and habitable, whiles each one being ambitiouslie minded, & heaping to themselves such powers as they were able to make, by sword and bloodshed chose rather to have their fortune decided, than by reason to suppress the rage of their brutish affections. For such is the nature of men in gouernement, whether they be interested to it by succession, or possessed of it by usurpation, or placed in it by lawfull constitution, (unlesse they be guided by some supernaturall influence of diuine conceit) if they be more than one, they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment admitteth no companion: but euerie one seeketh to aduance himselfe to a singularitie of honour, wherein he will not (to die for it) participate with another, which maie easilie be obserued in this our historically discourse.

The Brit-
tains over-
throwne.

Match. West.
Henr. Hunt.
Stuff and
Wightgar.
Match. West.
noteth the
yeare of their
arrual to be
514.

Henr. Hunt.
Wittains o-
uerthrowne
by the Sax-
ons.

The kingdome
of westsaxons

Certicessford.

Porth entered
this land a-
bout the yeare
of our Lord
501 as Match.
West. noteth.

Harrison sup-
poseth the ri-
uer to be cal-
led Porth, as
for the word
mouth, is the
fall of some
fresh water in-
to the sea.

The beginning of the kingdome of the East Saxons, what it contained, of Arthur king of Britaine, his twelue victories ouer the Saxons against whome he maintained continuall warre, why the Scots and Picts enuied him his roialtie and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aideth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the ouerthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornwall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued, Arthurs sundrie conquests against diuers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

The twelue Chapter.

Erchen-

win.

The kingdom of the East Saxons.

In those daies also the kingdome of the East Saxons began, the chiefe citie whereof was London. It contained in effect so much as at this present belongeth to the diocesse of London. One Erchenwin a Saron was the first king thereof, the which was sonne to one Ossa, the first in lineall descent from one Sarnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact yere of the creation of the kingdome of the East Saxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus king of the West Saxons, that is, the 527 of Christ, and 78 after the coming of the Sarons. In the 13 yere of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his sonne Kentike, and other of the Saron capteins fought with the Britains in the Ile of Wight at Wiltgarthwidge, where they slue a great number of Britains, and so conquered the Ile, the which about foure yeres after was giuen by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Stufte and Wiltgar.

Arthur.

516
Math. West.
hath noted 518

After the deceasse of Uter Pendragon (as we find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a yong towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 yeres or thereabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yere of our Lord 516, or as Matt. Westmin. saith 517, in the 28 yere of the emperor Anastasius, and in the third yere of the reignes of Childbert, Clothare, Clodamire, and Theodozike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient autho: of authoritie that confirmeth the fame: but surelie as may be thought he was some worthy man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Sarons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in deed, haue him in famous remembrance. He fought (as the common report goeth of him) 12 notable battels against the Sarons, & in euerie of them went away with the victorie, but yet he could not driue them quite out of the land, but that they kept still the countries which they had in possession, as Kent, Sutherie, Dorset, and others: howbeit some writers testifie, that they held these countries as tributaries to Arthur.

But truth it is (as diuers authors agree) that he held continuall warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Sarons: for as in the Scottish histories is contained, even at the first beginning of his reigne, the two kings of the Scots and Picts seemed to enuie his aduancement to the crowne of Britaine, because they had married the two sisters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and

Conran king of Scots had in marriage Alda their yonger sister, so that because Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it stood with more reason, that the kingdome of the Britains should haue descended vnto the sisters sonnes, rather than to a bastard, namelie Loth the Pictish king, which had issue by his wife Anna, sore repined at the matter.

Wherefore at the first, when he saw that by suit he could not preuaile, he ioined in league with the 10 Sarons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being ouerthrowne in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saron prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finallie a league was concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, vpon certaine conditions, as in the Scottish historie is exprest, where ye may read the same, with many other things touching the acts of Arthur, somewhat in other order than our writers haue recorded.

The British authors declare, that Arthur (immediatlie after he had receiued the crowne of Wiltshire) went with his power of Britains against the Sarons of Northumberland, which had to their capteine (as before is said) one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthur discomfited and chased into the citie of Forke, within which place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the citie, & leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulfe, passed ouer into 30 Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that countrie, of whom he obtained succor, so that the said Cheldrike made prouision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fiftene hundred sailes one with an other.

When Arthur was aduertised thereof, he raised his siege, and withdrew to London, sending letters with all speed vnto Howell king of little Britaine in France, that was his sisters sonne, requiring of him in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinentlie 40 assembled his people, to the number of fiftene thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southampton, where Arthur was readie to receiue him with great ioy and gladnesse. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hosts of Arthur and Howell being assembled together, marched forward to Lincoln, which citie Cheldrike did as then besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Sarons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaughter made of the enemies, they obtained the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Sarons that were left alive) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about with 50 in the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constrained to yeld themselves, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on foot to their ships, and so auoid the land, leauing their horse, armour, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Whereupon the Britains taking good hostages for assurance, permitted the Sarons to go their waies, and so Cheldrike and his people got them to their ships, in purpose to returne into their countrie: but being on the sea, they were forced by wind to change their course, and coming on the coasts of the west parts of Britaine, they arrived at Totnesse, and contrarie to the couenanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, invaded the countrie anew, and taking such armour as they could find, marched forth in robbing and spoiling the people, till they came to Bath, which towne the Britains kept and defended against them, not suffering them by any meanes to enter there, whereupon the Sarons inuironed it with a strong siege. Arthur informed 60 hereof, with all speed hasted thither, and giuing the enemies battell, slue the most part of Cheldrikes men.

under t.

The Saron ouerthrowne Colgrime at Gladulfe.

Cheldrike slaine by the duke of Cornwall.

Howell besieged by the Saron.

Guillomer.

Guenera

W Harison

525

Gothlam

Forke besieged.

Cheldrike commeth in aid of Colgrime. Matt. West. saith but not.

Howell king of Britaine commeth in aid of Arthur.

Cheldrike ouerthrowne in battell.

Wiltshire besieged.

men.
There were slaine both Colgrime and Bladulfe,
holobrit Chelbrike himselfe fled out of the field to-
wards his ships; but being pursued by Cadoc earle
of Cornwall (that had with him ten thousand men)
by Arthurs appointment, he was overtaken and in
fight slaine with all his people. Arthur himselfe re-
turned from this battell foughten at Bath with all
speed towards the marches of Scotland, for that he
had received aduertisement, how the Scots had be-
sieged Hotwell k. of Britaine there, as he lay sicke.
Also when Cadoc had accomplished his enterprise
and slaine Chelbrike, he returned with as much
speed as was possible towards Arthur, & found him
in Scotland, where he rescued Hotwell, and after-
wards pursued the Scots wholy fled before him by
heaps.

About the same time, the Guillomer king of Ire-
land arrived in Scotland with a mightie power of
Irishmen (nere the place where Arthur lodged) to
help the Scots against the Britains: whereupon
Arthur turning his forces towards the same Guillo-
mer, vanquished him, and chased him into Ireland.
This done, he continued in pursuit of the Scots, till
he caused them to sue for pardon, and to submit them-
selves wholy to him, and so receiving them to mer-
cie, & taking homage of them, he returned to Dorke,
and shortly after toke to wife one Guenhera a right
beautifulle ladie, that was nere kinswoman to Ca-
doc earle of Cornwall.

In the yeere following, which some note to be 525,
he went into Ireland, and discomfiting kingly Guillo-
mer in battell, he constrained him to yeld, and to ac-
knowledge by doing his fealtie to hold the realme
of Ireland of him. It is further remembred in those
British histories, that he subdued Gothland and Ire-
land, with all the Isles in and about those seas. Also
that he overcame the Romans in the countie about
Paris, with their capitaine Lucius, and wasted the
most part of all France, and due in singular com-
bats certaine giants that were of passing force and
hugeness of stature. And if he had not beene reuoked
and called home to resist his cosen Mordred, that
was sonne to Loth king of Northland that rebelled
in his countie, he had passed to Rome, intending to
make himselfe emperor, who then ruled the empire. ¶ But
for so much as there is not anie approved autho: who
doth speake of anie such doings, the Britains are
thought to haue registred mere fables in sted of true
matters, vpon a vaine desire to aduance more than
reason would, this Arthur their noble champion, as
the Frenchmen haue done their Rouland, and di-
uerse others.

Arthur is resisted by Mordred the vsur-
per from arriuing in his owne land, they
ioine battell, Gawaine is slaine and his death
lamented by Arthur, Mordred taketh flight, he is
slaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the
place of his buriall, his bodie digged up, his bignesse conie-
cturable by his bones, a crosse found in his toome with
an inscription therevpon, his wife Guenhera
buried with him, a rare report of hir haire,
John Lelands epitaph in memo-
rie of prince Arthur.

The xiiij. Chapter.



King Arthur at his returne into
Britaine, found that Mordred had cau-
sed himselfe to be made king, & hauing
alied himselfe with Chelbrike a Sar-
on (not him whome Galfride, as ye

haue heard, supposeth to haue bene wounded & slaine
before) was readie to resist his landing, so that be-
fore he could come on land, he lost manie of his men:
but yet at length he repelled the enimies, and so toke
land at Sandwich, where he first arrived, and ioining
in battell with his enimies, he discomfited them, but
not without great losse of his people: speciallie he
sore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of
Mordred, which like a faithfull gentleman, regarding
more his honour and loiall truth than nerenesse of
bloud and cosenage, chose rather to fight in the quar-
rell of his liege king and louing maister, than to take
part with his naturall brother in an vniust cause,
and so there in the battell was slaine, together also
with Angussell, to whom Arthur afore time had com-
mitted the gouernment of Scotland. Mordred fled
from this battell, and getting ships sailed westward,
and finally landed in Cornwall King Arthur caused
the corps of Gawaine to be buried at Douer (as
some hold opinion:) but William Malmeburie sup-
poseth, he was buried in Wales, as after shall be
shewed. The dead bodie of Angussell was conueied
into Scotland, and was there buried. When that Ar-
thur had put his enimies to flight, and had know-
ledge into what parts Mordred was withdrawn,
with all speed he reinforced his armie with new sup-
plies of souldiers called out of diuerse parties, and
with his whole puissance halsted forward, not resting
till he came nere to the place where Mordred was
incamped, with such an armie as he could assemble
together out of all parties where he had anie friends.
¶ Here (as it appeareth by John Leland, in his booke
intituled, The assercion of Arthur) it may be doubted in
what place Mordred was incamped: but Geoffrey of
Monmouth sheweth, that after Arthur had discomfi-
ted Mordred in Kent at the first landing, it chanced so
that Mordred escaped and fled to Winchester, whi-
ther Arthur followed him, and there giuing him bat-
tell the second time, did also put him to flight. And fol-
lowing him from thence, fought effcones with him
at a place called Camblane, or Bemeleue in Corn-
wall, or (as some autho:rs haue) nere vnto Glasen-
burie.

This battell was fought to such p:ofe, that finally
Mordred was slaine, with the more part of his whole
armie, and Arthur receiving diuers mortall wounds
died of the same thozlie after, when he had reigned
ouer the Britains by the tearme of 26 yeeres. His
corps was buried at Glasenburie aforesaid, in the
churchyard, betwixt two pillars: where it was found
in the daies of king Henrie the second, about the
yeere of our Lord 1191, which was in the last yeere of
the reigne of the same Henrie, more than six hundred
yeeres after the buriall thereof. He was laid 16 foot
deepe vnder ground, for doubt that his enimies the
Sarons should haue found him. But those that dig-
ged the ground there to find his bodie, after they had
entered about seuen foot deepe into the earth, they
found a mightie broad stone with a leaden crosse fa-
stened to that part which laie downewards toward
the corps, containing this inscription:

*Hic iacet sepultus inclutus rex Arthurus in insula
Aualonia.*

This inscription was grauen on that side of the
crosse which was next to the stone: so that till the
crosse was taken from the stone, it was vnseene. His
bodie was found, not inclosed within a forme of
marble or other stone curiously wrought, but with-
in a great tree made hollowe for the nonce like a
trunke, the which being found and digged vp, was o-
pened, and therein were found the kings bones, of
such marvellous bignesse, that the shinbone of his
leg being set on the ground, reached vp to the middle
thigh of a vertie tall man: as a monke of that abbey
bath

Rather Cer-
dicke as Le-
land thinketh.

Gawaine was
ried at Douer

Richard Tur-
ner.

hath written, which did live in those dates, and said it.
 ¶ But Gyraldus Cambrensis (who also lived in those
 dates, and spake with the abbat of the place, by whom
 the bones of this Arthur were then found) affirmeth,
 that by report of the same abbat, he learned, that the
 shinbone of the said Arthur being set by by the leg of
 a verie tall man (the which the abbat shewed to the
 same Gyraldus) came about the knee of the same
 man the length of three fingers breadth, which is a
 great deale more likelie than the other. Furthermore
 the skull of his head was of a wonderfull largenesse,
 so that the space of his forehead betwixt his two eyes
 was a span broad. There appeared in his head the
 signes and printes of ten wounds or more: all the
 which were growne into one wem, except onelie that
 whereof it should seeme he died, which being greater
 than the residue, appeared verie plaine. Also in open-
 ing the tombe of his wife quene Gueneuer, that
 was buried with him, they found the tresses of hir
 haire whole and perfect, and finelie platted, of colour
 like to the burnished gold, which being touched, im-
 mediately fell to dust. The abbat, which then was go-
 vernour of the house, was named Stephan, or Henv-
 rie de Blois, otherwise de Sullie, nephew to king
 Henrie the second (by whose commandement he had
 serched for the graue of Arthur) translated the bones
 as well of him as of quene Gueneuer, being so
 found, into the great church, and there buried them in
 a faire double tombe of marble, laing the bodie of
 the king at the head of the tombe, and the bodie of
 the quene at his feet towards the west part. ¶ The
 writer of the historie of Cambria now called Wales
 saith, that the bones of the said Arthur, and Guene-
 uer his wife were found in the Ile of Analon (that
 is, the Ile of Alpes) without the abbey of Glaffen-
 bury, situate set within the ground, & that his graue
 was found by the meanes of a Bardh, whome the
 king heard at Denbroke singing the acts of prince
 Arthur, and the place of his buriall.

Henricus Ble-
 centis seu Soli-
 acensis.
 Io. Leland.

David Pow.
 pag. 238, 239.

John Leland in his booke intituled

*Aserio Arthuri, hath for the woorthie me-
 morie of so noble a prince, honored him
 with a learned epiraph, as here follow-
 eth.*

Saxonicae toties qui fudit Marte cruento
 Vho vnguis Saxon troops so oft, with bastels blondie broiles,
 Turmas, & peperit spolijs sibi nomen opimis,
 And purchas'd to himselfe a name with warlike wealthie spoiles,
 Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit enis,
 Vho hath with shining sword, the Picts so oft dismayd,
 Impulsitque iugum Scoti crucibus ingens:
 And the rmmeldie seruile yoke on necke of Scots hath laid:
 Quitumidos Gallos, Germanos quique feroces
 Vho Frenchmen pufft with pride, and who the Germans fierce in fight
 Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:
 Discomfited, and danc'd Dames with maine and marriall might:
 Denique Mordredum e medio qui sustulit illud
 Vho of that murdering Mordred did the vitall breath expell,
 Monstrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, & uimque tyrannum,
 Thas monster grislie, lothsome, huge, shas diuor'd tyrant fell,
 Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurius alto,
 Heere liuesth Arthur lies intomd, within this stately hearse,
 Militiae clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:
 Of chiniadric the brights renoume, and vertues nestling fearse:
 Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem,
 Whose glorie gre as now ouer all the world dooth compasse stie,
 Aetherique petit sublimia recta Tonantis.
 And of the aerie thunder shales the lofty building his,
 Vos igitur gentis proles generosa Britannae,
 There fore you noble progenie of Britaine line and race,
 Induperatori ter magno allurgite vestro,
 Arise unto your emperor great, of thrice renoumed grace,
 Et tumulo sacro roseas inferte corollas,
 And cast upon his sacred toome the roseall garlands gaie,
 Officij testes redolentia munera vestri.
 That fragrant smell may witness well your duties you displease.

¶ These verses I haue the more willingly inser-
 ted, for that I had the same deliuered to me turned
 into English by maister Nicholas Roscarocke, both

right aptlie peeling the sense, and also properlie an-
 swering the Latine, verse for verse.

Vpon what occasion the graue of king
 Arthur was sought for, the follie of such
 discovered as beleueed that he should returne
 and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it
 be a fiction or a veritie that there was such an Arthur
 or no; discordance among writers about the place of Gwynns
 buriall and Arthurs death; of quene Gueneuer the wife
 of king Arthur, hir beautie and dishonest life, great
 disagreement among writers touching Arthur
 and his wines to the impeachment of the
 historie; of his life and death.

The xliij. Chapter.

The occasion that moued
 king Henrie the second to
 cause his nephew the foresaid
 abbat to search for the graue
 of king Arthur, was, for that
 he understood by a Welsh
 minstrell or Bardh (as they
 call him) that could sing ma-
 nie histories in the Welsh language of the acts of
 the ancient Britains, that in the foresaid churchyard
 at Glaffenbury, betwixt the said two pillars the bo-
 die of Arthur was to be found situate fast depe
 vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth,
 that the tree in the which Arthurs bodie was found so
 inclosed, was an oke, but other suppose that it was
 an alder tree, because that in the same place a great
 number of that kind of trees doe grow, and also for
 that it is not vnknowne, that an alder lieng vnder
 ground where moisture is, will long continue with-
 out rotting.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur bu-
 ried (as before ye haue heard) such as hitherto bele-
 ued that he was not dead, but conueted abate by the
 faeries into some pleasant place, where he should re-
 maine for a time, and then to returne againe, and
 reigne in as great authoritie as euer he did before,
 might well perceiue themselves deceiued in credi-
 ting so baine a fable. But yet (where it might other-
 wise be doubted, whether anie such Arthur was at
 all, as the British histories mention, because neither
 Gylas nor Beda in their works speake anie thing
 of him) it may appere, the circumstances confide-
 red, that suerly such one there was of that name, bar-
 die and valiant in armes, though not in diuerse
 points so famous as some writers paint him out.
 William Malmesburie a writer of good credit and
 authoritie amongst the learned, hath these words in
 his first booke intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, saing:
 But he being dead (meaning Worstimer) the force of
 the Britains waned feble, their decayed hope went
 backward apace: and euen then suerlie had they gon
 to destruction, if Ambrosius (who alone of the Ro-
 mans remained yet alive, and was king after Wor-
 tigerne) had not kept vnder and staied the loftie bar-
 barous people, that is to say the Saxons, by the
 notable aid and assistance of the valiant Arthur.

This is the same Arthur, of whom the trifling tales
 of the Britains euen to this day fantasticalle do
 descant and report wonders: but worthe was he
 doubtlesse, of whom feined fables should not haue so
 dreamed, but rather that true histories might haue
 set forth his woorthie praises, as he that did for a long
 season susteine and hold vp his countrie that was
 ready to go to bitter ruine and decaye, discouraging
 the bold hartes of the Britains vnto the warre, and fi-
 nallie in the siege of Badon hill, he set vpon nine
 hundred of the enemies, and with incredible slaugh-
 ter

Gastaine
 where he is
 buried.

Will. Malm.
 lib. 3. de regib.

As for exam-
 ple in a case
 where a water
 called pond
 perillous at
 Salisbury,
 where he and
 his knights
 should haue
 armed, till an
 other knight
 should be
 borne that
 should come
 and awake
 them.

Will. Malm.
 lib. 3. de regib.
 Ang.

ter did put them all to flight. On the contrarie part, the English Saxons, although they were tossed with sundrie haps of fortune, yet still they renewed their bands with new supplies of their countreimen that came out of Germanie, and so with bolder courage assailed their enemies, and by little and little cauling them to give place, spread themselves over the whole Ile. For although there were manie battels, in the which sometime the Saxons and sometime the Britains got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons that were slaine, the greater number of them still came over to the succour of their countreimen, being called in and sent for out of euerie quarter about them.

There is also to be noted, that where the British histories declareth, that Catuaine or Callowine being slaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Mordred in Kent, was buried at Douer, so that his bones remained there to be shewed a long time after: yet by that which the foresaid William Malmesburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie maie seeme true: his words are these. When (saith he) in the prouince of Wales, which is called Koffe, the sepulture of Callowine was found, who was nephew to Arthur by his sister, not going out of kind from so worthie an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine which vnto this day is called Malwisia, a knight for his high prowesse most highly renowned, but expelled out of his kingdome by the brother and nephew of Hengist, of whom in the first booke we haue made mention, first requiting his banishment with great detriment and losse to those his enemies, wherein he was partaker by iust desert of his vncles worthie praise, for that he staid (for a great manie yeeres) the destruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into utter ruine and decaye. But Arthurs grave no where appeareth: yet the others toime (as I haue said) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, vpon the sea side, and contained in length foureteene foot, where he was (as some say) wounded by his enemies, and cast vp by shipwreake. But other write, that he was slaine at a publike feast or banquet by his owne countreimen. Thus saith William Malmesburie.

But here you must consider, that the said Malmesburie departed this life about the beginning of the reigne of king Henrie the second, certene yeeres before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard.) But omitting this point as needles to be controuersied, & letting all dissident opinions of writers passe, as a matter of no such moment that we should need to stick therein as in a glewspot; we will proceed in the residue of such collections as we find necessary pertinent to the continuation of this historie; and now we will say somewhat of queene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foresaid king Arthur.

Some iudge that she tooke her name of her excellent beautie, because Guirns or Guenne in the Welsh tong signifieth faire, so that she was named Guennere or rather Guenhean, euen (as you would say) the faire or beautifull Elenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the house of one Cador earle of Cornewall before Arthur married her: and as it appeareth by writers, she was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie & breach of faith to her husband, in manner as for the more part women of excellent beautie hardlie escape the venemous blast of euill tongues, and the sharpe assaults of the followers of Venus. The British histories affirmeth, that she did not onelie abuse her selfe by vnlawfull companie with Mordred, but that also in Arthurs absence she consented to take him to husband. It is likewise

found recorded by an old writer, that Arthur being on a time the marshes nere to Claffenbarie for displeasure that he bare to a certene lord called Melus, who had rauished Guenouer, and led her into those marshes, and there did keepe her. His corps notwithstanding (as before is recited) was interred together with Arthurs, so that it is thought he liued not long after his deccasse.

Arthur had two wiues (as Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth) of which the latter (saith he) was buried with him, and his bones found with his in one sepulchre, but yet so diuided, that two parts of the toime towards the head were appointed to receiue the bones of the man, and the third part towards the feet contained the womans bones, apart by themselves. There is to be remembred, that Hector Boecius writeth otherwise of the death of Arthur than before in this booke is mentioned, & also that Guenouer being taking prisoner by the Picts, was conueied into Scotland, where finally she died, and was there buried in Angus, as in the Scottish chronicles further appeareth. And this may be true, if he had these sundrie wiues, each of them bearing the name of Guenouer, as sir Iohn Price doth auouch that he had. Now because of contrarietie in writers touching the great acts atchieued by this Arthur, and also for that some difference there is amongst them, about the time in which he should reigne, manie haue doubted of the whole historie which of him is written (as before ye haue heard.) But others there be of a constant beleefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that such a prince there was; and among all other a late writer, who falling into necessarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a speech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the British blood, discharging a short but yet a sharpe inuective against William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuseth of lying tongues, enuious detraction, malicious slander, reprochfull and venemous language, willfull ignorance, dogged enuie, and cankered minds; for that they speake vnerentlie and contrarie to the knowne truth concerning those thysenoble princes. Which defensitiue he would not haue depoled, but that he takes the monuments of their memorizes for vndoubted verities.

The British histories and also the Scottish chronicles do agree, that he liued in the daies of the emperor Iustinian, about the fiftieth yeere of whose reigne he died, which was in the yeere of our Lord 542, as diuerselie do affirm. Whobreit some write farther from all likelihood, that he was about the time of the emperor Zeno, who began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled *Aurea historia* affirmeth, that in the tenth yeere of Cerdicus king of Westsaxons, Arthur the warrour rose against the Britains. Also Diouionensis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were overcome in one moneth, he arose in an other moneth more fierce and strong to giue battell than before. At length Arthur wearied with irksomnes, after the twelfth yeere of the comming of Cerdicus, gaue vnto him vpon his homage done and fealtie receiued, the shires of Southampton and Somerset, the which countries Cerdicus named Westsaxon. This Cerdicus or Cerdicus came into Britaine about the yeere of our Lord 495. In the 24 yeere after his comming hither, that is to say, about the yeere of our Lord 519, he began his reigne over the Westsaxons, and gouerned them as king by the space of 15 yeeres, as before ye haue heard. But to follow the course of our chronicles accordinglie as we haue begun, we must allow of their accounts herein as in other places, and so proceed.

The

Catwaine
where he is
buried.

Will. Malm.
his regib.

David Pow.
pag. 238, 239.

542

Aurea historia.
i. Leland.

westsaxon.

The decaie of christian religion and receiving of the Pelagian heresie in Britaine by what meanes they were procured and by whom redressed: Constantine succedeth Arthur in the kingdome, ciuill warre about succession to the crowne, the challengers are pursued and slaine, Constantine is vnkindlie killed of his kinsman, a bitter and reprochfull inuectiue of Gylidas against the British rulers of his time, and namelic against Constantine, Conan that slue Constantine reigneth in Britaine, his vertues and vices, his two yceres regiment, the seuerer reprehensions of Gylidas vntered against Conan, discouering the course of his life, and a secret prophesie of his death.

The xvi Chapter.

In this meane while that the realme was disquieted with soze & continuall warres betwixt the Britains and Saxons (as before ye haue heard) the christian religion was not onelie abolished in places where the Saxons got habitations, but also among the Britains the right faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian heresie, which began againe to be broched by diuers naughtie persons. But Dubritius that was first bishop of Landaffe, and after archbishop of Caerleon Artwiske, and his successour David, with other learned men earnestlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cause, to the confuting of those errors, and reestablishing of the truth.

The heresie of the Pelagians remued, Hist. Mag. Dubritius & David learned bishops.

Constantine.

542

Galfrid. Math. West.

Ciuill warre.

After the death of Arthur, his cosine Constantine the sonne of Cado, duke or earle of Cozme, wall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 542, which was about the 15 yere of the emperor Iustinianus almost ended, the 29 of Chilbebert king of France, and the first yere well nere complot of the reigne of Totilas king of the Goths in Italie. Arthur when he perceiued that he should die, ordeined this Constantine to succeed him, and so by the consent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king; but the sonnes of Arthur dyed soze repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by iust title and claime of inheritance to them from their father descended. Whereupon folloved ciuill warre, so that diuers battels were striken betwene them, and in the end the two brethren were constrained to withdraw for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Winchester: but Constantine pursuing them, first came to Winchester, and by force entered the citie, and slue the one brother that was fled thither within the church of saint Amphibalus: and after comming to London, entered that citie also, and finding the other brother within a church there, slue him in like maner as he had done the other. And so hauing dispatched his aduersaries, he thought to haue purchased to himselfe safetie: but shortly after, his owne kinsman, one Aurelius Conanus arrered warre against him, who joining with him in battell slue him in the field, after he had reigned foure yeres. His bodie was conueied to Stonheng, and there buried beside his ancessour Uter Pendragon.

Aurelius Conanus. Constantine slaine.

Gylidas.

Of this Constantine that seemeth to be ment, which Gylidas writeth in his booke intituled *De excidio Britannie*, where inuening against the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: Britaine hath kings, but the same be tyrants; iudges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentimes peeling and harming the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but

whom: such as be guiltie persons and robbers; hauing manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; oftentimes swearing, and yet forswearing themselves; bowing, and for the more part lieng; toarring, but maintaining ciuill & vnjust warres; pursuing indeed theues that are abroad in the countrie, and yet not onelie chrishting those that sit euen at table with them, but also highlie rewarding them: giuing almesse largelie, but on the other part heaping by a mightie mount of sinnes; sitting in the seat of sentence, but seldome seeking the rule of righteous iudgement; despising the innocent and humble persons, and exalting so farre as in them lieth, euen by to the heauens, most bloodie and proud murderers, theues and adulterers, yea the verie professed enemies of God; if he would so permit: keeping manie in prison, whome they oppresse, in loding them with irons, through craft rather to serue their owne purpose, than for anie gilt of the persons so imprisoned: taking solemne oths before the altars, and shortly after, despising the same altars as vile and filthie stones.

Of this hainous and wicked offense Constantine the tyrannicall whelp of the lionesse of Deuonshire is not ignorant, who this yere, after the receiuing of his dreadfull oth, whereby he bound himselfe that in no wise he should hurt his subiects (God first, and then his oth, with the companie of saints, and his mother being there present) did notwithstanding in the reuerent laps of the two mothers, as the church, and their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holie abbat, denounce with sword and speare in stead of teeth, the tender sides, yea and the entrailles of two children of noble and kinglike race, and likewise of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I said) amongest the sacred altars: the armes of which persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselves with weapons (the which seld in those daies handled more valiantlie than they) but stretched forth (I saie) to God and to his altar in the day of iudgement, shall set by the reuerent ensignes of their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of Christ, which so haue covered the seat of the celestiall sacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their cluttered blood.

These things he did not after anie god deeds done by him deserving praise: for manie yeres before, overcome with the often and changeable filths of abulterie, & forsaking his lawfull wife contrarie to the lawes of God, &c: he now brought forth this crime of quelling his owne kinsmen, and violating the church, but neither being losed from the snares of his former evils, he increaseth the new with the old. Thus in effect hath Gylidas written of this Constantine, with more: for turning his tale to him, he repproueth him of his faults, and counselleth him to repent.

After that Aurelius Conanus had slaine the foresaid Constantine, as in the British histories is mentioned, the same Conan was made king of Britaine in the yere of our Lord 546, in the 20 yere of Iustinianus, and in the 33 of the reigne of Chilbebert king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by some writers) was of a noble heart, free and liberall, but giuen much to the maintenance of strife and discord amongst his people, light of credit, and namelic had an open eare to receiue and heare the reports of such as accused other. Whereouer he was noted of crueltie, as he that toke his vnkle, who of right should haue bene king, and kept him in prison, and not so satisfied slue in tyrannous maner the two sons of his said vnkle. But God would not suffer him long to insop the rule of the land in such vnjust dealing; for he

Ida.

54

H. Hunt. The kin of Briton began.

CONANUS.

546.

Math. West. writeth that he reigned 32 yeres.

he died after he had reigned the space of two yeares, and left a sonne behind him called Vortiporus, which succeeded him in the kingdome, as authors doe record. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gylas writeth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predecessor Constantine, saieing in this wise: And thou lions helpe, as saith the prophet, Aurelius Conanus what dost thou? Art thou not swallowed vp in the filthy mire of murdering thy kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries like to the other before mentioned, if not more heauble, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching seas overtopping thee with his vnnmercifull rage? Dost thou not in hating the peace of thy countrie as a heauble serpent, and thirsting after ciuill wars and spoiles (oftentimes vniustly gotten) shut vp against thy soule the gates of celestiall peace and refreshment? Thou being left alone as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I praye thee) the vaine youthfull fantasie and ouertimely death of thy fathers and thy brethren. Shalt thou being set apart, and chosen forth of all thy lineage for thy goodly deserts, be reserved to live an hundred yeares, or remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methusalem? No no. And after these reprehensions, with further threatnings of Gods vengeance, he exhorted him to amendment of life, and so proceeded to talke with Vortiporus, whome he nameth the king, or rather the tyrant of South-wales, as after shall be rehearsed.

The beginning of the kingdome of Brenitia, of whome the king of Kent, Mercia, and west Saxons descended, Ida the Saxon commended, the originall of the kingdome of Deira, the circuit and bounds therof, of Ella the gouernour of the same, when the partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus reigneth ouer the Britains, he vanquisheth the Saxons; Gylas sharplie reprooueth Vortiporus for manie greuous offenses, and exhorteth him to amendment.

The xvj. Chapter.

Ida.
547
H. Hunt.
The kingdome
of Brenitia.
began.

In the yeare of the Lord 547, which was about the first yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdome of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, & descended of Woden, for where the said Woden had three sonnes, Weldecus, Wiltlegis, and Weldecus; of the first, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the second, the kings of Mercia: and of the third sonne came the kings of Westsaxon, and also of him was this Ida descended, being the ninth in lineall succession from the said Weldecus and the tenth from Woden. The same Ida was vndoubtedly a right noble personage, and changed first that dukedome into a kingdome, where before that time the Saxons that ruled there, were subiects vnto the kings of Kent. Whether he tooke vpon him of his owne accord to vnterprize the kinglie title and roiall authoritie, or whether that the same was giuen to him by consent of other, the certeintie appeareth not. But sure it is, that he being a worthy prince, did not degenerate from his noble ancestors inuincible in warre abroad and at home, qualifying his kinglie feruor with a naturall kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdome called (as is said) Brenitia, began in the south at the riuer of Tine, and ended in the north at the fforth in

Scotland, in the British tongue called Teler.

About the same time, or rather about 14 yeares after, one Ella a Saxon also reigned as king in Deira, which kingdome began at the said riuer of Tine in the north, & ended at the riuer of Humber toward the south. These two kingdomes were sometime gouerned by two seuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioined in one, and gouerned by one onelie king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, which in proceesse of time was much enlarged, so that it included the shires of Yorke, Nottingham, Warbie, Lancaster, the bishopricke of Durham, Copland, and other countreies betwixt the east and the west seas, even vnto the riuer of Hertsie. The foresaid Ella was sonne to Jffus, being descended from Woden, as the 12 in succession from him, though not by right line as William Malmesburie hath noted. Ida (as the same Malmesburie doth testifie) reigned 14 yeares.

Ida who was succeeded by Ida (as he saith) reigned thirtie yeares, and verie valiantlie enlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth how Ida reigned but 12 yeares, and that he builded the castle of Wamburgh, first fencing it with pales, and after with a wall of stone. The same Ida had by his wife six sonnes, begotten in lawfull bed, Ada, Etric, Theodoric, Athelric, Osner, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certeine concubines (which he kept) six bastard sonnes, Wga, Aleric, Ertia, Wsule, Segor, and Segother. These came altogether into this land, and arrived at Flemesburke with fortie ships, as Mattheus Westmonasteriensis hath recorded. The partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced after the deceasse of Ida, as the same author signifieth: for Ada the sonne of the foresaid Ida succeeded his father in the kingdome of Brenitia, reigning therein tenen yeares: and Ella the sonne of Wiltia, a most valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the said Mattheus Westm. and others doe affirme.

Vortiporus the sonne of Aurelius Conanus succeeded his father, and began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 576, in the 11, yeare of the emperor Flautus Anicius Iulianus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Childebert king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothic king in Italie. This Vortiporus vanquished the Saxons in battell, as the British histories make mention, and valiantlie defended his land and subiects the Britains, from the danger of them and other their allies. In the time of this kings reigne, the foresaid Ella began to rule in the south part of the kingdome of Northumberland called Deira, as before is mentioned, according to the account of some authors, who also take this Vortiporus to begin his reigne in the yeare 548. After that Vortiporus had ruled the Britains the space of 4 yeares, he departed this life, and left no issue behind him to succeed him in the kingdome.

Against this Vortiporus Gylas also whetting his tongue, beginneth with him thus: And why standest thou as one starke amazed? Thou (I say) Vortiporus the tyrant of South-wales, like to the panther in manner and wickednesse diuersly spotted as it were with manie colozs, with thy hoarie head in thy throne, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled vnto the bottom part of thy bodie to the crowne of thy head, with diuers & sundrie murders committed on thine owne kin, and filthy adulteries, thus presenting a naughty sonne of a good king, as Spanafes was to Cherebas. How chanceth it that the violent streames of sinnes which thou swallowest vp like pleasant wine, or rather art deuoured of them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing nere)

Ella.

61.

The beginning of the kingdome of Deira.

The riuer of Hertsie.

Matth. West.

Hen. Hunt.

Matth. West.

Vortiporus.

Matth. West, noteth 578.

Matth. West, noteth 3 yeares.

neere) can not yet satisfie the: What meanest thou that with fornication of all euils, as it were the full heape, thine owne wife being put away, thou by his honest death dost oppresse thy soule with a certeine burthen that can not be avoided, of thine vnthamefull daughter: Consume not (I pray thee) the residue of thy daies to the offense of God, &c. These and the like wordes uttered he, exhorting him to repentance, with admonitions taken out of the scriptures both for his comfort and warning.

If the circumstance of this that Gyldas writeth of Moxipozus be marked, it may be perceiued, that Geoffrey of Monmouth, and also Matthew of Westminster, the authoꝝ of the floures of histories, are deceiued, in that they take him to be the sonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it may be gathered, that not onlie the same Aurelius Conanus and Moxipozus, but also Constantinus, pea & Cuneglasus, and Agalocunus, of the which he also intreateth (as partlie shall be hereafter touched) liued and reigned all at one time in feuerall parts of this Ile, and not as monarchs of the whole British nation, but as rulers each of them in his quarter, after the maner as the state of Ireland hath bene in times past before the countrie came vnder the English subiection, if my coniecture herein do not deceiue me.

Malgo reigneth ouer the Britains, the noble qualities wherewith he was beautified by his filthie finnes are blemished, Gyldas reproveth Cuneglasus for making warre against God and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offenses, the vile iniquities wherunto the British rulers were inclined, the valianthe of Kenrike king of the West Saxons, his victories against diuers people his enemies, succession in the gouernment of the West Saxons, Northumberland, and Kentish Saxons; the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons in this land, Cheuling with his West Saxons encounter with the Britains and get the vpper hand, three kings of the Britains slaine, and their people spoiled of their lands, goods and liues.

The xvij. Chapter.

Malgo.

Matth. West.
hath noted 581

580

Gal. Mon.



After the deceasse of Moxipozus, Malgo the nephew of Aurelius Conanus (as some write) was made king of Britaine, & began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 580, in the fiftieth yere of the emperour Iustinian, and in the 37 yere of the reigne of Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is reported to haue bene the comeliest gentleman in beaultie and shap of personage that was to be found in those daies amongst all the Britains, and therewith of a bold and hardie courage. He manfullie defended the country which he had in gouernance from the malice of the Saxons, and subdued the out Isles, as Dykenie and others. But notwithstanding the noble qualities with the which his person was adorned, yet he spotted them all with the filthie sinne of sodomitie, so that he fell into the hatred of almighty God, and being persued of the Saxons, receiued manie ouerthrowes at their hands; as by the report of the English writers is gathered more at large. His fallie, when he had reigned fure yeres and od moneths, he departed this life.

Matth. Westm.
counteth not
past fure yeres
to his reigne
though other
affirme that he
reigned 35
yeres.

It seemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyldas, Agalocunus, the which Gyldas (before he speaketh of him) inuertieth against one Cuneglasus, whom he reproveth, for that he warred both against God and man: against God, with grievous finnes; as

namelie adulterie, in forsaking the companie of his lawfull wife, and keeping to concubine a sister of hers, that had professed chastitie: & against man with materiall armes and weapons, which he vied to the destruction of his owne countymen, with whom he kept warres, and not against the enemies of the common wealtie.

From Cuneglasus he cometh to the foresaid Agalocunus, whom he nameth the dragon of the Isles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onelie out of their kingdoms, but also out of life, the last of whom he treateth (as he himselfe saith) but the first in all mischæse & euill, greater than manie in power, and likewise in malice: verie liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in sinne, strong and balliant in arms, but stronger in destruction of his owne soule. And so proceeding, chargeth him with the sinne of the Sodomitie, & soe blameth him, for that where it had pleased God to make him higher than all other dukes of Britaine in kingdome and degre, he did not shew himselfe better, but contrarie far worse than they both in maners and conditions. He declareth also a little after, that this Agalocune in his yong yeres slue in battell his vnkle being king, with the most balliant souldiers in maner that he had. Also that where the said Agalocune toke vpon him the profession of a monke, he after renounced the same, and became a worse liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wife, and keeping his brothers sonnes wife, while his husband yet liued.

Thus by that which Gyldas writeth of the kings and rulers of the Britains, which liued in his daies, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickednesse, and namelie to ciuill dissention, rapine, adulterie, and fornication: so that it may be thought, that God stirred by the Saxons to be a scourge to them, and to worke his iust vengeance vpon them for their wickednesses and abhominable offenses daillie committed against his diuine maiestie, so that we find recorded by writers, how that the Saxons in diuers conflicts against the Britains had the better, and also toke from them diuers towncs, as already partly hath bene and also hereafter shall be shewed.

It is furthermore to be remembred, that about the 14 yere of the Britaine king Conanus his reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Christ 559, Kenrike king of the West Saxons departed this life, after he had reigned xvj. yeres complet. This Kenrike was a victorious prince, and fought diuers battels against the Britains. In the 18 yere of his reigne, which was the 551 of Christ, we find that he fought against them, being come at that time vnto Salisburie, and after great slaughter made on both parts, at length the victorie remained with the Saxons, and the Britains were chased. Again in the two and twentieth yere of his reigne, and 555 yere of Christ, the same Kenrike and his sonne Cheuling fought with a great power of Britains at Warburie.

The Britains were diuided into nine companies, three in the fore ward, three in the battell, and three in the reere ward, with their horsemen and archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entire battell, balliantlie assailed them, and notwithstanding the shot of the Britains, yet they brought the matter to the trial of handbloines, till at length by the coming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtful: and no manuell is to be made thereof (saith Henric archdeacon of Huntingdon) for the Saxons were men of huge stature, great force, & balliant courage. The same yere that Kenrike deceased, Ida the king of Northumberland also died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right balliant

Hen Hunt.

Hen. Hunt.
Alas Wip-
bandunc.

570.
Cutha.
Salisburie.
581

559

Hen. Hunt.

His broth-
er Mat. V
saith.

H. Hunt.

Mat. Wel

valiant prince, & enlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he ouercame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Gorran king of Scots.

Also about the yere of Christ 560, Conanus (as pet governing the Britains) Irmertike king of Kent departed this life, of whome ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his sonne succeeded him 52 yeres. Then after that the foresaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that succeeded them in their estates as here followeth. After Irmertike, his sonne Ceaulinus or Cheulung succeeded in gouernement of the Westsaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Irmertike followed his sonne Ethelbert in rule ouer the Kentish Saxons.

This Ethelbert in proesse of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the beginning of his reigne he had but sozie successe against some of his enimies: for hauing to doe with the foresaid Cheulung king of Westsaxons, he was of him ouercome in battell at Wilbadstone, where he lost two of his dukes or chiefe captains, besioe other people. This was the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons, one against another within this land, after their first comming into the same. And this chanced in the yere of our Lord 567, being the second yere of the emperor Iulianus.

About the yere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheulung fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquished them, & toke from them 4 towncs, Liganbrough, Eglesbrough or Ailburie, Bellington, and Cuesham. Also about the yere of our Lord 581, the foresaid king Cheulung encountered with the Britains at a place called Dioth, and obtaining the upper hand, toke from them the cities of Bath, Glocester, and Cirencester. At this battell fought at Dioth, were present three kings of the Britains, whose names were these: Coinmagill, Candiban, and Scarinmagill, which were slaine there through the permission of almightie God as then refusing his people, the which through their heinous sinnes and great wickednesses, had most grauouslie offended his high and diuine maiestie, as by Gylas it may euidentlie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abhominable in his sight, euen from the prince to the poore man, from the priest to the Luit, so that not one estate among them walked by rightie, but contrarie to dutie was gone astray, by reason whereof the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a prey to their enimies.

Also in the latter end of Alagos daies or about the first beginning of the reigne of his successor Careticus, Cheulung and his sonne Cutwine fought with the Britains at a place called Fecanlep or Fedanlep, or (as some booke haue) Frithenlie, where Cutwine was slaine, & the Englishmen chased: but yet Cheulung repairing his armie, won the victorie, and chasing the Britains, toke from them manie countries, and won great riches by the spoile. But Matth. West. saith, that the victorie abroad with the Britains, and that the Saxons were chased quite out of the field. The Scottish writers record, that their king Aidan (who is noted to haue bene the 49 successiuelie possessor of the regiment of that land, partly with griefe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wise gentleman, whome he tenderlie loued, and partly with age [for he was growne hotheaded, and had reigned 54 yeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Wodenus king of the Picts (betwixt whom and the said Aidan a soze battell was fought) in aid of the Saxons: but the same writers name the place Deglaston, where this battell was made, and the forces of both sides by a sharpe encounter tried.

The beginning of the kingdome of Mercia, the bounds of the same, the heptarchie or seven regiments of the Saxons, how they grew to that perfection, and by whom they were reduced and drawne into a monardue; Careticus is created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occasion by the ciuill dissentions of the Britains to make a full conquest of the land, they procure forren power to further them in their enterprise, Gurmundus king of the Africans arriueh in Britaine, the British king is driuen to his hard shifts, the politike practise of Gurmundus in taking Chichester & letting the towne on fire, he deliuereth the whole land in possession to the Saxons, the English and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains haue onelie three prouinces left of all their countrie which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in decate, they are gouerned by three kings, Cheulungs death is conspired of his owne subjects.

The xviij. Chapter.



About the same time also, and 585 of Christ, the kingdome of Mercia began vnder one Crida, who was descended from Wloden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The bounds of this kingdome were of great distance, hauing on the east the sea vnto Humber, and so on the north the said riuer of Humber, and after the riuer of Mercia, which falleth into the west sea at the corner of Wirhall, and so comming about to the riuer of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same riuer bounded it on the west from Wales, and likewise Seuerne vnto Bristol: on the south it had the riuer of Thames, till it came almost to London. And in this sozt it contained Lincolneshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcester-shire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire.

Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in proesse of time remouing the Britains out of their seats, daile wan ground of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Ile, and erected within the same seven kingdoms, which were gouerned by seven seuerall kings, who continued vntill the kings of Westsaxon brought them all at length into one monarchie, as after shall appeare. Matth. Westmin. reckoneth eight kingdoms as thus; The kingdom of Kent, the kingdom of Sussex, the kingdom of Essex, the kingdom of Eastangle, the kingdom of Mercia, the kingdom of Westsax, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdoms, that is to say, into Deira and into Bernicia: wherevnto W. Harrison addeth the ninth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

After that Alago or Maglocune was departed this life, one Careticus, or (as some write him) Caretius, was made king of the Britains, and began his reigne in the yere of our Lord 586, which was in the third yere of the emperor Mauritius, and thirtieth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nourisher of ciuill warre and dissention amongst his owne people the Britains, so that he was hated both of God and man, as writers testifie. The Saxons vnderstanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in parties, so as one was readie to deuoure all other, thought it good time for them to aduance their conquests, and ceased not to pursue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had constrained them

Crida.
H. Hunt.
This kingdome began in the yere 585, as Matth. Westm. saith, Ran Cest.

Careticus
586

560

Hen Hunt.

Hen Hunt.
Ald. Wip.
handwre.

570.
Cutha.
Ailburie.
581

his brother
as Matth. West.
saith.

H. Hunt.

Matth. West.

J. j.

for

Gal. Mon.
See more of
this Cur-
mundus in
Ireland.
Rauulf. Cest.

for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some haue written, the Saxons meaning to make a full conquest of the land, sent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Curmundus a king of the Africans to come ouer into Britaine to helpe them against the Britains.

This Curmundus appointing his brother Turgesius to pursue the conquest of Ireland, came and arrived here in Britaine, making such cruell warre in aid of the Saxons against the Britains, that Careticus was constrained to keepe him within the citie of Chichester or Cirencester, and was there besieged, and at length by continuall assaults and skirmishes, when he had lost manie of his men, he was glad to forsake that citie, and fled into Wales. This Curmundus took Cirencester or Chichester, and destroyed it in most cruell maner. Some write, that he took this citie by a policie of warre, in binding to the feet of sparrowes which his people had caught, certaine clewes of thred or matches, finelie wrought & tempered with matter readie to take fire, so that the sparrows being suffered to go out of hand, flew into the towne to lodge themselves within their neests which they had made in stacks of corne, and eues of houses, so that the towne was thereby set on fire, and then the Britains issuing forth, fought with their enemies, and were overcome and discomfited.

But whilest the battell continued, Careticus stole away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foresaid Curmundus destroyed this land throughout in pittifull wise, and then deliuered it in possession to the Saxons, the which thankfullie receiued it: and because they were descended of those that first came ouer with Hengist, they changed the name of the land, and called it Hengistland, accordinglie as the same Hengist had in times past ordeined: the which name after for shortnesse of speech was somewhat altered, and so lastlie called England, and the people Englishmen. But rather it may be thought, that fith a great part of those people which came ouer into this land out of Germanie with the said Hengist, and other capitains, were of those Englishmen which inhabited Germanie, about the parts of Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had first got habitation within it: and so both the land and people took name of them, being called *Engli*, a long time before they entered into this Ile (as before is shewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But now to returne there we left.

Of this Curmundus the old English writers make no mention, nor also anie ancient authors of foren parties: and yet saith the British booke, that after he had conquered this land, and giuen it to the Saxons, he passed ouer into France, and there destroyed much of that land, as an enimie to the faith of Christ. For which consideration he was the more readie to come to the aid of the Saxons, who as yet had not receiued the christian faith, but warred against the Britains, as well to destroye the faith of Christ within this land, as to establish to themselves continuall habitations in the same. Where be, that omitting to make mention of Curmundus, write thus of the expelling of the Britains out of this land at that time, when with their king Careticus they got them into Wales.

In the yeere of Grace 86, Careticus a louer of ciuill warre succeeded Abalgo an enimie to God and to the Britains, whose inconstancie when the English and Saxon kings perceiued, with one consent they rose against him, and after manie battels chased him from citie to citie, till at length, encountering with him in a pight field, they droue him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Whereupon clerks and priests were driuen out of their places with bright swordes

brandishing in all parts, and fire crackling in churches, wherewith the same were consumed. The remnant of the Britains therefore withdrew into the west parts of the land, that is to say, into Cornwall, and into Wales, out of which countries they oftentimes brake out, and made insurrections vpon the Saxons, the which in maner aforesaid got possession of the chiefeest parts of the land, leauing to the Britains onlie three prouinces, that is to say, Cornwall, Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were not easie to be wonne, by reason of the thicke woods intrenched with deepe marshes and waters, and full of high craggie rocks and mounteins.

The English and Saxon kings hauing thus remoued the Britains, enlarged the bounds of their dominions. There reigned in that season within this land, beside the Britaine kings, eight kings of the English and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Cissa in Sussex, Ceauline in Wexsex, Creda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Etila in East Angles, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this sort the Britains lost the possession of the more part of their ancient seats, and the faith of Christ thereby was greatlie decayed: for the churches were destroyed, and the archbishops of Caerleon Artoiske, London and Yorke withdrew together with their cleergie into the mounteins and woods within Wales, taking with them the relikes of saints, doubting the same should be destroyed by the enimies, and themselves put to death if they should abide in their old habitations. Manie also fled into Britaine Armoricke with a great flete of ships, so that the whole church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and decay of the christian religion. Careticus was driuen into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the second or third yeere of his reigne, and there continued with his Britains, the which ceased not to imagine the Saxons from time to time as occasion still serued.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were gouerned afterwards by three kings, or rather tyrants, the which ceased not with ciuill warre to seeke others destruction, till finallie (as saith the British booke) they became all subiect vnto Cadwallor, whose Beda nameth Ceodwallo. In the meane time, Ceaulinus or Cheuling king of the West Saxons, through his owne misgouernance and tyrannie, which towards his latter daies he practised, did procure not onelie the Britains, but also his owne subiects to conspire his death, so that ioining in battell with his aduersaries at Wodenstoc, in the 33 yeare of his reigne, his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe constrained to depart into exile, and shortly after ended his life before he could find meanes to be restored.

¶ So that we haue here a microscopie or liuelie view of a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no lesse odds in the manner of their gouernement, than there is repugnance in their names, or difference in their states. For he saith but little into the knowledge of tongues, that vnderstandeth not what the office of a king should be, by the composition of his name, the same sounding in Greeke βασιλευς, which being resolu'd is in effect βασις λέως, that is, the foundation or stay of the people; from which qualitie when he resuleth, he maketh shipwracke of that godlietie, and degenerateth into a tyrant, than the which violent and enforced gouernement as there is none more peiuous, so is it of all other the least in continuance: this is proued by historிக்கal obseruation through the course of this historie.

Ceolric

Mat. VVest.

It should seeme that this historie of Curmundus is but some fained tale except it may be that he was some Dane, Norwegian or Germane.

86

Mat. VVest.

Ceolric.

594

Bed.
Will. Malm

Ceolric reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, the Saxons and Britains incounter, Ethelbert king of kent subdueth the English Saxons, he is married to the French kings daughter ypon cautions of religion, the king imbraceeth the gospel, Augustine the monke and others were sent into this Ile to preach the christian faith, the occasion that moued Gregorie the great to send him, buieng and selling of boies, the Englishmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert causer Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a conuenient feast and competent reliefe in Canturburie, the manner of their going thither and their behauiour there, the king and his people receiue the christian faith, and are baptised.

The xix. Chapter.

Celric.

Now after Cheuling, his nephew Celricus or Ceolric that was sonne unto Cutwine, the sonne of the foresaid Cheuling, reigned as king ouer the Westsaxons five yeares & five moneths. In like manner the same yeare died Ella or Alla king of Northumberland, after whome succeeded Ethelricus the sonne of Ida, and reigned but five yeares, being a man well growne in yeares before he came to be king. About thre yeres after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Moberesbourne, where the Britains being ranged in good order, the Saxons set vpon them boldlie indeed, but disorderedlie, so that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more valiant they had shewed themselves in battell, before that time, so much the more slow and untowardlie did they shew themselves now in running awaie to saue themselves, so that an huge number of them were slaine. Also about the same time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whome his sonne Wilthas or Wlthpa succeeded. And after the deccasse of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride surnamed the wild, succeeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpose.

Beda. Will. Malmes.

Ethelbert king of kent, not discouraged with the euill chance which happened in the beginning, but rather occasioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, proued so perfect a maister therein, that in proceesse of time he subdued by force of armes all those English Saxons which lay betwixt the bounds of his countrie, and the riuer of Humber. Also to haue friendship in foraine parts, he procured a wife for himselfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Chertberts daughter of France, but with condition, that he should permit her to continue and vse the rites and lawes of christian faith and religion, and to haue a bishop whose name was Luidhard, appointed to come and remaine with her here in this land for her better instruction in the lawes of the Lord. So that they too with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in the court, and vnto to serue God in prayers and otherwise, according to the custome of the christian religion, began vnto tedlie to giue light to the kings mind as yet darkened with the clouds of paganism, so as the bright beames of the celestiall clerenes of vnderstanding remoued the thicke mists of his vnbelasse in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the gospel, which after by heauenlie prouidence was preached to him, by occasion, and in manner as followeth.

In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about

the 14 yeare of the reigne of the emperour Mauricius, and after the comming of the English Saxons into this land, about an 147 yeares almost compleat, the bishop of Rome, Gregorie the first of that name, and surnamed Magnus, sent Augustine a monke, with certeine other learned men into this Ile to preach the christian faith vnto the English Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the gospel. And here we hold it necessarie to shew how it is recorded by diuers writers, that the first occasion whereby Gregorie was moued thus to send Augustine into this land, rose by this means.

It chanced (whilst the same Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the see of Rome) certeine yong boies were brought thither to bee sold out of Northumberland, according to the accustomed vse of that countrie, in somuch that as we haue in our time seene (saith W. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to sell abwaie their nere kinsfolke for a small price. When those children which at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reason of their excellent beauties and comelie shape of lims and bodie, turned the eyes in manner of all the citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregorie also came amongst other to behold them, and when he considered and well viewed their faire skins, their sweet visages, and beautifull bushes of their bright and peallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came, vnto whome answer was made, that they were brought out of Britaine, the inhabitants of which countrie were of the like beautifull aspect. Then he asked whether the men of that countrie were christians, or as yet intangled with blind heathenish errors: Wherevnto it was answered, that they were not christened, but folloiwed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetching a deepe sigh, said: Ah, alas that the author of darkenesse doth as yet possesse men of so brightsome countenances, and that with the grace of such faire shining visages, they beare about minds void of inward grace.

Vita Gregorii magni.

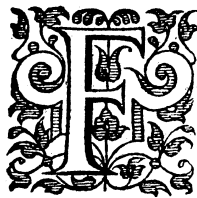
Howeuer he demanded by what name the people were called, whereto answer was made, that they were called Angli, that is to say Englishmen. Right too: thilie (saith he) for they haue angels faces, and such as ought to be made fellowe heires with angels in heauen. Then asked he the name of the prouince from whence they were brought, and it was told him they were of Deira. It is well (said he) they are to be deliuered Deira dei, that is to say, from the ire and wrath of God, and called to the mercie of Christ our Lord: What name (said he) hath the king of that prouince, wherevnto answer was made that he was called Alla, wherevpon alluding to that name, he said, Alleluia ought to be song in those parts to the praise and honor of God the creator.

Wherevpon comming to Benedict the first of that name (as then bishop of Rome) he required him that some learned men might be sent into England to preach the gospel vnto the Englishmen. Benedict himselfe to be one of the number. But though Benedict was contented to grant his request, yet the Romans had him in such estimation, that they would not consent that he should depart so farre from the citie, so that by them he was at that time staied of that his goodlie purpose. Howbeit when he came to be bishop, he thought to performe it though not by himselfe, yet by other: and so Augustine and his fellowes were sent by him about 597. As he was said, by the way, as they were passing threierthies, such a sudden feare entred into their hearts, that (as some write) they returned all the way backe, that Augustine was sent backe to Gregorie, so that they might be released of that voyage.

M. Fox. Delagius the second Will. Malmes.

age so dangerous and uncerteine amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithie perswasions comforting and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine and his companie in all what so euer his neede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine vnto his felowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords worke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare.

Gregorie the seruant of Gods seruants, to the seruants of our Lord.



Or as much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun, to thinke to reuolt backe from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all feruent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good businesse, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the wearisomnesse of your iournie, nor the slanderous roongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and seruencie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeined you to take in hand, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doo you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at his admonition ye shall doo. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternall countrie the fruit of your labours, though heere I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord God keepe you safe most dere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reigne of our souereigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire.

Thus emboldened and comforted through the good words and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and speeding forth their iournie, first arrived at the Ile of Thanet in Kent in the month of Iulie, being in number about fortie persons, of the which diuerse were interpreters, whome they brought with them out of France. These they sent vnto king Ethelbert, signifying the occasion of their coming, who hearing the messengers within a few daies after, went into that Ile, and there abroad out of anie house sat downe, and caused Augustine and his fellows to come before him, for he would not come thither, and rose with them, soe doubting to be bewitched by them, being perswaded that they were practisiers in magicke. But they continuing to him, not by the power of the deuill (as they said) but by the might and power of almighty God, bearing in steed of a banner a crosse of silver, and an image of our Lord and Saviour painted in a table, and there to singing the letanies, made intercession vnto the Lord for the euermore preservation of themselves, and of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The tenor of the letanies of St. Gregorie were not yet devised.

Now when they being set downe by commandement of the king, had preached the word of life to him, and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answer, that their words and promises were good: but for as much as the same were new & uncerteine to him that had been brought up in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashly assent to their admonitions, & leaue that beleefe which he and the English nation had so long a time obserued and kept: but (said he) because ye haue trauelled farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those things which ye beleue to be most true and perfect, we will thus much graunt vnto you, that ye shall be receiued into this countrie, and haue harbrough, with all things sufficient found vnto you for your maintenance and sustentation: neither will we hinder you, but that ye may by preaching associat and ioine as manie of our subjects as you can vnto your law and beleefe. They had therefore assigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the citie of Canturburie, which was the head citie of all his dominion. It is said that as they approached the citie according to their maner, they had a crosse bozne before them, with an image of our Lord Iesus Christ, and they followed, singing this letanie, *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus & ira tua a ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus. Alleluia.* That is to say, We beseech thee o Lord in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we haue sinned. Praise be to thee o Lord. After they were receiued into Canturburie, they began to follow the trade of life which the apostles used in the primitive church, that is to say, exercising themselves in continuall prayer, watching, and preaching to as manie as they could, despising all worldly things, as not belonging to them, receiuing onely of them (whome they taught) things necessarie for the sustentance of their life, & liuing in all points according to the doctrine which they set forth, hauing their minds ready to suffer in patience all aduersities what so euer, yea and death it selfe, for the confirming of that which they now preached. Hereupon, manie of the English people beleued and were baptised, hauing in great reuerence the simplicitie of those men, and the swetenesse of their heauenlie doctrine. There was a church nere to the citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the honor of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilste the Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which the quene, being (as we haue said) a chrestian, used to make hir prayers. To this church Austine and his fellows at their first coming accustomed to resort, and there to sing, to praye, to saie masse, to preach and to baptise, till at length the king being conuerted, granted them licence to preach in euerie place, and to build and restore churches where they thought good. After that the king being perswaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in great numbers began to giue eare vnto the preaching of the gospel, and renouncing their heathenish beleefe, became chrestians, in so much that as Gregorie remembreth, there were baptised ten thousand persons in one day, being the feast of the nativity of our Saviour y^e; and the first indiction.

¶ Somewhat how this should chance toward the latter end of Augustines daies, after he was admitted to preach the gospel amongst them that inhabited about Dorke (as some write) which affirme, that the said number of ten thousand was baptised in the river of Suale, which (as W. Harison saith) cannot be verified, because of the indiction and death of Gregorie. But to proceed.

Beda. Math. W.

The chrestian faith receiued of the English men.

Lib. 7. cap. 24.

Polychron.

Beda. lib. 1. cap. 16. an

Augustine desired or chap. of 1 English tion.

Lauren gius.

The reuoced church divided 4. parts

Liturgy

Church

Such, scale.

Religion is not to be inforced but persuaded and preached, Augustine is made archbishop of England, Gregorie informeth Augustine of certaine ordinances to be made and obserued in the new English church, as the reuenues of the church to be diuided into foure parts, of liturgie, of marriage, of ecclesiasticall discipline and ordeining of bishops: twising questions objected by Augustine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are sent ouer to assist Augustine in his ministerie, he receiueh his pall, reformation must be doone by little and little, not to glorie in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conuersion to christianitie.

The xx. Chapter.



King Ethelbert reioiced at the conuersion of his people, howbeit he would not force anie man to be baptised, but onlie shewed by his behaniour, that he fauored those that belieued more than other, as fellow citizens with him of the heauenlie kingdome: for he learned of them that had instructed him in the faith, that the obedience due to Christ ought not to be inforced, but to come of good will. Whereouer he prouided for Augustine and his fellows a conuenient place for their habitation within the citie of Canturburie, and further gaue them necessarie reuenues in possession for their maintenance. After that the faith of Christ was thus receiued of the English men, Augustine went into France, and there of the archbishop of Arles named Eucherius was ordeined archbishop of the English nation, according to the order prescribed by Gregorie before the departure of the said Augustine from Rome.

After his returne into Britaine, he sent Laurence a priest, and Peter a monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregorie the bishop, how the Englishmen had receiued the faith, and that he was ordeined archbishop of the land, according to that he had commanded, if the worke prospered vnder his hand as it had done. He also required to haue Gregories aduice touching certaine ordinances to be made and obserued in the new church of England. Whereupon Gregorie, sending backe the messengers, wrote an answer vnto all his demands. And first touching the conuersion of archbishops with the clergie, and in what sort the church goods ought to be imployed, he declared that the ancient custome of the apostolike see was to giue commandment vnto bishops ordeined, that the profits and reuenues of their benefices ought to be diuided into foure parts, whereof the first should be appointed to the bishop and his familie for the maintenance of hospitalitie: the second should be assigned to the clergie: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imployed vpon repairing of temples.

And whereas in the church of Rome one custome in saing made of the liturgie was obserued, and another custome in France; concerning such church seruice, Gregorie aduised Augustine that if he found anie thing either in the church of Rome, either in the church of France, or in anie other church which might most please the almightie God, he should diligently chose it out, and instruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he should gather forth of the said churches: for the things are not loued for the places sake, but the places for the things sake. Also for punishing of such as had stolen things out of churches, so nere as might be,

the offenders should be chastised in charitie, so as he might know his fault, and (if it were possible) restore the thing taken away.

And touching degrees in marriage, Englishmen might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehension, and if any vnlawfull marriages were found amongst the Englishmen, as if the sonne had married the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wife to abstaine, and vnderstand it to be a grauous sinne: yet should they not for that thing be deprivd of the communion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, least those things might seeme to be punished in them wherein they had offended (before their conuersion to the christian faith) by ignorance: for at this season the church (saith he) correcteth some things of a feruent earnestnesse, suffreth some things of a gentle milnesse, and discerneth some things of a prudent consideration, and so beareth and winketh at the same, that oftentimes the euill which she abhorreth by such bearing and dissembling, is restrained and reformed.

Whereouer touching the ordeining of bishops, he would they should be so placed, that the distance of place might not be a let, but that when a bishop should be consecrated, there might be three or foure present. Also touching the bishops of France, he willed Augustine in no wise to intermeddle with them, otherwise than by exhortation and god admonition to be giuen, but not to presume anie thing by authoritie, sith the archbishop of Arles had receiued the pall in times past, whose authoritie he might not diminish, least he should seeme to put his sickle into another mans haruest. But as for the bishops of Britaine, he committed them vnto him, that the balcarned might be taught, the weak with wholesome persuasions strengthened, and the stouard by authoritie reformed. Whereouer, that a woman with child might be baptised, and the child was deliuered after 33 daies of a manchild, and after 46 daies of a woman child, should be purified, but yet might she enter the church before, if she would.

The residue of Augustines demands consisted in these points, to wit:

- 1 Within what space a child should be christened after it was borne, for doubt to be prevented by death?
- 2 Within what time a man might companie with his wife after she was brought to bed?
- 3 Whether a woman, hauing hir floures, might enter the church, or receiue the communion?
- 4 Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receiue the communion before he was washed with water?
- 5 Whether after pollution by night in dreames, a man might receiue the communion: or if he were a priest, whether he might say masse?

To these questions Gregorie maketh answer at full in the booke and place before cited, which for breuenesse we passe over. He sent also at that time with the messengers aforesaid, at their returne into England, diuers learned men to helpe Augustine in the haruest of the Lord. The names of the chieffest were these, Apellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. He sent also the pall, which is the ornament of an archbishop, with vessels and apparell which should be used in churches by the archbishop and other ministers. He sent also with the pall other letters to Augustine, to let him vnderstand what number of bishops he would haue him to ordeine within this land. Also after that Apellitus, and the other before mentioned persons were departed from Rome, he sent a letter vnto the same Apellitus, being yet on his way toward Britaine, touching further matter

Marriages.

Discipline of the church.

Ordeining of bishops.

women with child.

Matters in question about trifles.

Assistance to Augustine. The pall.

Ped. lib. 1. cap. 16. and 17.

Augustine ordeined archbishop of the English nation.

Laurence a priest.

Ch. reuenues of the church to be diuided into 4. parts.

Liturgie.

Church seruice.

Such as did steal.

Wearing with
them that had
newly recei-
ued the faith,
whereof su-
perstition
grew and in-
creased.

Miracles.

602

concerning the churches of England, wherein he confessed that manie things are permitted to be used of the people lately brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feasts on the dedication daies, which haue resemblance with the old superstitious rites of the Pagan religion. For to hard and obstinate minds (saith he) it is not possible to cut away all things at once, for he that courseth to the highest place, goeth by by steps and not by leaps.

At the same time Gregorie did send letters unto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he understood were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in reioicing to feare, and consider that God gaue him the gift to worke such signes for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospel: he aduised him therefore to beware of vaine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no ioy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for not euerie one that is elect workeeth miracles, but euerie of the elect haue their names written in heauen. These letters, with the other which Gregorie sent at this time unto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the kalends of Iulie, in the yere of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yere of the emperor Mauricius. Whereover he sent most courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatlie commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holie state of life, whereby he might worthilie loke for reward at the hands of almighty God.

What reparations and foundations Augustine finished for clergimen to the sup-
portation of the church, the building of Pauls
in London and saint Peters in Westminster uncer-
taine, a prouinciall counsell called by Augustine, he
restored a blind man to his sight, the Britains are hardlie
weaned from their old custome of beliefs, an heremits
opinion of Augustine, he requirith three things to
be obserued of the Britains, he ordeineth bi-
shops at London and Rochester; Sabert
reigneth ouer the East Saxons, Augu-
stine dieth and is buried.

The xxj. Chapter.

THUS farre we haue waied in the forme and maner of conquering the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadiutors: now therefore (that we may orderlie proceed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and deeds of the said Augustine: of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his see appointed him at Canturburie, he restored another church in that citie which had bene created there in times past by certaine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Saviour. He also began the foundation of a monastrie without that citie, standing toward the east, in the which by his exhortation, king Ethelbert built a church euen from the ground, which was dedicated vnto the holie apostles Peter and Paule, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturburie and kings of Kent a long time after. This abbe was called saint Austins after his name, one Peter being the first abbat thereof. The church there was

One Peter
was the first
Abbat.

not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor, Laurence, after he was dead.

Whereover, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he lately had conquered) and dedicated it vnto saint Paule; but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paule it may be doubted, for there be diuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other againe write, that it was builded afterward by Sigebert king of the East Saxons. Also king Ethelbert builded the church of saint Andrew in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same king Ethelbert procured a citizen of London to build a church to S. Peter without the citie of London toward the west, in a place then called Thorney, that is to say, the Ile of thornes, and now called Westminister: though others haue written that it was built by Lucius king of Britaine, or rather by Sibeit king of the East Saxons. This church was either newly built, or greatlie enlarged by king Edward surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the thirde Henrie king of England did make there a beautifull monastrie, and verie richlie indowd the same with great possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowne with bnderwoods, as thornes and brambles, before that the church was begun to be builded there in this king Ethelberts daies. Thus the faith of Christ being once begun to be receiued of the English men, toke wonderfull increase within a short time.

In the meane season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a counsell to be called at a place in the confines of the West Saxons, which place long after was called Austines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the prouinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianitie as yet remained in force, which from the apostles time had neuer failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen bishops sees, and an archbishops see, wherein sat verie godlie & right religious prelates, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in obseruing the feast of Easter, and other rites from the use of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to moue them to agree with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to giue their assent in that behalfe. Augustine to proue his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saxon nation that was blind.

The Britains that were present, moued with this miracle, confessed that it was the right waie of iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught; but yet they said that they might not forsake their ancient customs without consent and licence of their nation. Whereupon they required another synod to be holden, whereat a greater number of them might be present. This being granted, there came (as it is reported) seuen bishops of the Britains, and a great number of learned men, speciallie of the famous monastrie of Bangor, whereof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went towards that counsell, came first to a certaine wise man, which liued amongst them an heremits life, and asked his aduise, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the preaching of Augustine or not: who made this answer; If he be the man of God, follow him. When said they; How shall we proue whether he be so or not? Then said he: The Lord saith, take by my yoke and learne of me, for I am meek & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meek in hart, it is to be beleued.

Ran. Hig.

Beda.

Ran. Hig.
Westminster
church build

Thie th
required
Augustine
the gift
to be obte

Ran. Cell.
Beda.
Sigebertus,
ann. 19 March
imperatoris,
synod.
Augustinus etc.
Galfrid. lib. 4.
cap. 4.

Augusti
typat

60

Bishops
desired a
London
Rochest

Saber

Beda lib. 4.

2.

Another
synod.

The monastrie
of Bangor
Abbat Dionoth.

Ran. Ce

The answer
of a godlie
man touching
Augustine the
Englishman
apostle.

believed that he also beareth the pike of Christ, and offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not make but good, it is certeine that he is not of GOD, nor his word to be regarded. And how shall we see and perceive that (said they?) Find meanes (said he) that he maie first come to the place of the synod with those of his side, and if he arise to receiue you at your coming, then know that he is the seruant of God, and obey him; but if he despise you, and arise not towards you, whereas you be more in number, let him be despised of you.

These things required by Augustine of the Britains to be obserued.

Augustine thenceforth.

604
Bishops ordained at London and Rochester.

Sabert.

Ran. Cestren.

They did as he commanded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Augustine sitting in his chaire: whome when they beheld, straightwaies they conceived indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reprove all his sayings. He told them that they did manie things contrarie to the custom of the vniuersall church, and yet if in these things they would obey him, that is to say, in keeping the feast of Easter in due time, in ministring baptism according to the custome of the Romane church, & in preaching to the Englishmen the word of life with him & his fellowes, then would he be contented to suffer all other things patientlie which they did, though the same were contrarie to the maners and customs of the Romane iurisdiction. But they flatlie denied to do any of those things, and gaue a plaine answer that they would not receiue him for their archbishop: for laicng their heads together, thus they thought, If he refuse now to arise vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we should become subiect to him? Vnto whom (as it is said) Augustine in threatening wise told them afore hand, that if they would not receiue peace with their brethren, they should receiue warre of the enimies; & if they would not preach to the Englishmen the waie of life, they should suffer punishment by death at the hands of them: which thing in deed after came to passe, as in place conuenient shall be expessed. After this in the yere of our Lord 604, the archbishop Augustine ordained two bishops, that is to say, Pelitus at London, that he might preach the word of God to the East Saxons, which were diuided from them of Kent by the riuer of Thames, and Iustus in the citie of Rochester within the limits of Kent.

At that time Sabert reigned ouer the East Saxons, but he was subiect vnto Ethelbert king of Kent, whose nephue he was also by his sister Ricula that was married vnto king Sceda that succeeded after Erchenwine the first king of the East Saxons, and begat on his this Sabert that receiued the faith. After that Augustine had ordeined Pelitus to be bishop of London, as before is said, king Ethelbert builded (as some write) the church of saint Paule within the same citie, where the same Pelitus and his successors might keepe their see. And also for the like purpose he builded the church of saint Andrew the apostle at Rochester, that Iustus and his successors might haue their see in that place, according to Augustines institution: he bestowed great gifts vpon both those churches, endowing them with lands and possessions verie bountifullie, to the vse of them that should be attendant in the same with the bishops.

Finallie, Augustine after he had gouerned as archbishop the church of Canturburie by the space of 12 yeres currant, departed this life the five and twentieth of Maie, and was buried first without the citie nere to the church of the apostles Peter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) because the same church as yet was not finished nor dedicated; but after it was dedicated, his bodie was brought into the church, and reuerentlie buried in the north Ile there. He ordeined in his life time Laurence to be his suc-

cessor in the see of Canturburie, of whome ye shall heare hereafter. Thus haue ye heard in what manner the Englishmen were first brought from the worshipping of false gods, and baptised in the name of the living God by the foresaid Augustine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will returne to other doings chancing in the meane time amongst the people of this Ile.

10 Ceowlse or Ceoloulph gouerneth the West Saxons, Ceorlus king of Mercia, Edelfride king of the Northumbers, and Edan king of the Scots iome in battell, Edan is discomfired, Edelfride subdueth the citizens of Chelster, the deuout monks of Bangor praise for safetie from the sword of the enimie, twelue hundred of them are slaine, Edelfride entrench the citie of Chelster, the Britains assembling their power vnder three captains incounter with Edelfride, slaine manie of his souldiers, and put him to flight, warres betweene Edelfride and Redwald king of the East Angles about Edwine the sonne of king Elle, Edelfride is slaine, Ceowlse king of the West Saxons dieth.

The xxij. Chapter.



After the deceasse of Chelricus king of the West Saxons, we find that Ceowlse or Ceoloulph succeeded in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned twelue yeres. He began his reigne (as should appere by some writers) about the yere of our Lord 597, and spent his time for the most part in warres, not giuing place to idlenesse, but seeking either to defend or enlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the sonne of Cutha, which was the sonne of Kenrike, which was the sonne of Certike. After Wilba or Wlpha king of Mercia (who, nothing inferiour to his father, did not onelie defend his kingdome, but also inlarge it, by subduing the Britains on each side) one Ceorlus succeeded in that kingdome, being not his sonne but his kinsman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yere of our Lord 594, as Matthe. West. recordeth.

Matth. West. saith 34.

Matth. West. saith 607.

Ceorlus king of Mercia.

594
Beda
Edelfride.

We haue heard that Edelfride, which otherwise is called also by writers Edelfride, surnamed the wild, gouerned still the Northumbers, which Edelfride did more damage to the Britains than any one other king of the English nation. None of them destroyed their countries more than he did: neither did any prince make more of the Britains tributaries, or inhabited more of their countries with English people than he. Here vpon Edan king of those Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith moued to see Edelfride prosper thus in his conquests, came against him with a mightie armie: but joining in battell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Degfastane, or Degfastone, or Deglasson, he lost the most part of his people, and with the residue that were left alieue, he escaped by flight. This was a sore foughten battell, with much bloodshed on both parties. For notwithstanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobaldus the brother of Edelfride was slaine, with all that part of the English host which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yere of the reigne of the foresaid Edelfride, and in the first yere of Ceowlse king of the West Saxons, and in the first yere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the last yere of his predecessor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scottish kings durst presume to enter into Britaine againe to give battell against the English nation, as Beda himselfe writeth.

603
Henr. Hunt.
Beda lib. 1. cap. 34.

Wil. Malm.
See in Scot-
land.

Chesler as
yet in posses-
sion of the Bri-
tains.

Il. Leland.
Wil. Malm.

Beda.

The number
of monks in
the monasterie
of Bangor.

Byocmale.

The Bri-
tains discom-
fited & slaine.

Henr. Hunt.

W. Harison.

witheth. But the Scottish writers make other report of this matter, as in the historie of Scotland yemaie find recorded.

The Britains that dwelt about Chester, through their stoutnesse prouoked the aforesaid Edelferd king of the Northumbers unto warre: whereupon to fame their lostie stomachs, he assembled an armie & came forward to besiege the citie of Chester, then called of the Britains Carleon ardour deuē. The citizens coucting rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a trust in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battell abroad in the fields, whome he compassing about with ambushes, got within his danger, and easlie discomfited.

It chanced that he had espied before the battell loined (as Beda saith) where a great number of the British priests were got aside into a place somewhat out of danger, that they might there make their intercession to God for the good speed of their people, being then readie to giue battell to the Northumbers. A part of them were of that famous monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of monks, that where they were diuided into seven severall parts, with their severall gouernors appointed to haue rule ouer them, euerie of those parts contained at the least three hundred persons, the which liued altogether by the labour of their hands. Many therefore of those monks hauing kept a solemn fast for three daies together, were come to the armie with other to make prayer, hauing for their defender one Byocmale or Byocmael, earle (or count) as some call him) of Chester, which should preserve them (being giuen to prayer) from the edge of the enemies sword.

King Edelferd hauing (as is said) espied these men, asked what they were, and what their intent was; and being informed of the whole circumstance and cause of their being there, he said; Then if they call to their God for his assistance against vs, suerlie though they beare no armour, yet do they fight against vs, being builed in prayer for our destruction. Whereupon he commanded the first onset to be giuen them, and after due doctone the residue of the British armie, not without great losse of his owne people. Of those monks and priests which came to praise (as before is mentioned) there died at that battell about the number of 12 hundred, so that fiftie of them onelie escaped by flight. Byocmale, or Byocmael at the first approach of the enemies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he should haue defended) to be murdered through the enemies sword. Thus was the prophesie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda saith.)

¶ Here is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the seventh yere of Ceotwile king of Westsaxon (as some haue written) and that Augustine liued 12 yeres after his entrance into the gouernment of the see of Canturburie (as some write) it is euident that he liued four yeres after this slaughter made of the British priests and monks by Edelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceotwile began his reigne (as before is mentioned) about the yere of our Lord 596, and in the seventh yere of his reigne the battell was fought at Degfastane betwixt the English & the Scots, which chanced in the yere of our Lord 604, as Beda himselfe recozeth. A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and precisely setting downe his collection, saith that Athelbriht, or Edelfride, B. of the Northumbers, & Ethelbert B. of Kent, hauing Augustine in their companie, in the eight yere after his arrivall, made warre vpon such Britains as refused to obserue the canons of the late counsell mentioned 603, and killed 1200 monks of

the monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestlie, and in the weat of their brothers, thereby to get their livings, &c. Mercie Galf. Mon. witheth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he saw the Britains to disdain and denie their subiection vnto Augustine, by whome he was conuerted to the Christian faith) stirred by Edelferd king of the Northumbers to warre against the Britains. But hereof Maister Fox doubteth, and therefore saith, that of vncertaine things he hath nothing certeinlie to saie, much lesse to iudge. But now to the matter where we left.

After that king Edelferd had made slaughter of the Britains (as before is rehearsed) he entred the citie of Chester, and from thence marched towards Bangor. The Britains in the meane time had assembled their power vnder three captaine, that is to say, Bleberike duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These joining in battell with Edelferd, slue 10066 of his souldiers, and constrained him to flee out of the field for safegard of his life, after he had received manie wounds. On the part of the Britains the fozsaie Bleberike, which was chiefe captaine of the field in that battell, chanced to be slaine. Thus saith Galf. Mon.

But the ancient writers of the English kings (as Beda, William Malmesburie, and Henrie Huntington, make no mention of this last battell and victorie obtained by the Britains in manner as above is expressed in Galfrids booke. But contrariwise we find, that Edelferd hauing such good successe in his businesse abroad as he could wish, vpon purpose to auoid danger at home, banished Edwine the sonne of Alla or Elle, a young gentleman of great toliardnesse, latelie come to the kingdome of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, being long toiled from place to place, and finding no stedfast friendship now in time of his aduersitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eastangles, the third from Wissa, and successor to Titulus, which Titulus did succede next after the said Wissa, the first king of Eastangles (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourable intertaine Edwine, in somuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, was highlie displeased, and sent ambassadoys vnto Redwald, to requite him either to deliuer Edwine into his hands, or else if he refused so to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Redwald encouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betraye his friend, to whome he had giuen his faith, for the menaces of his enemy assembled forthwith an armie, and at the sudden coming vpon Edelferd, assaulted him per he could haue time to assemble his people together. But yet the said Edelferd, though he was beset and brought in danger at vnwares, died not vnreuninged: for putting himselfe in defense with such power as he could then get together, he boldlie encountered the enemies, and giuing battell, slue Remertus the sonne of Redwald, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing reigned ouer the Northumbers about 22 yeres. This battell was fought nere to the water of Idle.

The said Edelferd had issue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and sister to Edwine, two sonnes, Oswald being about two yeres of age, and Oswin about foure yeres, the which (their father being thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conueied awaie into Scotland with all speed that might be made. Ceotwile king of the Westsaxons, after he had reigned the space of 12 yeres, departed this life, who in his time had maintained great warre against manie of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe ouer. One great battell he fought against them of

Wm.
The sho-
lons in
the
ter lode.

James
monasterie
160.

Bleberike
duke of Corn-
wall, Margadud
king of Southwales,
Cadwane king of Northwales.

Cinegi-
cus.

Galf. Mon.

Wil. Malm.
saith tha
nichilum
was the
ther of C
gulfus.

Beanda
Beantoi

Beda lib.
4.

593

Edelferd

542

H. Hunt.

Edelferd
slaine.

Henr. Hunt.
Matt. Well.
saith 34.

The South-
saxons suf-
fered the great
loss.

of suffer, in which the armies on both sides sustained
great damage, but the greater losse fell to the South
saxons.

Cinegiscus and his sonne Richelinus
reigne iointlie ouer the Westsaxons, they
fight with the Britains; the induour of Lau-
rence archbishop of Canturburie in setting religi-
on at large, and seeking a vniformitie in catholike
orders, he and his fellow-bishops write to the cleargie of Bri-
taine and Scotland for a reformation, Melius bishop
of London goeth to Rome, the cause why, and
what he brought at his returne from
pope Boniface.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Cinegis-
cus.

Will. Malm.
saith that O-
richelinus
was the bro-
ther of Cine-
giscus.

Beandune, or
Beanton.

Bea Lib. a. cap.
4.

After the foresaid Ceowise
reigned Cinegiscus, or Kin-
gils, which was the sonne of
Ceola, which was the sonne of
Cutha or Cutwin, which was
the sonne of Kenricke, which
was the sonne of king Cer-
ticke. In the fourth yere of
his reigne, he receiued into fellow-
ship with him in
gouernance of the kingdome his sonne Richelinus,
or Onichelinus, and so they reigned iointlie together
in great loue and concord (a thing seldome seene or
heard of.) They fought with the Britains at Bean-
dune, where at the first approach of the battels to-
gether, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of
them that were ouertaken 2062.

In this meane time, Laurence archbishop of Can-
turburie, who succeded next after Augustine, admit-
ted thereto by him in his life time (as before is said)
did his induour to augment and bring to perfection
the church of England, the foundation whereof was
latelie laid by his predecessor the foresaid Augustine:
who studied not onelie for the increafe of this new
church, which was gathered of the English people,
but also he was buie to imploie his pastorlike cure
vpon the people that were of the old inhabitants of
Britaine, and likewise of the Scots that remained
in Ireland. For when he had learned that the Scots
there, in semblable wise as the Britains in their
countie, led not their liues in manie points accor-
ding to the ecclesiasticall rules, as well in obseruing
the feast of Easter contrarie to the vse of the Ro-
mane church, as in other things, he wrote vnto those
Scots letters exhortatorie, requiring them most in-
stantlie to an vnitie of catholike orders as might
be agreeable with the church of Christ, spread and dis-
persed through the world. These letters were not
written onelie in his owne name, but iointlie to-
gether in the name of the bishops Melitus and Iustus,
(as followeth.)

To our deare brethren the bishops and
abbats through all Scotland, Laurence,
Melitus and Iustus bishops, the ser-
uants of the seruants of God
wish health.

Whereas the apostolike see (ac-
cording to hir maner) had sent vs to
preach vnto the heathen people in
these west parts, as otherwise throug
the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter
into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we
knew & vnderstood the state of things, we had
in great reuerence both the Scots & Britains;

which beleueed, because (as we tooke the mat-
ter) they walked according to the custome of
the vniuersall church: but after we had know-
ledge of the Britains, we iudged the Scots to be
better. But we haue learned by bishop Daga-
nus comming into this Ile, and by Columba-
nus the abbat comming into France, that the
Scots nothing differ in their conuersation
from the Britains: for bishop Daganus com-
ming vnto vs, would neither eat with vs, no nor
yet come within the house where we did eat.

The said Laurence also with his fellow-bishops,
did write to the Britains other letters touching
of his degree, doing what he could to confirme them in
the vnitie of the Romane church; but it profited little,
as appeareth by that which Beda writeth. About the
same time Melitus the bishop of London went to
Rome, to common with pope Boniface, for necessa-
rie causes touching the church of England, and was
present at a synod holden by the same pope at that
season, for ordinance to be made touching the state
of religious men, and sate in the same synod, that
with subscribing he might also by his authoritie con-
firme that which was there orderlie decreed. This
synod was holden the third kalends of March, in the
last yere of the emperor Phocas, which was about
the yere after the birth of our Sauour 610. Meli-
tus at his returne brought with him from the pope,
decrees commanded by the said pope to be obserued
in the English church, with letters also directed to
archbishop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan is made king of the Britains in
the citie of Chester, he leuieth a power a-
gainst Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, co-
uenants of peace passe betwixt them upon condi-
tion, the death of Ethelbert king of Kent, where he
and his wife were buried, of his lawes; Eadwald succedeth E-
thelbert in the Kentish kingdome, his lewd and vnholie life,
he is an enemie to religion; he is plagued with madnesse; He-
bert king of the Eastsaxons dieth, his three sonnes refuse to be
baptised, they fall to idolatrie and hate the professours of the
truth, their irreligious talke and vndutifull behauiour to bi-
shop Melitus, he and his fellow Iustus passe ouer into France,
the three sonnes of Hebert are slaine of the Westsaxons in bat-
tell, the Eastsaxons by their idolatrie prouoke archbishop Lau-
rence to forsake the land, he is warned in a vision to tarie,
whereof he certifieth king Eadwald, who furthering
christianitie, sendeth for Melitus and Iustus, the
one is restored to his see, the other reiecteth,
Melitus dieth, Iustus is made archbishop
of Canturburie, the christian
faith increaseth.

The xxiiij. Chapter.



After that the Britains
had continued about the space
almost of 24 yeres without
anie one spectall gouernour,
being led by sundrie rulers, e-
uer sithens that Careticus
was constrained to flee ouer
Seuerne, and fought often-
times not onelie against the Saxons, but also one of
them against another, at length in the yere of our
Lord 613, they assembled in the citie of Chester, and
there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of
Northwales, to haue the soueraine rule & gouerne-
ment ouer all their nation, and so the said Cadwan
began to reigne as king of Britaine in the said
yere 613. But some authors say, that this was in
the yere 609, in which yere Careticus the British
king departed this life. And then after his decesse
the Britains or Welshmen (whether we shall call
them)

Cadwan
king of Brite-
taine.

them) chose Cadwan to gouerne them in the foresaid yere 609, which was in the 7 yere of the emperour Phocas, and the 21 of the second Lotharius king of France, and in the 13 yere of Killwolfe king of the West Saxons.

This Cadwan being established king, shortly after assembled a power of Britains, and went against the foresaid Ethelfred king of Northumberland, who being thereof aduertised, did associate to him the most part of the Saxon princes, and came forth with his armie to meet Cadwan in the field. Hereupon as they were readie to haue tried the matter by battell, certeine of their friends trauelled so betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agreement, so that Ethelfred should keepe in quiet possession those his countries beyond the riuer of Humber, and Cadwan should hold all that which of right belonged to the Britains on the south side of the same riuer. This covenant with other touching their agreement was confirmed with othe solemnlie taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, so that afterwards they continued in god and quiet peace, without beryng one an other.

What chanced afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard reherced, which for that it foundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the British booke, we omit to make further reherfall, passing forward to other doings which fell in the meane season, whilst this Cadwan had gouernement of the Britains, reigning as king ouer them the tearme of 22, or (as some say) but 13 yeres, and finallye was slaine by the Northumbers, as before hath bene, and also after shall be shewed.

In the 8 yere after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the 21 yere after the comming of Augustine with his fellowes to preach the faith of Christ here in this realme: and after that Ethelbert had reigned ouer the prouince of Kent the tearme of 56 yeres (as Beda saith, but there are that haue noted three yeres lesse) he departed this world, as aboue is signified, in the yere of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of February, and was buried in the Ile of saint Martine, within the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, without the citie of Cantuarburie, where his wife quene Bartha was also buried, and the foresaid archbishop Augustine that first conuerted him to the faith.

Amongst other things, this king Ethelbert with the aduise of his counsell ordeined diuers lawes and statutes, according to the which decrees of iudgements should passe: those decrees he caused to be written in the English tong, which remained and were in force vnto the daies of Beda, as he declareth. And first it was expessed in those lawes, what amends he should make that stole anie thing that belonged to the church, to the bishop, or to anie ecclesiasticall person, willing by all means to defend them whose doctrine he had receiued.

Eadbald. After the decesse of Ethelbert, his sonne Eadbald succeeded in the gouernment of his kingdom of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increase of the new church amongst the Englishmen in those parties: for he did not onelie refuse to be baptised himselfe, but also vsed such kind of fornication, as hath not bene heard (as the apostle saith) amongst the Gentiles, for he toke to wife his mother in law, that had bene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, manie toke occasion to returne to their heathenish religion, the which whilst his father reigned, either for the prince his pleasure, or for feare to offend him, did professe the Christian faith. But Eadbald escaped not without punishment, to him sent from the liuing God for his euill defects.

The princes example occasion of euill.

inasmuch that he was bered with a certeine kind of madnesse, and taken with an vnclane spirit.

The foresaid forme of vniquiet troubling of the christian congregation, was afterwards greatlie increased also by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the East Saxons, who was conuerted to the faith of Christ, and baptised by Pelitus bishop of London (as before is mentioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the blissefull kingdome of heauen, he left behind him three sonnes as true successors in the estate of his earthlie kingdome, which sonnes likewise refused to be baptised. Their names were Serred, Serward, & Sigebert, men of an ill mind, & such as in whome no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie respect of religion, but speciallie hating the professours of the christian faith. For after their father was dead, they began to fall to their old idolatric, which in his life time they seemed to haue giuen ouer, inasmuch that now they openlie worshipped idols, and gaue libertie to their subjects to do the like.

And when the bishop Pelitus, at the solemnizing of masse in the church, distributed the eucharisticall bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is said) wherefore he did not deliuer of that bright white bread vnto them also, as well as he had bene accustomed to do to their father Saba (for so they vsed to call him.) Vnto whome the bishop made this answer: If you will be washed in that wholesome fountaine, wherein your father was washed, ye may be partakers of that holie bread whereof he was partaker, but if you despise the washpoule of life, ye may by no meanes tast the bread of saluation. But they offended herewith, replied in this wise: We will not enter into that fountaine, for we know we haue no need thereof: but yet neuerthelesse we will be refreshed with that bread.

After this, when they had bene earnestlie and manie times told, that vnlesse they would be baptised, they might not be partakers of the sacred oblation: at length in great displeasure they told him, that if he would not consent vnto them in so small a matter, there should be no place for him within the bounds of their dominion, and so he was constrained to depart. Whereupon he being expelled, resorted into Kent, there to take aduise with his fellow-bishops, Laurence and Iustus, what was to be done in this so weightie a matter. Who finallye resolved vpon this point, that it should be better for them to returne into their countrie, where with free minds they might serue almighty God, rather than to remaine amongst people that rebelled against the faith, without hope to do good amongst them. Wherefore Pelitus and Iustus did depart first, and went ouer into France, minding there to abide till they might see what the end would be. But shortly after, those brethren the kings of Essex, which had expelled their bishop in manner aboue said, suffered worthilie for their wicked doings. For going forth to battell against the West Saxons, they were overthrowen and slaine altogether with all their armie, by the two kings Kingills and Quichelme. But neuerthelesse, albeit the authors of the mischief were thus taken awaie, yet the people of that countrie would not be reduced againe from their diuellish worshipping of false gods, being accustomed thereto in that season by the encouragement and perillous example of their rulers. Wherefore the archbishop Laurence was in mind also to follow his fellowes Pelitus and Iustus: but when he minded to set forward, he was warned in a dreame, and cruelly scourged (as hath bene reported by the apostle saint Peter, who reproveth him) for that he would so vncharitable for sake his flocke, & leaue it in danger without a shepherd to keepe the wolfe from the fold.

Ran. Cest. Beda lib. cap. Serred, Serward, and Sigebert, the sonnes of Sabert.

Beda lib. 2

Beda lib. 1 ca. 8.

The forme of king Sebert slaine.

Edwin Beda lib. ca. 5.

The archbishop imboldened by this vision, and also repenting him of his determination, came to king Caddald, and shewed to him his stripes, and the manner of his dream. The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worshipping of idols, and was baptised, and as much as in him lay, from thenceforth succoured the congregation of the christians, and aduanced the church to his power. He sent also into France, and called home the bishops Pelitus and Justus, so that Justus was restored to his see of Rochester.

But the East Saxons would not receiue Pelitus to his see at London, but continued in their wicked maluemetrie, in obeying a bishop of their pagan late, whom they had erected for that purpose. Neither was king Caddald of that authoritie and power in those parties, as his father was before, whereby he might constrain them to receiue their lawfull bishop. But neuerlie the said king Caddald with his people, after he was once conuerted againe, gaue himselfe wholie to obeie the lawes of GOD, and amongst other deeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church to our ladie at Canturburie, within the monasterie of saint Peter, after wards called saint Agnes. This church was consecrated by Pelitus, who after the death of Laurence succeeded in gouernance of the archbishops see of Canturburie. After Pelitus, who departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Justus that before was bishop of Rochester, was made archbishop of Canturburie, and ordeined one Romanus to the see of Rochester. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber receiued the faith, by occasion (as after shall appere.)

Edwin reigneth ouer the Northumbers, his great power and reputation, a marriage betwene him and Ethelburga the sister of king Eadwald upon religious conuenance, the traitorous attempts of murderous Eumerus against him, his wife Ethelburga is deliuered of a daughter, he assaileth the West Saxons, and discomfitteth them, Boniface the first writeth to him to desist from his idolatrie, and to his ladie to persist in true christianitie; the vision of Edwin when he was a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the East Angles, whereby he was informed of his great exaltation and conuersion to christian religion.

The xxx. Chapter.



Yhaue heard how Eadfred the king of Northumberland was slaine in battell nere to the water of Forde, by Redwald king of the East Angles, in fauour of Edwin whom the said Eadfred had confined out of his dominion, 24 yeeres before. The foresaid Redwald therefore hauing obtained that victorie, found meanes to place Edwin in gouernment of that kingdom of the Northumbers, hauing a title thereto as sonne to Alla or Elle, sometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin proued a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the English nation: not onelie ruling ouer a great part of the countreies inhabited with English men, but also with Britains who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Cheshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and alongst by the west sea coast in Gallogway, and so forth even vnto Dumfriestaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appere in what countreies Cad-

walla bare rule, of whome so often mention is made in this part of the historie. But as concerning Edwin, his reputation was such, as not onelie the English men, Britains and Scots, but also the Isles of Albion, and those of Spain, and others the west Isles of ancient time called Meuanie, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, so as they durst not attempt anie exploit to offend him.

It chanced that shortly after, king Redwald had aduanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeeres, the same Redwald deceased, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwin's power. For the people of the East Angles, which (whilst Edwin remained amongst them as a banished man) had conceived a good opinion of him for his approued valiance and noble courage, offered themselues to be wholie at his commandement. But Edwin suffering Carpwald or Erpwald the sonne of Redwald to inioine the bare title and name of the king of that countreie, ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. Neither was there anie prouidence within Britaine that did not obeie him, or was not ready to do him seruice (the kingdom of Kent onelie excepted) for he suffered the Kentish men to liue in quiet, because he began to haue a liking to the siller of king Caddald, namely the ladie Ethelburga, other wise called Eate or Eace.

He made request therefore by sending ambassadours to his brother, to haue the said ladie in marriage, and at length obtained hir, with condition that she being a christian woman, might not onelie vse the christian religion, but also that all those, whether men or women, priests or ministers, which came with hir, might haue licence to do the same, without trouble or impeachment of anie manner of person. Whereupon she being sent vnto him, there was appointed to go with hir (besides manie other) one Pauline, which was consecrated bishop by the archbishop Justus the 21 of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his coming into Northumberland thus in companie with Ethelburga, traueled earnestlie in his office, both to preferue hir and such christians in the faith of Christ, as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, least they should chanced to fall: and also sought to win some of the pagans (if it were possible) vnto the same faith, though at the first he little profited in that matter.

In the yeare following, there came a murderer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then sojourning in a palace which stood vpon the side of the riuer of Donwent, being sent from Quichelme king of the West Saxons, to the intent to murder Edwin, because he had of late sore dammified the countreies of the West Saxons. This murderer was called Eumerus, & caried vnder his coate a short double edged woodknife mucnomed of purpose, that if the king being but a little hurt therewith, should not die of the wound, yet he should not escape the danger of the poison. This Eumerus on Easter mondaie came to the king, and making forth to him as it had bene to haue declared some message from his master, when he had espied his time, drew his weapon, and offered to strike the king. But one of the kings seruants named Lilla, perceiving this, leapt betwixt the king and the blow. Whom the murderer set the stripe forward with such force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lilla wounded also the king a little: and before this murderer could be beaten downe, he slue another of the kings seruants, a knight that attended vpon him, called Forðher.

The same night Ethelburga was deliuered of a daughter named Canled, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks vnto his gods, in the presence of

W. Malm. tatheth Meuania to be the Isle.

Carpwaldus.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 9.

Math. West. Beda lib. 2. cap. 9. 625

Other say an axe, as Math. West.

Eumerus.

Caused by: ne of

Beda lib. 2.

Beda lib. 2. ca. 8.

Edwin. Beda lib. 2. ca. 5.

of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to give thanks unto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing god eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Welfarons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsundaie next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings household, the being the first of the English Northumbers that was so washed in the fountaine of regeneration.

In the meane time is Edwin being recovered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Welfarons, with whom incountring in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promise to become a christian: notwithstanding he had left his doing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politickelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughe examined.

Now whilest he thus hong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle perswasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and lining God, and to renounce the worshipping of matomeys and idols. The pope wrote also to queene Ethelburga, praiering hir to continue in hir god purpose, and by all meanes possible to doe what might be done for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most moued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as thus.

After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to moue Redwald, either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him waie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mixed with threatnings, he obtained a grant of his fute, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murdered, or else deliuered into his enemies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so aduenture to escape. Edwin being wonderouslie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a slipper part, choosing rather to icopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whom he had giuen his faith.

Whereupon his friend departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued one to come towards him unknowne, and in strange apparel, seeming to him in euerie point a stranger, at which sight (for that he could not imagine who it should be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwin on the other part asked what

he had to doe therewith, and whether he tied to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heauinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, therefore thou art thus peniue, and what evils thou fearest to be towards thee at hand. But tell me, what wouldst thou giue him, that could deliuer thee out of this heauinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither doe thee hurt, nor deliuer thee to thine enemies: Here with when Edwin said that he would gladly giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward: The other said: What wouldst thou giue then, if he should promise in god sooth that (all thine enemies being destroyed) thou shouldst be king, and that thou shouldst passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time: Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with twofold thanks.

Then replied he to his words and said; If he that shall prophesie to thee this good hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinfolke yet haue heard, wouldst thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome aduertisement: Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points followe the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so manie and great calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answer being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saying: When this therefore shall chance to thee, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and those things that thou now doest promise, see thou performe. And therewith he vanished awaie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

[This vnaccustomed course it pleased God to vse for the conuersion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferior sort would generallie be conformed) who otherwise had continued in paganism and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it maie be that there was in him, as in other kings his predecessors, a settled perswasion in gentillish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had proceeded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministration) he was to be renoued from the infidelitie and misbeliefe wherein he was nuzzled and trained by. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obseruation of such rites and customes as haue bene established and left in force by their progenitors, and sooner to stand vnto a desire and earnest purpose of adding some what to their elders corrupt constitutions, and irreligious course of conuersion, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to inuouation: so inferrible is the posteritie to swarue from the traditions of antiquitie, stand the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.]

Edwin still reioicing in the foresaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him; beheld his friend returned that first had brought him forth of his chamber, and decked vnto him good newes, how the king by perswasion of the queene had altered his determination, and minded to staine his quarell to the bittermost of his power: and so he did in deed. For with all diligence he raised an armie, and went against Ethelfred, vanquished him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before ye haue heard).

King

Beda. lib. 2.
cap. 10.

Beda. lib. 2.
cap. 11.

A vision.

Beda. cap. 12.

The honorable
consideration of Edwin.

Edwin con-
sidereth with
his nobles.

The answer
of an heathen
bishop.

King Edwin is put in mind of his vifion by Pauline who faide the fame in fpirit, he is licenced to preach the gofpell, bifhop Coif deſtroieth the idols, Edwin and his people receive the chriſtian faith, his two ſonnes Oſſide and Eadfride become converts, Redwald king of the Eaſtangles is baptiſed, he ſerueth God and the diuell, Sibert receiveth the faith, Felix biſhop of Burgongne commeth over to Honorius archbiſhop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eaſtangles, the Northumbers and Lincolnſhiremen are converted, manie are baptiſed in the river of Trent; king Edwins iuſtice how effectually and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his providence for the reſection of traueillers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbiſhop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutual election of the archbiſhop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to ſuruiue other, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Eaſter and auoiding the Pelagian hereſie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebelleth againſt Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enuieith his good eſtate, Cadwallo and Penda inuade Northumberland, Edwin and his ſonne Oſſide are ſlaine, Penda putteth his other ſonne Eadfride cruelle to death.

The xxvj. Chapter.

Notwithſtanding the former viſion, king Edwin deferred time per he would receive the chriſtian faith, in ſomuch that Pauline vpon a daie came vnto him as he ſat muſing what he were beſt to do, and laid his hand vpon his head, aſking him if he knew that ſigne. Whereat when the king would haue fallen downe at his feet, he liſted him vp, and as it were in familiar wiſe thus ſaid vnto him: Behold, by the aſſiſtance of Gods fauour thou haſt eſcaped the hands of thine enemies, whome thou ſtoodeſt in feare of: behold through his bountious liberalitie, thou haſt obtained the kingdom which thou diddeſt deſire, remember then that thou deſiaie no time to performe the third thing that thou diddeſt promiſe, in receiuing his faith, and keeping his commandments, which deliuereth thee from worldlie aduerſities, hath thus aduanced thee to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee ſetteth and preacheth to thee and others, he will deliuer thee from enerlaſting torments, and make thee partaker with him in his celeſtiall kingdome. It is to be thought that the viſion which the king had in times paſt receiued, was in ſpirit reuealed vnto Pauline, wherevpon without deſaie of time, he put him in remembrance of it in manner as aboue is mentioned. The king hauing heard his words, answered, that he would and ought to receiue the faith which he taught, but firſt he would conferre with his nobles, and if they would agree to do the like, then would they be baptiſed altogether at one time. Pauline ſatisfied herewith, Edwin did as he had promiſed, calling together the wiſeſt men of his realme, and of them aſked the queſtion what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whome his chiefeſt biſhop named Coif, incontinentlie made this anſwer, that Suerlie the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth. For ſaith he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerentlie worſhipped our gods than I haue done, and yet be they manie that haue receiued far greater benefiits at thy hands than I haue done: and therefore if our gods were of anie power, then would they rather helpe me to high honor and dignitie than others. Wherefore if it may be ſo that this new religion is better & more auaillable than our old, let vs with ſpeed embrace the ſame.

Edwin conſulteth with his nobles.

He anſwereth of an heathen biſhop.

Pauline licenced to preach the goſpell. If malice, when other of the kings counsell & men of high authoritie gaue their conſents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appeared more certaintie of ſaluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openlie to preach the goſpell, and renouncing his worſhipping of falſe gods, profeſſed the chriſtian faith. And when he demanded of his biſhop Coif who ſhould firſt deſace the altars of their idols, and the tabernacles wherewith they were compaſſed about: he answered that himſelfe would do it. For what is more meet (ſaith he) than that I, which thorough ſolitiueneſſe haue worſhipped them, ſhould now for example ſake deſtroie the ſame, thorough wiſedome giuen me from the true and liuing God? And ſtreightwaies throlwing aſwaie the ſuperſtition of vanitie, required armour and weapon of the king, with a ſtoned horſe, vpon the which he bring mounted, rode ſorthe to deſtroie the idols.

This was a ſtrange ſight to the people: for it was not lawfull for the biſhop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beaſt, except it were a mare. He hauing therefore a ſword gird to him, took a ſpeare in his hand, and riding on the kings horſe, went to the place where the idols ſtood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had bene ſtrake mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinentlie vpon his coming to the temple, began to deſace the ſame, and in contempt threw his ſpeare againſt it, & reioicing greatly in the knowledge of the worſhipping of the true God, commanded his companie to deſtroie & burne downe the ſame temple with all the altars. This place where the idols were ſometime worſhipped was not farre from Yorke, towards the eaſt part of the river of Dertwent, and is called Gortmundin Gaham, where the foreſaid biſhop by the inſpiration of God deſaced and deſtroied thoſe altars, which he himſelfe had hallowed.

King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptiſed, in the yere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yere of his reigne, and about the 178 yere after the firſt coming of the Engliſhmen into this land. He was baptiſed at Yorke on Eaſter daie (which fell that yere the day before the Ides of April) in the church of S. Peter the apoſtle, which he had cauſed to be erected and built up of timber vpon the ſudden for that purpoſe, and afterwards began the foundation of the ſame church in ſtone-work of a larger compaſſe, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had firſt cauſed to be built: but before he could finiſh the worke, he was ſlaine (as after ſhall be ſhewed) leauing it to be perſormed of his ſucceſſor: Oſwald.

Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was ſix yerres after, in preaching the goſpell in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Chriſt, among whom were Oſſide and Eadfride the two ſonnes of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his baniſhment of his wife Aumburga, the daughter of Cearlas king of Mercia. Alſo afterwards he begot another on his ſecond wiſe Ethelburga, that is to ſay, a ſon called Ethilinus, and a daughter named Ethelfreda, of the which the two firſt died in their cradels, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be briefe: by the kings aſſiſtance & fauour he ſhewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lord, great multitudes of people daily receiued the faith, and were baptiſed of Pauline in many places, but ſpeciallie in the river of Ouse within the prouince of Bernicia, and alſo in ſome other prouince of Deira: for as yet in the beginning this

Pauline licenced to preach the goſpell.

King Edwin with his people receiue the chriſtian faith. Beda lib. 2. cap. 14.

627

Ethilinus.

Pauline ſhewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lord.

of

of the church in those countries; no temples or fons could be builded or created in so short a time.

Of such great zeale was Edwin (as it is reported) towards the setting forth of Gods truth, that he persuaded Carptwald the sonne of Redwald king of the Eastangles to abandon the superstitious worshipping of idols, and to receive the faith of Christ with all his whole province. His father Redwald was baptised in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning home, through counsell of his wife and other wicked persons, he was seduced, and being turned from the sincere puritie of faith, his last doings were worse than his first, so that according to the manner of the old Samaritans, he would seeme both to serue the true God and his false gods; (whom before time he had serued) and in one selfe church had at one time both the sacraments of Christ ministred at one altar, and sacrifice made unto diuels at another.

But Carptwald with in a while after he had receiued the faith, was slaine by one of his owne countrymen that was an ethnie, called Ricthbert, and then after his death, that province for the tearme of three yeeres was wrapp'd in error, till Sibert or Sigibert, the brother of Carptwald, a most christi an prince, and verie well learned, obtained the rule of that kingdom; who whilst he liued a banished man in France during his brothers life time, was baptised there, and became a christian: and when he came to be king, he caused all his province to be partaker of the same fontaine of life, wherein he had bene dipped himselfe.

Unto his goodlie purpose also, a bishop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the archbishop of Canturburie Honorius that was successor vnto Pauline, and declaring vnto him his earnest desire, was sent by the same archbishop to preach the word of life vnto the Eastangles, which he did with such good success, that he converted the whole countrie to the faith of Iesus Christ, and placed the see of his bishoplike at Dunwich, ending the course of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his bishoplike office the space of 17 yeeres. Whereouer Pauline, after that he had converted the Northumbers; preached the word of God vnto them of Lindsey, which is a part of Lincolnshire: and first he persuaded one Blecca the gouernour of the cite of Lincolne to turne vnto Christ, together with all his familie. In that cite he also builded a church of stone worke. Thus Pauline trauelled in the worke of the Lord, the same being greatlie furthered by the helpe of Edwin, in whose presence he baptised a great number of people in the river of Trent, nere to a towne, which in the old English tongue was called Tio vullingaceter. This Pauline had with him a deacon named James, the which shewed himselfe verie diligent in the ministrie, and profited greatlie therein.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verie of worthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countrie, and obseruing of iustice, deserved highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were so banished out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne child alone without other companie, might haue travelled from sea to sea, and not haue encountered with any creature that might haue offered hir iniurie. He was also verie carefull for the advancement of the comoditie & common wealth of his people; in somuch that where there were any sweet and cleare water springs, he caused postes to be set up, and iron dishes to be fastened thereto with chains, that thirsting men might haue the same ready at hand to drinke with; and there was none so hardie as to

touch the same but for that use. He bled wheresoever he went within the cities or elsewhere abroad, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of iustice to be ministred by his roiall authoritie.

In the meane season, pope Honorius the first, hearing that the Northumbers had receiued the faith (as before is mentioned) at the preaching of Pauline, sent vnto the said Pauline the pall, confirming him archbishop in the see of Yorke. He sent also letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherlie aduise to continue and proceed in the waie of vnderstanding, into the which he was entered. At the same time also, because Justus the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that see, pope Honorius sent to the said elect archbishop of Canturburie his pall, with letters, wherein was contained a decree by him made, that when either the archbishop of Canturburie or Yorke chanced to depart this life, he that ensued should haue authoritie to ordeine another in place of him that was deceased, that they should not need to wearie themselves with going to Rome, being so farre distant from them. The copie of which letter is registred in the ecclesiasticall historie of Bede, bearing date the third Ides of June, in the yeere of our Lord 633. The same pope sent letters also to the Scottish people, exhorting them to celebrate the feast of Easter in such due time as other churches of the christian world obserued. And also because the heresie of the Pelagians began to renew againe amongst them (as he was informed) he admonished them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoid it. For he knew that to the office of a pastor it is necessarilie incident, not onelie to exhort, teach, and shew his shepe the waies to a christian life; but also stronglie to withstand all such vniust meanes, as might hinder their proceeding in the truth of religion. For as poison is vnto the bodie, that is heresie vnto veritie. And as the bodie by poison is disabled from all naturall faculties, and viterlie extinguished, vntill by present meanes the force thereof be banquished: so truth and veritie by errors and heresies is manie times choked and recovereth, but neuer strangled.

But now that the kingdom of Northumberland flourished (as before is partly touched) in happy state vnder the prosperous reigne of Edwin, at length, after he had gouerned it the space of 17 yeeres, Cadwallan, or Cadwalla king of Britaine, who succeeded Caduane, as Gal. Mon. saith, rebelled against him. For so it cometh to passe, that nothing can be so sure confirmed by mans power, but the same by the like power may be againe destroyed. Penda king of Mercia enuieing the prosperous proceedings of Edwin, procured Cadwalla to moue this rebellion against Edwin: and joining his power with Cadwalla, they inuaded the countrie of Northumberland souldie together. Edwin hereof aduertised, gathered his people, & came to encounter them, so that both armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a verie sore and bloodie battell. But in the end Edwin was slaine with one of his souldiers named Olfride, and his armes beaten downe and dispersed. Also there was slaine on Edwins part, Goddald king of Denie. Whereouer there was an other of Edwins souldiers named Cadfride, constrained of necessity to giue himselfe into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruellie put to death, contrarie to his promised faith in king Oswalds daies that succeeded Edwin. Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battell, fought at Hatfield afore said, on the fourth Ides of October, in the yeere of our Lord 642, being then about the age of 47 yeeres, and bywards.

This chanced in the yeere 632, as Matt. West. saith, Redwald king of East-angles baptised.

Redwald should serue God and the diuell.

Sibert or Sigibert.

A bishop ordained at Dunwich. Beda lib. 1. cap. 16.

This chanced in the yeere 618, as March. West. saith,

Wil. Malin.

March. West. Beda lib. 1. cap. 16.

Bedalib. 1. 17.

It becometh concerning the archbishop of Canturburie and justus.

The first of Easter. The heresie of the Pelagians.

The cruellie of Penda and Cadwalla.

The archbishop Pauline slayn into Kent.

Cadwalan, or Cadwalla king of Britaine.

Penda king of Mercia.

King Edwin slaine. March. West.

Bedalib. 3. 4. Ofrike king of Deira.

Caused to be slayn.

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo after their victorie, the Britains make no account of religion, Archbishop Pauline with queen Ethelburga fle out of Northumberland into Kent, honorable personages accompanie him thither, Romanus bishop of Rochester drowned, Pauline undertaketh the charge of that see, Ostrike is king of Deira, and Eadfride king of Bernicia, both kings become apostates, and fall frō christianitie to paganisme, they are both slaine within lesse than a yeres space; Oswald is created king of Northumberland, his chiefe practise in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of Britaine hath him in contempt, Oswalds superstitious deuotion and intercession to God against his enimies; both kings ioine battell; Cadwallo is slaine, Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues linked with foule vices, he maketh warre on whom he will without exception.

The xxxij. Chapter.



Cadwallo and Penda hauing obtained the victorie as foresaid, vsed it most cruellie. For one of the capteins was a pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, shewed him selfe more cruell than anie pagan could haue done. So that Penda being a worshipper of false gods with his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no respect to the christian religion which latelie was begun amongst the Northumbers, made haouche in all places where they came, not sparing man, woman nor child: and so continued in their furious outrage a long time in passing through the countrie, to the great decay and calamitie of the christian congregations in those parties. And still the christian Britains were lesse mercifull than Penda his heathenish souldiers. For enen vnto the daies of Beda (as he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the faith or religion of the Englishmen; nor would communicate with them more than with the pagans, because they differed in rites from their accustomed traditions.

When the countrie of the Northumbers was brought into his miserable case by the enimies invasion, the archbishop Pauline taking with him the quene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither, returned now againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honorable receiued of the archbishop Honorius, and king Caddalo. He came thither in the conduct of one Bassus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Canfride the daughter, and Alstrea the sonne of Edwin, & also Jett the sonne of Ostrike Edwins sonne, whom their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold and Oswold did send into France where they died. The church of Rochester at that time was destitute of a bishop, by the death of Romanus, who being sent to Rome vnto pope Honorius, was drowned by the way in the Italian seas. Whereupon at the request of archbishop Honorius, and king Caddalo, Pauline toke vpon him the charge of that see, and held it till he died.

After it was knowne that Edwin was slaine in battell (as before ye haue heard) Ostrike the sonne of his uncle Ostrike toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the preaching and vertuous instruction of Pauline. But the other kingdome of Northumberland called Bernicia, Canfride the son of Ostrike or Odelstred, toke vpon him to gouerne. This Canfride during the time of Edwins reigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuered to the christian faith was baptised. But both these

princes, after they had obtained possession of their earthlie kingdoms, did forget the care of the heauenlie kingdome, so that they returned to their old kind of idolatrie. But almightie God did not long suffer this their vnthankfulness without iust punishment: for first in the next summer, when Ostrike had rashly besieged Cadwallo king of the Britains, within a certeine towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon him, and finding him vnproouided to make resistance, slue him with all his armie. Now after this, whilest Cadwallo not like a conqueror gouerned the prouinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant wassted and destroyed them, in slaying the people in tragical manner, he also slue Canfride, the which with twelue men of warre came vndiscretlie vnto him to sue for peace: and thus within lesse than twelue moneths space both these runagate kings were dispatched.

Then Oswald the sonne of Odelstred, and brother to the foresaid Canfride was created king of the Northumbers, the first in number from Ida. This Oswald after that his father was slaine, liued as a banished person a long time within Scotland, where he was baptised, and professed the christian religion, and passed the flower of his youth in good exercises, both of mind & bodie. Amongst other things he practised the vnderstanding of warlike knowledge, minding so to vse it as it might stand him in stead to defend himselfe from iniurie of the enimies that should prouoke him, and not otherwise. Here vpon Cadwallo king of the Britains made in manner no account of him: for by reason that he had achieved such great victories against the Englishmen, and hauing slaine their two kings (as before is expressed) he ceased not to proceed in his tyrannicall doings, reputing the English people for southful, and not apt to the warre, boasting that he was borne to their destruction. Thus being set vp in pride of courage, he feared no perils, but boldlie without considering at all the skilfull knowledge which Oswald had sufficientlie learned in feates of warre toke vpon him to assaile the foresaid Oswald, that had brought an armie against him, and was encamped in a plaine field nere vnto the wall which the Romans had builded in times past against the inuasion of Scots and Picts.

Cadwallo straight prouoked Oswald to trie the matter by battell, but Oswald forbore the first day, and caused a crosse to be erected in the same place where he was incamped, in full hope that it should be an ensigne or trophie of his victorie, causing all souldiers to make their prayers to God, that in time of such necessitie it might please him to succour them that worship him. It is said, that the crosse being made, and the hole digged wherein it should be set, he toke the crosse in his owne hands, and putting the foot thereof into that hole, so held it till his souldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it by: and then caused all the souldiers to kneele done vpon their knees, and to make intercession to the true and liuing God for his assistance against the proud enimie, with whom they should fight in a iust quarell for the preservation of their people and countrie.

After this, on the next morning he boldlie gaue battell to his enimies, so that a fere and cruell fight ensued betwixt them. At length Oswald perceiued that the Britains began somewhat to faint, and therefore caused his people to renew their force, and more lustilie to presse forward, so that first he put that most cruell enimie to flight, and after pursuing the chase ouertooke him, and slue him with the most part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called Dentiborne, but the place where he caused the crosse to be erected he named Heuensfield. Thus Cadwallo

The two kings of Northumberland slaine.

Oswald began his reigne in the yeare 635. Beda lib. 3. cap. 3.

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.

The archbishop Pauline brought into Kent.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 1. Ostrike king of Deira.

Canfride king of Bernicia.

Beda. Wil. Malm.

wallo the most cruell enimie of the English name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for the which cause they say the Britains did afterwards set vp his image, that the same might be a terror to the enimies when they should behold it.

¶ But here is to be remembred by the Britissh historie of Gal. Mon. it should appeare that Cadwallo was not slaine at all, but reigned vidozionlie for the space of 48 yeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it shall appere. But for that the contrarietie in writers in such points may sooner be perceiued than reformed, to the satisfieng of mens fantasies which are variable, we will leaue euerie man to his libertie to thinke as seemeth him god, noting now and then the diuersitie of such writers, as occasion serueth.

Penda.
636

Penda the sonne of Willba succeded in the gouernement of the kingdome of Mercia after Cearl, and began his reigne in the yere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yeres of age before he came to be king, and reigned 30 yeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to icopard his person in place of danger, assured and readie of remembrance in time of greatest perill. His bodie could not be overcome with anie trauell, nor his mind daunted with greatnesse of businesse. But these his vertues were matched with notable vices, as first with such bitterness of maners as had not bene heard of, crueltie of nature, lacke of courtesie, great vnsatisfiess in performing of word and promise, and of vnruefulable hatred toward the christian religion.

Now upon confidence in these his great vertues and vices from that time he was made king (as though the whole Ile had bene due to him) he thought not god to let anie occasion passe that was offered to make war, as wel against his friends & confederats, as also against his owne swoyne enimies. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more shall appeare hereafter. ¶ Of the kings of the East Saxons & East Angles ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient ye shall find further mention also, and so likewise of the kings of the South Saxons: but because their kingdom continued not past fise successions, little remembrance of them is made by writers.

Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds of his as the Britissh writers haue recorded them, whereupon discord arose betweene Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeres space were linked in friendship, Cadwallo vanquishd his flight, of Pelin the Spanissh wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda and his power besieging Excester, he arreareth battell against the Northumbers, and killeth Edwin their king, he seeketh to expell the Saxons out of the land, Penda slaeth Oswald, whose brother and successor Osunus by gifts and submision obtineth peace, whom Penda spitefullie attempting to kill is killed himselfe, Cadwallo dieth, a brassen image on horssbacke set vp in his memoriall, saint Martins at Ludgate builded.

The xxxviij. Chapter.

Cadwallo,
or Cad-
walline.
635.



Cadwallo or Cadwalline, (for we find him so named) began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 635, in the yere of the reigne of the emperour Phocas 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert King of France. Of this man ye haue heard partlie before touching his dealings and warres against the Northumbers,

and other of the English nation: but forsomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the Britissh writers, we haue thought god in this place to rehearse the same in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find written, leauing the credit still with the authoz, sith the truth thereof may be the more suspected, because ather authozs of god authoritie, as Beda, Henric Huntington, William Malmesburie, and others seeme greatlie to disagree from him herein. But thus it is written.

This Cadwallo and Edwin the sonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride saith, were brought vp in France, being sent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yong. Now after their returne into this land, when they were made kings, Cadwallo of the Britains, & Edwin of the Northumbers, there continued for the space of two yeres great friendship betwixt them, till at length Edwin required of Cadwallo that he might weare a crowne, and celebrate appointed solemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his countrie. Cadwallo taking aduice in this matter, at length by persuasion of his nephue Brian, denied to grant vnto Edwin his request, wherewith Edwin toke such displeasure, that he sent word vnto Cadwallo, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, sith he would not willinglie grant it. Wherto Cadwallo answered, that if he so did, he would cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he presumed to weare anie within the confines of Britaine. Hereof discording betwixt these two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them against the other, and at length joining in batell with their maine forces, Cadwallo lost the field, with many thousands of his men, and being chased fled into Scotland, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally passed the seas into Britaine Armoike, where, of his cousin king Salomon he was courteously receiued, and at length obtained of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his countrie to assist him in recouerie of his lands & dominions, the which in the meane time were cruellie spoiled, wasted and haried by king Edwin.

At the same time Brian the nephue of Cadwallo, whom he had sent into Britaine a little before to sea a certeine ward or Southsayer, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Belitus, that by disclosing the purpose of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwallos enterprises, had fortified the citie of Excester, menting to defend it till the comming of Cadwallo, whereupon Penda king of Mercia besieged that citie with a mightie army, purposing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertised hereof, immediatlie after his arrivall hasted to Excester, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, set vpon his enimies, & toke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other shift to escape, submitted himselfe wholie vnto Cadwallo, promising to become his liegeman, to fight against the Saxons in his quarrell. Penda being thus subdued, Cadwallo called his nobles together which had bene dispersed abroad a long season, & with all speed went against Edwin king of Northumberland, and due him in battell at Hatfield (as before is mentioned) with his son Alfride, and Eadbold king of the Isles of Orknie, which was come thither to his aid. ¶ By this it should appeare, that Fabian hath gathered annie in the account of the reignes of the Britissh kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwin was slaine in the yere of our Lord 634. And where Fabian (as before is said) attributeth that all & diuers other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda with the most part

Edwin was
not slaine
Ethelfred
to Aila, or
le, as in
other
places
is
apparent.

Oswald slaine

Oswald.
March. Weat.
654

678
Matt. Weat.
saith 676.

Cadwallo
daunted
by Edwin.
Cadwallo
slew Brian

634

part of all other writers signifie that it was done by Cadwallo. Harding assigneth but 12 yeres to the reigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he died in the yere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he saith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his seemeth best to agree with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we find them recorded in the British storie. After he had got this victorie against the Northumbers, he cruelly pursued the Saxons, as though he ment so farre as in him lay, to destroye the whole race of them out of the coasts of all Britaine: and sending Penda against king Oswald that succeded Edwin, though at the first Penda received the overthrow at Heanenfeld, yet afterwards Cadwallo himselfe highly displeased with that chance, pursued Oswald, and fought with him at a place called Bourne, where Penda slew the said Oswald. Whereupon his brother Olufus succeeding in government of the Northumbers, fought the favour of Cadwallo now ruling as king over all Britaine, and at length by great gifts of gold and silver, and upon his humble submission, obtained peace, till at length upon spite, Penda king of Mercia obtained licence of Cadwallo to make warres against the said Olufus, in the which (as it hapned) Penda himselfe was slaine. Then Cadwallo after two yeres granted that Alfridus the sonne of Penda should succeed in Mercia.

Oswald slaine

Oswald.
March West.
654

678
March West.
saith 676.

Thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appointment within this land. And finally when he had reigned 48 yeres, he departed this life the 22 of November. His bodie being embalmed and dressed with sweet confectiōs, was put into a brazen image by marvellous art melted and cast, which image being set on a brazen horse of excellent beautie, the Britains set up aloft upon the west gate of London called Ludgate, in signe of his conquests, and for a terror to the Saxons. Whereover the church of S. Martin underneath the same gate, was by the Britains then builded. Thus haue the Britains made mention of their valiant prince Cadwallo, but diuerse thinke that much of this historie is but fables, because of the manifest varieng both from Beda and other antientlike writers (as before I haue said.)

The true storie of the forenamed king Oswald, his desire to restore christian religion, Cormans preaching taking small effect among the Northumbers, persuadeth him to depart into his owne countrie, he slandereth them before the Scottish clergie, Aidan a godlie man telleth the cause of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan cometh into England to instruct the people in the faith, he varieth in the obseruation of Easter from the English churches custome, the Northumbers haue him & his doctrine in reuerence, Oswalds earnest zeale to further religion by Aidans preaching and ministerie, 15000 baptised within 7 daies; Oswald hath the Britains, Scots, Picts, & English at his commandement, his commendable deed of christian charitie, the West Saxons conuerted to the faith by the preaching of Birinus, king Kinigils is baptised, he maketh Birinus bishop of Dorchester, Penda king of Mercia maketh war against the christian kings of the West Saxons, both sides after a bloodie battell fall to agreement, Ercombert the first English king that destroyed idols throughout the whole land, he ordeineth Lent; why English men became monks, and English women nunnēs in monasteries beyond the seas; why Penda king of Mercia enuieith vertuous king Oswald, he is assaulted, slaine in battell, and canonized a saint after his death.

The xxix. Chapter.

Now will we (after all these differing discourses of the British chronologers) approach and draw as nere as we can to the truth of the historie touching Oswald king of the Northumbers, of

whom we find, that after he had tasted of Gods high fauour extended to himwards, in vanquishing his enemies, as one minding to be thankfull therefore, he was desirous to restore the christian faith through his whole kingdome, sore lamenting the decay thereof within the same, and therefore euen in the beginning of his reigne, he sent vnto Donwald the Scottish king (with whom he had bene brought vp in the time of his banishment the space of 18 yeres) requiring him to haue some learned Scottishman sent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the word of life, that with godly sermons and wholesome instructions, he might conuert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and living God, promising to intertaine him with such prouision as apperteined.

At his instance, there was sent vnto him one Cormans, a clerke singularly well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted such facility, and plaine utterance by waie of gentle persuading, as is requisite in him that shall instruct the simple, onelie setting forth in his sermons high mysteries, and matters of such profound knowledge, as the verie learned might scarce perceiue the perfect sense and meaning of his talke, his trauell came to small effect, so that after a yeres remaining there, he returned into his countrie, declaring amongst his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberland was a froward, stubborne and stiff-hearted generation, whose minds he could not frame by any god meanes of persuation to receiue the christian faith: so that he iudged it lost labour to spend more time amongst them, being so vnthankfull and intractable a people, as no god might be done vnto them.

Amongst other learned and vertuous prelates of the Scots, there chanced one to be there present at the same time called Aidan, a man of so perfect life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no other wise than he liued, hauing no regard to the cares of this world, but whatsoeuer was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he freely bestowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the like. This Aidan hearing Cormans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not so much in the people as in the teacher, and therefore declared, that (as he thought) although it were so that the people of Northumberland gaue no such attentue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Cormans, as his godlie expectation was they should haue done, yet might it be that his uttering of ouer manie mysticall articles amongst them, farre aboue the capacitie of the vnderstanding of simple men, was the cause why they so lightlie regarded his diuine instructions, whereas if he had according to the counsell of Saint Paule at the first ministered vnto their tender vnderstandings, onelie milke, without harder nourishments, he might haue wonne a farre greater number of them vnto the receiuing of the faith, and so haue framed them by little and little to haue digested stronger food. And therefore he thought it necessarie in discharge of their duties towards God, and to satisfie the earnest zeale of king Oswald, that some one amongst them might be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by proceeding in this manner afore alledged, what profit would thereof issue.

The bishops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and thereupon not onelie allowed his words, but also willed him to take the iourne vpon him, sith they knew none so able with effect to accomplish their wished desires in that behalfe. Aidan, for that he would not seeme to refuse to take that in hand which he himselfe had motioned, was contented to satisfie their request, and so set forward towards Northumberland,

Oswald meaneth to be thankfull to God for his benefits.
Beda li. 3. cap. 3. 5. 6.
Hector Boet.

Cormans.

Aidan.

S. Paules counsell.

Aidan cometh into England to preach the gospell.

berland, and comming thither, was iofullie receiued of king Oswald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the see of his new bishop-rike.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 3.
Hector Boet.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vse of the new begun church of England, that is to say, touching the time of obseruing the feast of Easter, in like manner as all the bishops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in those daies did, following therein (as they took it) the doctrine of the holie and praise-worthy father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the south parts of Ireland, already were agreed to obserue that feast, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Volueit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himselfe so earnestlie in prayer and preaching, that the people had him within short while in wonderfull estimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with such sweet and pleasant matter, that all men had a great desire to heare him, inso much that sometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, because the audience was more than could haue come in the church.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon tongue. But Oswald himselfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being desirous of nothing so much, as to haue the faith of Christ rooted in the hearts of his subiects, vsed as an interpreter to report vnto the people in their Saxon tongue, such whole sermons as Aidan uttered in his mother tongue. For Oswald hauing bene brought vp (as ye haue hard) in Scotland during the time of his banishment, was as readie in the Scotish, as he was in the Saxon tongue. The people then seeing the kings earnest desire in furthering the doctrine set forth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: so that it was a marvellous matter to note, that numbers of people daile offered themselves to be baptised, inso much that within the space of seven daies (as is left in writing) he christened 15 thousand persons, of the which no small part forsaking the world, betooke themselves to a solitarie kind of life.

Hector Boet.

Thus by his earnest trauell in continuall preaching and setting forth the gospell in that countrie, it came to passe in the end, that the faith was generally receiued of all the people, and such zeale to aduance the glorie of the christian religion daile increased amongst them, that no where could be found greater. Where vpon were no small number of churches built in all places abroad in those parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie consenting (according to the rate of their substance) to be contributoe towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flourished, as well in fame of increase in religion, as also in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: inso much that (as Beda writeth) Oswald attained to such power, that all the nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure tongues (that is to say) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Englishmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or presumption, but shewed himselfe marvellous courteous and gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and strangers.

Oswalds zeale to aduance religion

Beda lib. 5. ca. 6

Oswald had in estimation with his neighbours.

It is said, that he being set at the table vpon an Easter day, & hauing bishop Aidan at dinner then with him, his almoner came in as the bishop was about to say grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks set before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king here with took a siluer dish, which was set on the table before him with meate, & commanded the same meate streightwaies to be distributed amongst the poore, & the dish

broken into small peeces, and diuided amongst them: for which act he was highlie commended of the bishop, as he well deserved. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had bene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the same time, the Westsaxons were conuerted to the christian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a bishop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to set forth the gospell vnto those people which as yet were not baptised. By whose diligent trauell in the Lords haruest, Einigils one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptised about the five & twentieth yeere of his reigne. In Oswald that should haue had his daughter in marriage, was present the same time, who first yer he became a sonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Einigils (that should be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontaine, in that his second birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Einigils (noto that he was become a conuert of christian) appointed and assigned the citie of Dorchester, situate by the Thames, distant from Dorset about seven miles, to be the see of his bishoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earnest trauell & setting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beleefe. In the yeere following, Quichelmus the other king of the Westsaxons, and sonne to Einigils was also christened, and died the same yeere, and so Einigils or Kingils reigned alone.

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that succeeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to sake trouble in one place or other, leauied warre against the kings of Westsaxon, Einigils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirencester, where both the parties fought it out to the uttermost, as though they had forsworne to giue place one to another, inso much that they continued in fight and making of cruell slaughter till the night parted them in sunder. And in the morning, when they saw that if they shuld buckle together againe, the one part should vtterlie destroye the other, they fell to agreement in moderating each others demands.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 640, Cadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, leauing his kingdome to his sonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the first of the English kings, which took order for the vtter destruction of all idols throughout his whole kingdome. He also by his roiall authoritie commanded the fast of fortie daies in the Lent season to be kept and obserued, appointing worthe and competent punishment against the transgressors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, a daughter named Eartongatha, a professed nunne within the monasterie of Bzege or Cala in France: for in those daies, because there were not manie monasteries builded within this land, a great number of Englishmen, that took vpon them the profession of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there professed themselves monks: and manie there were which sent their daughters ouer to be professed nuns within the nunneries there, and speciallie at Bzege, Cala, and Andelie: amongst other, there were Seodike the late wife daughter, and Edelburgh the bastard daughter of the said king Anna, both which in procelle of time were made abbeesses of the said monasterie of Bzege.

We haue heard already, howe Oswald king of Northumberland bare himselfe in all points like a most worthe prince, not ceasing to relieue the necessitie

Beda lib. 3. ca. 3.
Hector Boet.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 9.
Hector Boet.

Polydor.

Dorchester by Thames.

Henr. Hunt.
This church in the year 640, as Beda lib. 3. ca. 9.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 7.
March. Well.

Lent and observed to be kept in England.

Segburga.
Eartongatha.

Penda mu-
beth the North-
umbers.
Beda lib. 3.
cap. 9.
Hector Boet.
March 644.

Will. Malmes.

Ofwie
king of North-
umberland
Beda lib. 3. ca.

644

Bernicia.

berland, and comming thither, was iustlicie receiued of king Oswald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the see of his new bishop-rike.

Beda li. 3. ca. 3.
Hector Boet.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vse of the new begun church of England, that is to say, touching the time of obseruing the feast of Easter, in like maner as all the bishops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in those daies did, following therein (as they toke it) the doctrine of the holie and praise-worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the south parts of Ireland, already were agreed to obserue that feast, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Nowbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himselfe so earnestlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within short while in wonderfull estimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with such sweet and pleasant matter, that all men had a great desire to heare him, inso much that sometime he was glad to preach abroad in church-yards, because the audience was more than could haue come in the church.

Beda.
Oswald an
interpreter to
the preacher.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon tong. But Oswald himselfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being desirous of nothing so much, as to haue the faith of Christ rooted in the hearts of his subjects, used as an interpreter to report vnto the people in their Saxon tong, such whole sermons as Aidan uttered in his mother tong. For Oswald hauing bene brought vp (as ye haue heard) in Scotland during the time of his banishment, was as readie in the Scottish, as he was in the Saxon tong. The people then seeing the kings earnest desire in furthering the doctrine set forth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: so that it was a marvellous matter to note, that numbers of people daile offered themselves to be baptised, inso much that within the space of seven daies (as is left in writing) he christened 15 thousand persons, of the which no small part forsaking the world, betooke themselves to a solitarie kind of life.

Hector Boet.

Thus by his earnest trauell in continuall preaching and setting forth the gospel in that countrie, it came to passe in the end, that the faith was generally receiued of all the people, and such zeale to aduance the glorie of the christian religion daile increased amongst them, that no where could be found greater. Whereupon were no small number of churches built in all places abroad in those parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie consenting (according to the rate of their substance) to be contributie towards the charges. By this means the kingdom of the Northumbers flourished, as well in fame of increase in religion, as also in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: inso much that (as Beda writeth) Oswald attained to such power, that all the nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure tongs (that is to say) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Englishmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or presumption, but shewed himselfe marvellous courteous and gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and strangers.

Beda lib. 5. ca. 6

Oswald had
in estimation
with his
neighbours.

It is said, that he being set at the table vpon an Easter day, & hauing bishop Aidan at dinner then with him, his almoner came in as the bishop was about to say grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks set before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king herewith toke a siluer dish, which was set on the table before him with meate, & commanded the same meate straightwaies to be distributed amongst the poore, & the dish

broken into small peeces, and diuided amongst them: for which ad he was highlie commended of the bishop, as he well deserved. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had bene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the same time, the West Saxons were conuerted to the christian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a bishop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to set forth the gospel vnto those people which as yet were not baptised. By whose diligent trauell in the Lords harvest, Cinigils or Kinigils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptised about the five & twentieth yeare of his reigne. B. Oswald that should haue had his daughter in marriage, was present the same time, who first ver he became a sonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinigils (that should be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontstone, in that his second birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinigils (now that he was become a conuert or christian) appointed and assigned the citie of Dorchester, situate by the Thames, distant from Wexford about seuen miles, to be the see of his bishopricke, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earnest trauell & setting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beleefe. In the yeare following, Nichelmus the other king of the West Saxons, and sonne to Kinigils was also christened, and died the same yeare, and so Cinigilsus or Kinigils reigned alone.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 2.
Birinus conuerted the West Saxons to the christian faith.
Kinigils king of westsaxon becommeth a christian.

Polydor.

Dorchester: he deemed a his bishopricke.

Penda in
death the 3
thumbers
Beda. lib.
cap. 9.
King O
swald slau
Matt. Wc
saith 644.

Will. Ma

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that succeeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to seeke trouble in one place or other, leaued warre against the kings of Westsaxon, Kinigils and Nichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Crenchester, where both the parties fought it out to the uttermost, as though they had forsworne to giue place one to another, inso much that they continued in fight and making of cruell slaughter till the night parted them in sunder. And in the morning, when they saw that if they shuld buckle together againe, the one part should utterlie destroye the other, they fell to agreement in moderating each others demands.

Henr. Huss.

This chaunge in the yeare 620, as Math. West. saith.

After this, in the yeare of our Lord 640, Caddald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, leauing his kingdom to his sonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the first of the English kings, which toke order for the utter destruction of all idols throughout his whole kingdom. He also by his roiall authoritie commanded the fast of forty daies in the Lent season to be kept and obserued, appointing worthie and competent punishment against the transgressors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Cassangles, a daughter named Eartongatha, a professed nunne within the monastrie of Biege or Cala in France: for in those daies, because there were not manie monasteries builded within this land, a great number of Englishmen, that toke vpon them the profession of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there professed themselves monks: and manie there were which sent their daughters ouer to be professed nuns within the nunneries there, and speciallie at Biege, Cala, and Andelie: amongst other, there were Sedrike the latefull daughter, and Edelburgh the bastard daughter of the said king Anna, both which in procelle of time were made abbeesses of the said monastrie of Biege.

640

Beda lib. 3. ca. 7.
March. West.

Kent first becometh to be kept in Eng. land.

Segburga.

Simons.

Oswi
king of
thumbr
Beda li

We haue heard already, how Oswald king of Northumberland bare himselfe in all points like a most worthie prince, not ceasing to relaxe the ne- cessitie

Penda murthered the Northumbrians. Beda lib. 3. cap. 9. King Oswald slain. Matt. Westm. luth. 644.

Will. Malmes.

cellitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby he wan to himselfe exceeding praise and commendation of all good men, and still his fame increased for his vertuous doings; namely, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the christian faith. Whereupon Penda king of Mercia, enuieing the prosperous proceedings of Oswald, as he that could neuer abide the good report of other mens well-doings, began to imagine how to destroy him, and to conquere his kingdome, that he might ioine it to his owne. At length he invaded his countrie by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maserfield, and there in sharpe and cruell fight Oswald was slaine on the first day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned the tearme of eight or nine yeares after some, which account that yeare unto his reigne, in the which his predecessors Ostrike and Eanfride reigned, whome they number not amongst kings, because of their wicked apostasie and renouncing of the faith which before they had professed. Such was the end of that vertuous prince king Oswald, being cruellie slaine by that wicked tyrant Penda. Afterwards, for the opinion conceiued of his holinesse, the foresaid Oswald was canonized a saint, and had in great worship of the people, being the first of the English nation that approued his vertue by miracles shewed after his departure out of this life.

Oswie succeedeth Oswald in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is sore vexed by Penda, Oswie and Oswin are partners in gouernement, they fall at strife, Oswin is betrayed into the hands of Oswie and slaine, a commendation of his personage and goodlie qualities, bishop Aidan dieth, Cenwalch king of the Westsaxons, Penda maketh warre against him for putting away his wife, his flight, he becometh a christian and recouereth his kingdome, bishop Agilbert cometh into Westsaxon, and afterwards departing (upon occasion) is made bishop of Paris, Wini buieth the bishopricke of London; Sigibert king of the Eastangles, the vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by him, he resigneth his kingdome and becometh a monke, he and his kinman Egrie are slaine in a skirmish against Penda king of Mercia.

The xxx. Chapter.

Oswie king of Northumberland. Beda lib. 3. ca. 14



After that king Oswald was slaine, his brother Oswie (being about 30 yeares of age) took upon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, gouerning the same with great trouble for the space of 28 yeares, being sore vexed by the foresaid Penda king of Mercia and his people, which as yet were pagans. In the first yeare of his reigne, which was in the yeare of our Lord 644, Pauline the bishop of Rochester which had bene also archbishop of York departed this life, and then one Thamar an Englishman of the parties of Kent was ordeined bishop of Rochester by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. King Oswie had one Oswin partener with him in gouernment of the Northumbrians in the first beginning of his reigne, which was sonne to Ostrike, so that Oswie gouerned in Bernicia, and Oswin in Deira, continuing in perfect friendship for a season, till at length, through the counsell of wicked persons, that coueted nothing so much as to sow discord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and so began to make warres one against another, so that finally when they were at point to

Bernicia.

haue tried their quarrell in open battell, Oswin perceiuing that he had not an armie of sufficient force to encounter with Oswie, brake vp his campe at Willafredstowe, ten mile by west the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himselfe onclie with one seruant named Condhere vnto the house of earle Hunwald, whome he toke to haue bene his trustie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, the said Hunwald did betraie him vnto Oswie, who by his captaine Edelwine slue the said Oswin and his seruant the foresaid Condhere, in a place called Ingethling, the 13 kalends of September, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, which was after the birth of our Saviour 651.

This Oswin was a goodlie gentleman of person, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of speech, ciuill in maners, and verie liberall both to high & low, so that he was beloued of all. Such a one he was, to be briefe, as bishop Aidan gessed that he should not long continue in life, for that the Northumbrians were not worthy of so good and vertuous a gouernour. Such humblenesse and obedience he perceiued to rest in him towards the law of the Lord, in taking that which was told him for his better instruction in god part, that he said, he neuer saw before that time an humble king. The same Aidan liued not past 12 daies after the death of the said Oswin, whome he so much loued, departing this world the last daie of August, in the seuenteenth yeare after he was ordeined bishop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindesferne. After Aidan, one Finan was made bishop in his place, a Scottisshman also, and of the Ile of Hui, from whence his predecessor the foresaid Aidan came, being first a man of religion professed in the monastirie there (as some writers do report.)

In the meane time, after that Kinggils or Kinggilsus king of the Westsaxons had reigned 21 yeares, he departed this life Anno 643, leaving his kingdome to his sonne Cenwalch or Chentwald, who held the same kingdome the tearme of 30 yeares, or 31 (as some write) in manner as his father had done before him. In the third, or (as others saie) in the first yeare of his reigne, Penda king of Mercia made sharpe warre against him, because he had put away his wife the sister of the said Penda, and in this warre Chentwald was overcome in battell, & driuen out of his countrie, so that he fled vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, with whome he remained the space of a yeare, or (as other say) three yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was growen to be an enemie to the christian religion, but now by the wholesome admonitions and sharpe rebukes of king Anna, he became a christian, and receiued his wife againe into his companie, according to the prescript of Gods law, and (to be briefe) in all things shewed himselfe a new man, embracing vertue, & avoiding vice, so that shortly after (through the helpe of God) he recouered againe his kingdome.

Now when he was established in the same, there came a bishop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but hauing remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the scriptures. This Agilbert comming into the prouince of the Westsaxons, was gladlie receiued of king Chentwald, at whose desire he took upon him to exercise the roome of a bishop there: but afterwards, when the said king admitted another bishop named Wini, which had bene ordeined in France, and knew the tong better than Agilbert, as he that was borne in England: Agilbert offended, for that the king had admitted him without making him of anie counsell therein, returned into France, and there was made bishop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foresaid Wini was

651

Cenwalch. Hen. Hunt.

943

Ran. Higd.

Agilbertus a bishop.

nt was expelled also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia vnto king Wulfhere, of whom he bought the bishopricke of London, which he held during his life, and so the countrie of Wessaron remained long without a bishop, till at length the said Agilbert at the request of king Chenwald sent to him Clutharius that was his nephew.

Sigibert.

Beda lib. 3.
cap. 4.

The vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by king Sigibert.

Bale saith 636.

Sigibert resigneth his kingdom to Egicus.

Sigibert and Egicus slain.

652
Baleus.
Beda lib. 3.
cap. 19.
Furcus.

Y^e haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succeeded in rule of the Eastangles, a man of great vertue and worthinesse, who whilst he remained in France as a banished man, being constrained to flee his countrie vpon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countrie, and obtaining at length the kingdome, those things which he had seene well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and hereupon considering with himselfe that nothing could more advance the state of the common-wealth of his countrie than learning & knowledge in the tongues, began the foundation of certeine scholes, and namely at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning vnder appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained vp than before time had bene within this land, to the furtherance of true religion and vertue.

So that England hath good cause to haue in thankful remembrance this noble prince king Sigibert, for all those his learned men which haue bin brought vp & come forth of that famous vniuersitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation whereof was thus begun by him about the yeare of our Lord 630. At length when this worthy king began to grow in age, he considered with himselfe how hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a realme as appertained to the dutie of a god king, whereupon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yeres, and to lue from thenceforth a priuat kind of life, and so resigning the administration vnto his kinsman Egicus, he became a monke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbeie.

Shortly after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruell ethnik tyrant) made sore waikes vpon Egicus, whereupon the people of Eastangles compelled Sigibert to come forth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the field against Penda. Sigibert being thus constrained against his will, would not put on armour or beare any other kind of weapon, than onely a wand in his hand in stead of a scepter, and so the armie of the Eastangles in hope of good speed by the presence of Sigibert, joined in battell with their enemies, but the Eastangles were finally vanquished, and the more part of them slain, together with Sigibert and his cosen Egicus their king. This happened in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour (as some haue noted) 652.

In the daies whilst Sigibert as yet ruled the Eastangles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Furcus, who comming into the countrie of the Eastangles, was gladly receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbeie of Cumburge, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdom, was professed a monke. Of this Furcus manie things are written, the which for brieuenesse we ouerpasse. After that Felix the bishop of the Eastangles was dead, one Thomas was ordeined in his place, who after he had bene bishop five yeres, died, and then one Weretgils was ordeined in his come by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of

his naturall life, deceased also the last of September in the yeare of our Lord 653.

Anna king of Eastangles is slain by Penda king of Mercia, his brother succeeding him is slain also by Oswie king of Northumberland, the Mercians or Middleangles receive the faith vnder vertuous Peda their prince, he requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumblands daughter in marriage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose means the Eastaxons embraced christian religion vnder Sigibert their king, he is murdered of two brethren that were his kinsmen vpon a conceiued hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe companie with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

The saint king Peda

Beda lib. 3.
cap. 22.

The xxxj. Chapter.

After Egicus succeeded Anna, Anna the sonne of Enus in the kingdome of Eastangle, and was likewise slain by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that invaded his countrie. He left behind him manie children, but his brother Edelhere succeeded him in gouernment of the kingdome, who was slain by Oswie the king of Northumberland, together with the foresaid Penda, and worthilie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slain his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdome. After this, when the see of Canturburie had bene vacant by the space of one whole yeare and six moneths, one Deus dedid of the countrie of the Wessarons, was elected and consecrated by Ithamar the bishop of Rochester, on the 7 kalends of Aprill. He gouerned the church of Canturburie by the tearme of nine yeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Ithamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countrie of Suffer.

Anna.
Will. Malm.

Edelhere.
of Eastangle.

Deus dedid

King Sigibert receiveth the faith.

This was about the year 649, as M. West. hath told.

Eda.

Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 21.
653.

Peda of Mercia king of Eastangles.

Ed of Eastangle.

Edelhere.

About this time, the people of Mercia commonly called Middleangles, receiued the christian faith vnder their king named Peda or Peda, the sonne of Penda king of Mercia, who being a towardlie yong gentleman, and worthy to haue the guiding of a kingdome, his father Penda advanced him to the rule of that kingdome of the Middleangles during his owne life. [Where mate you note, that the kingdome of the Middleangles was one, and the kingdome of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were gouerned by one king.] This yong Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requiring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in marriage: but when he was informed that he might not haue her except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestiall ioyes and immortallitie, by the resurrection of the flesh in the life to come, he said that whether he had kinges daughter to wife or not, he would fuerlie be baptised, and chieslie he was perswaded thereunto by his kinsman Alchfled, who had in marriage his sister the daughter of Penda named Cimburch.

Wherefore he was baptised by bishop Finnan, with all those which came thither with him, at a place called At the wall, and taking with him foure priests which were thought mete to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great top into his owne countrie. The names of those priests were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Dinna, of the which, the last was a Scot by nation, and the other were Englishmen.

The saying of
king Penda.

Beda lib. 3.
cap. 22.

King Sig-
bert receiveth
the faith.

This was a-
bout the yere
649. as March.
West-hyth no-
ted.

Cedda.

Cedda, Cedda
bishop of the
East-saxons.

Essex.

glisthmen. These priests comming into the prouince
of the Middle-angles, preached the word, and were
well heard, so that daile a great number of the no-
bilitie & communalitie renouncing the filthie dregs
of idolatrie, were christened. Neither did king Penda
forbid the preaching of the gospell within his prou-
ince of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those
whome he knew to haue professed themselves christi-
ans, and yet shewed not the works of faith, saing,
that those were wretches and not to be regarded,
which would not obeye their God in whome they be-
lieued. This alteration of things began, about two
yeres before the death of king Penda.

About the same time, the East-saxons at the in-
uasion of Oswie king of Northumberland, re-
ceiued oftentimes the faith which they had renounced,
when they banished their bishop Peliculus. He haue
heard that Herberd, Sward, and Sigibert brethren,
and the sonnes of king Sabert (which brethren occa-
sioned the reuolting of that prouince from the faith of
Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of West-
saxon, after whome succeeded Sigibert surnamed the
little sonne to the middlemost brother Sward, as
some write. This Sigibert the little left the kingdome
to another Sigibert that was sonne to one Sige-
bald the brother of king Sabert, which second Sigi-
bert reigned as king in that prouince of the East-
saxons, being a most expectall friend of king Oswie,
so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland
to visit him, whereupon king Oswie ceased not most
earnestlie at times conuenient to exhort him to re-
ceiue the faith of Iesus Christ, and in the end by such
effectuall persuasions as he used, Sigibert gaue cre-
dit to his words, and so being conuerted, receiued
the sacrament of baptism by the hands of bishop
Finian, at the kings house called, Ac the wall, so
named, because it was built nere to the wall which
the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ile, as is of-
ten before remembred, being twelue miles distant
from the east sea.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the christian
faith, when he should returne into his countrie, re-
quied king Oswie to appoint him certeine instruc-
tors and teachers which might conuert his people to
the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his
request, sent vnto the prouince of the Middle-angles,
calling from thence that vertuous man Cedda, and
assigning vnto him another priest to be his associat,
sent them vnto the prouince of the East-saxons, there
to preach the christian faith vnto the people. And
when they had preached & taught through the whole
countrie, to the great increase and enlarging of the
church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda re-
turned home into Northumberland to conferre of
certeine things with bishop Finian which kept his
see at Lindesferne, where vnderstanding by Cedda
the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper
vnder his hands, in aduancing the faith among the
East-saxons, he called to him two other bishops, and
there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the East-
saxons.

Whereupon, the same Cedda returned vnto his
cure, went forward with more authoritie to per-
forme the worke of the Lord, & building churches in
diuerse places, ordeined priests and deacons which
might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministration
of baptizing, speciallie in the citie of Thancester vpon
the riuers of Trent, and likewise in Eborage on
the riuers of Thames. Whilste Ced was thus bu-
sied to the great comfort and ioy of the king and all his
people, in the setting forward of the christian religion
with great increase daile proceeding, it chanced thro-
ugh the indignation of the deuill, the common ene-
mie of mankinde, that king Sigibert was murthe-

red by two of his owne kinsmen who were bar-
thers, the which when they were examined of the
cause that should moue them to that wicked fact,
they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it be-
cause they had conceiued an hatred against the king,
for that he was too fauourable towards his enemies,
and would with great mildnesse of mind forgive in-
juries committed against him: such was the kings
fault for the which he was murdered, because he ob-
serued the commandements of the gospell with a de-
uout hart.

Notwithstanding, in this his innocent death, his
offense was punished, wherein he had suerlie trans-
gressed the lawes of the church. For whereas one of
them which slue him kept a wife, whome he had un-
lawfullie married, and refused to put hir away at the
bishops admonition, he was by the bishop excom-
municated, and all other of the christian congrega-
tion commanded to abstaine from his companie.
This notwithstanding, the king being desired of him
came to his house to a banquet, and in his comming
from thence met with the bishop, whome when the
king beheld, he wasd astraide, and alighted from his
horse, and fell downe at his feet, beseeching him of
pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on
horsebacke likewise alighted, and touching the king
with his rod which he had in his hand, as one some-
thing displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie
of a bishop, spake these words; Because (saith he) thou
wouldest not abstaine from entring the house of that
wicked person being accursed, thou shalt die in the
same house: and so it came to passe.

The authori-
tie of a bishop.

Suidhelme king of the East-saxons, he
is baptised, the bishoplike exercises of Ced
in his natie countrie of Northumberland; E-
diswald K. of Deira reuerenceth him, the kings
deuout mind to further and enlarge religion; the ma-
ner of consecrating a place appointed for a holie use; the old or-
der of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced dieth; warre betweene Os-
wie and Penda, Oswie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter
a perpetuall virgin to God if he got the victorie, he obtineth
his request and performeth his vow, the liueth, dieth, and
is buried in a monastrie, the benefit insuing Oswies
conquest ouer his enemies, the first second and
third bishops of Mercia, the victorious pro-
ceeding of king Oswie: prince Penda
his kinsman murdered of
his wife.

The xxxij. Chapter.



After Sigibert succeeded
Suidhelme in the kingdome
of the East-saxons, he was the
son of Herbald, and baptised
of Ced in the prouince of the
East-angles, at a place of the
kings there called Kendles-
ham. Ediswald king of the
East-angles (the brother of king Anna) was his
godfather at the fontaine. Ced the bishop of the
East-saxons used oftentimes to visit his countrie of
Northumberland where he was borne, and by prea-
ching exhorted the people to godlie life. Whereupon it
chanced that king Ediswald the son of king Oswald
which reigned in the parties of Deira, moued with
the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in
great reuerence: and therefore vpon a god scalc and
great deuotion, willed him to chuse forth some plot
of ground where he might build a monastrie, in the
which the king himselfe and others might prete,
heare sermons the oftener, and haue place there to
burie the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings
mind, at length espied a place amongst high and dre-
scit

Suid-
helme.
Beda lib. 3.
cap. 22.
Matt. V. c.

Beda lib. 3.
cap. 23.

fert mounteins, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called Ledinghem.

The manner of
the old fast.

Wherefore meaning first of all to purge the place with pzaier & fasting, he asked leave of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euerie daie (sundaie excepted) from the morning untill evening, according to the maner, nor receined anie thing then but onlie a little bread, and a hens eg, with a little milke mixt with water: for he said that this was the custome of them of whome he had learned the forme of his regular order, that they should consecrate those places unto the Lord with pzaier and fasting, which they latelie had received to make in the same either church or monasterie.

Lindesferne
holie Island.

And when there remained ten daies of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appointed a brother which he had, being also a priest named Cimbil, to supplie his roome, that his begun religious wayke should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accomplished, he ordeined a monasterie there, appointing the monks of the same to live after the rules of them of Lindesferne where he was brought up. Finally the bishop Ced coming into this monasterie afterwards by chance in time of a sickness, died there, and left that monasterie to the gouernance of another brother which he had named Ceadda, that was after a bishop, as afterwards shall be shewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all priests, Ced, Cimbil, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were bishops, as before is said.

Beda. lib. 3.
cap. 24.

About the same time, Oswie king of Northumberland was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda king of Mercia, so that he made great offers of high gifts, and great rewards unto the said Penda for peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant betterlie to haue destroyed the whole nation of Oswies poeple, so that Oswie turning himselfe to seeke helpe at the hands of the almightie, said: If the pagan refuse to receiue the gifts which we offer, let vs make offer unto him that knoweth how to accept them: and so binding himselfe by vow, promised that if he might obtaine victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginitie: and further would giue twelue manors, lordships or farmes to the building of monasteries: and so with a small armie he put himselfe in hazard of battell.

war betweene
king Oswie
& king Penda

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble capteins or colonels, against whome came Oswie with his sonne Alchfrid, hauing but a small armie, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Iesus. His other son Cegfrid remained in hostage at that time with quene Cinnise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald that gouerned Deira, & ought to haue aided Oswie, was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and against his brie, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would follow. The battell being begun, the thirtie pagan capteins were ouerthrowne and put to flight, and those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine, among whome was Edilhere king of the East Angles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought nere to the water of Intwet, the which being risen as then by reason of great raies, drowned more of the enimies than died of the Northumbres swords.

The victorie
of the North-
umbres.

After that Oswie had obtained this victorie, he performed promise in bestowing his daughter to the profession of virginitie, and also gaue the twelue manors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia, containing euerie of them ten houtholds a peece. El

Edred.

sed also king Oswies daughter was professed in the monasterie of Hethew, where one Hilda was abbess, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten houtholds in Streanthall, now called Whitbie, builded a monasterie there, in the which first the said Edred was a novice, and after a ruler, till at length being of the age of fortie yeeres she departed this life, and was buried there, and so likewise was hir mother Cusled, and hir grandfather Edwin, with manie other high estates within the church of saint Peter the apostle. The victorie aboue mentioned got by king Oswie in the countrie of Loides on the 17 kalends of December, & in the thirtieth yeere of his reigne, happened to the great commoditie and gaine of both the people, for by the same he deliuered his countrie of Northumberland from the cruell destruction made in the same by the pagan people of Mercia, and converted those pagans themselves, and the countries nere adioining to them whole unto the faith of Iesus Christ.

The first bishop in the prouince of Mercia, and also of Lindesferne and the Spidleangles was one Dimma, who died amongst the Spidleangles. The second was Cellach, the which leauing his bishopricke returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scots. The third was an Englishman named Trumhere, but instructed and ordeined of the Scots. He was abbat of the monasterie of Angethlingum, being builded in that place where king Oswin was slaine (as before is mentioned). For quene Cusled that was his kinswoman got of hir husband king Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to build that abbeie upon.

King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, gouerned the people of Mercia, and also other of the south prouinces, & subdued a great part of the British nation to the English dominion. About the same time king Oswie gaue unto Penda the son of king Penda (because he was his kinsman) the countrie of the Southmerces, containing 5000 houtholds, and separated from the Northmerces by the riuer Trent. The countrie of the Northmerces contained in those daies 7000 houtholds. But Penda in the next spring was wickedlie murdered through the treason of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast of Easter.

The dukes of Mercia rebell against Oswie, recouer their owne bounds, and create

Wulhere their king; Cenwald king of the Westsaxons fighteth with the Britains and preuaileth, he is vanquished by Wulhere; Adelwold king of Suffex hath the Ile of Wight giuen him, and why; succession of Edilher, Edilwald, and Aldulfe in the kingdome of East Angles; Colman a Scot first made bishop of Northumberland, controuersie about the obseruation of Easter, about bald crownes or shauing the haire, superstition punished by God, Ceadda bishop of Yorke, his course of life and diligence in his office commended; Egbert king of Kent, the see of Canturburie void, the preferment thereto refused, Theodore a moone supplieth the roome at the popes appointment, all the English clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and reformation, singing vsed in churches, Theodore and Adrian worthilie praised, English men happie, glaiers first brought into this Island.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



After three yeeres were compleat, next ensuing the death of king Penda, the dukes of the countrie of Mercia, Ammin, Caba, and Cabbert rebelled against king Oswie, advancing one Wulhere a young gentle-
man

Hertebp
faith Matt.
West.
Hilda

Wulfhe
Beda. lib. 3.
cap. 24.

Loides.

Hertebp
Matt. West

The first bi-
shop of Mercia.

The first
put to flight
by Thent

Chenfo
vanquish
by Wulph

Wulph
Souther

The bishop
was proce-
ding of king
Oswie.

Southmercia

Northmercia

6 & 9
Matt. West

Beda. lib.
cap. 24.
Colman
benedict

Beda. lib.
cap. 25.

Contro
about the
officiation

Cap. 6.

66

Beda. lib. 3.
cap. 24.

man the sonne of Beda, and brother to Beda, whom they had kept in secret to be their king, and expelling the lieutenants of king Oswie, they recovered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and so living in freedom with their owne naturall king the foresaid Tullthere, they also continued with glad hearts in service of the celestiall king our God and Saviour.

Tullthere.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 24.

This Tullthere governed the Mercies seven-
tene yeares, the which Mercies (during the
reigne of the said Tullthere) had foure bishops suc-
cessiue governing the church of that province one
after another, as the above mentioned Trunthere,
Taranan, Ceadda, and Wulfred, as hereafter shall
more at large appeare.

Wulfred.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 24.

About the beginning of king Tullthers reigne,
that is to say, in the seuententh yeare of the reigne
of Chetwald king of the Westsaxons, the same
Chetwald fought with the Britains at Pennum,
where the Britains being assembled in great num-
ber, proude incountred with the Englishmen, and
at the first put them to the worst, but when the En-
glishmen would in no wise giue ouer, but did stick
to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to
flight, so that the posteritie of Britie received that
day an incurable wound. But within thre yeares
after, that is, in the ninetenth yeare of the reigne
of the said Chetwald, he had not the like lucke in bat-
tell against the foresaid Tullthere king of Mercia,
as he had before against the Britains, for the said
Tullthere vanquishing him in the field, passed
through his countrie with a great armie vnto the
Ile of Wight, which he conquered, and deliuered it
vnto Adelwald king of Sussex, as a gift at that
time, when he receiued him at the fontaine after
he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto A-
delwald that Ile, to the end he should cause the peo-
ple there to receiue the faith and religion of Christ.
Now after that Edelhere king of Eastangles was
slaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edel-
wald succeeded him in that kingdome, reigning as
king thereof by the space of nine yeares. Then af-
ter Edelwald succeeded Aldulf the son of Edel-
here in government of that kingdome, and reigned
25 yeares.

Chetwald

vanquished
by Tullthere.

Adelwald of
Sussex.

Beda lib. 3.

cap. 24.

Colman or-
dained bishop.

Beda lib. 3.

cap. 25.

After Finan bishop of the Northumbers that held
his see at Lindesferne, as Aidan did before him, one
Colman was ordeined bishop, a Scot bozne, and
an earnest obseruer of the customes used amongst
them of his nation, so that when the controuersie be-
gan to be reuiued for the holding of the feast of Cas-
ter, he would by no meanes yeld to them that
would haue perswaded him to haue followed the
rite of the Romane church. There was a great dis-
putation kept about this matter, and other things,
as shewing or cutting of beares, and such like in the
monasterie of Whitbie, at the which king Oswie and
his sonne Alfrid were present, where Colman for
his part alledged the custome of Iohn the euan-
gelist, and of Anatholius; and the contrarie side
brought in pzoofe of their opinion, the custome of
Peter and Paul. At length, when bishop Colman
perceiued that his doctrine was not so much regar-
ded, as he thought of reason it ought to haue bene,
he returned into Scotland with those, which taking
part with him, refused to obserue the feast of Easter
according to the custome of the church of Rome, nor
would haue their coloues shauen, about which
point no small reasoning had bene kept. This dis-
putation was holden in the yeare of our Lord 664,
and in the yeare of the reigne of king Oswie 22,
and 20 yeare after the Scotishmen began first to
beare the office of bishops within Northumberland,
which was (as W. Harison saith) 624. For Aidan
gouerned 17 yeares, Finan 10 yeares, & Colman 3

Controuersie
about shewing
of coloues.

Cap. 6.

664

yeares. After that Colman was returned into
his countrie, one Tuda that had bene brought vp
amongst the Southerne Scots, and ordeined bi-
shop by them, succeeded in his come, having his
coloues shauen, and obseruing the feast of Easter
according to the custome of the province and rite of
the Romane church. The same yeare, there chanced
a great eclipse of the sunne, the third of Maie about
10 of the clocke in the day. A great dearth and mor-
talitie ensued, both in all the parties of this our Bri-
taine, and likewise in Ireland. Amongst other,
the foresaid bishop Tuda died, and was buried in
the abbeie of Pegnalech. After this Tuda, succe-
ded in gouernement of the church of Lindesferne,
otherwise called Holie Island, one Wulfred, which
was sent by king Alfrid into France, to be orde-
ned there.

Tuda orde-
ned bishop.

Cap. 27.
Eclipse.
Dunishment.
of God for pel-
ding to super-
stition.

Wulfred bi-
shop.

About the same time king Oswie, the father of
king Alfrid, moued with the good example of his
sonne, sent Ceadda, the brother of Ced sometime
bishop of the Eastsaxons into Kent, to be ordeined
bishop of Dorke, but at his comming into Kent he
found that Deus dedit the archbishop of Cantur-
rie was dead, and none other as yet ordeined in
his place, so that Ceadda repaired into the province
of the Westsaxons, where he was ordeined by
bishop Wini, who took two other bishops of the
British nation vnto him to be his associates, which
used to obserue the feast of Easter contrarie to the
custome of the Romane church. But there was no o-
ther christ, sith none other bishop was then canon-
icallie ordeined in the province of the Westsaxons
in those daies, this Wini onlie excepted, and there-
fore was he constrained to take such as he might
get and prouide.

Cap. 18.

Ceadda orde-
ned arch-
shop of Dorke.

After that Ceadda was thus ordeined, he began
forthwith to follow the true rules of the church,
lined right chastite, shewed himselfe humble and con-
fident, applied his studie to reading, and trauelled
abroad on foot and not on horsebacke through the
countreies, to tomes, and villages, to preach the
word of God. He was the disciple of Aidan, and co-
uerted by his example, and also by the example of
Ced, to instruct his hearers with the like doings &
maners as he had knowen them to do. Wulfred al-
so being consecrated bishop, and returned into
England, intended to plant the orders of the Ro-
mane church in the churches of England, whereby it
came to passe, that the Scots which inhabited a-
mongst the Englishmen, were constrained either
to follow the same, or else to returne into their owne
countrie.

In this meane time, king Ercombert being de-
parted this life, after he had gouerned the Ken-
tishmen by the space of twentie yeares, his sonne
Egbert succeeded him in the kingdome, and reig-
ned nine yeares. There is little remembrance of
his doings, which in that short time were not much
notable, except ye will ascribe the comming into
this land of the archbishop Theodorus, and the ab-
bat Adrian vnto his glorie, which chanced in his time.
For in the yeare of the great eclipse and sore mor-
talitie that ensued, it chanced that both king Ercom-
bert, & the archbishop Deus dedit departed this life,
so that the see of Canturburie was void a certaine
time, in so much that king Egbert, who succeeded
his father Ercombert, together with king Oswie,
did send one Wighart a priest of good reputation for
his excellent knowledge in the scriptures, vnto
Rome, with great gifts and rich vessels of gold and
silver, to be presented vnto the pope, requiring him
that he should ordeine the foresaid Wighart arch-
shop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the English
church. But this Wighart comming vnto Rome,
and

Egbert
king of Kent.

Beda lib. 3.
cap. 9.
Wighart.

and declaring his message unto Vitalianus: then goinge to the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that cite) with all those that came with him.

Beda. lib. 4.
cap. 1.

Adrian.

The pope then taking aduice whome he might ordeine vnto the see of Canturburie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a monke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a rōme, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a monke also, wherevnto the pope consented. But when Andrew was preuented by death, effrones Adrian should haue bene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodoro an other monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the cite of Tharsus in Cilicia, verie well learned both in the Greke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeares, as of 76. This Theodoro by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturburie, with condition, that Adrian should neuertheless attend vpon him into England, both for that he had bene twise before this time in France, and so knewe the coasts; and againe, for that he might assist him in all things, and looke well to the matter, that Theodoro should not bring into the church of England anie rite or custome of the Grekes, contrary to the vse of the Romane church. Theodoro being first ordeined subdeacon, carried foure moneths till his heare was growen, that he might haue his crowne shauen after the maner of Peter. For he was rounde or shauen after the maner of the East church, which was as they persuaded themselves, according to the vse of saint Paule the apostle. And so at length was this Theodoro ordeined archbishop of Canturburie by pope Vitalianus in the yeare of our Lord 668, the first kalends of June, and with Adrian sent into Britaine.

Theodoro ordeined archbishop of Canturburie.
668

These with their retinue came to France, and being come thither, shortly after king Egbert had knowledge thereof: wherevpon with all convenient speed he sent ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was staied for a time, because he was suspected to haue had some commission from the emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of the realme of France. Doubtless, after it was perceiued that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so coming vnto Canturburie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodoro came thus vnto his church of Canturburie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundae. He gouerned the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daies, and was the first archbishop to whome all the churches of England did acknowledge their obedience.

Being accompanied with the foresaid Adrian, he visited all the parts of this land, ordeined bishops and ministers in churches where he thought convenient, and reformed the same churches as seemed to him needfull, as well in other things which he mistooke, as also in causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the rite and vsage of the church of Rome. Ceadda that was bishop of Dorke, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the see of Dorke, and Wilfrid was therevnto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraced of his degree of bishop) liued yet a priuat kind of life, till he was admitted bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. Also whereas before time there was in maner no singing in the English churches, except it were in Kent, now they began in euerie church to vse sin-

Ran. Cest.
Math. Wef.

Beda.

Singing in churches brought in by.

ging of diuine seruice after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodoro finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bishop named Damian, ordeined one Putta a simple man in worldlie matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, and namely well sene in song and musike to be vsed in the church after the maner as he had learned of pope Gregories disciples.

Putta bishop of Rochester.

The worshipfull praise of Theodoro and Adrian.

Englishmen happy and wholy.

Beda, Benedictus by Benedictus, Benedictus.

To be briefe, the archbishop Theodoro, and the abbat Adrian deserved great commendation in this, that whereas they were notable well learned themselves in the Greke and the Latine tongues, and also had good knowledge as well in the librell arts, as in the scripture, they took great paines to traine by scholars in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not sene more hapie times than in those daies, hauing as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in feare of them; and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof diuers being giuen to studie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greke and Latine. There came in company of the said archbishop from Rome, an Englishman named Benedictus, which had taken vpon him the habit of a monke in Italie, and now returning into his countrie, builded two abbies, the one named Wilremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuer of Ware, and the other Cirwic, distant from Wilremouth about fiew miles, and from the towne of Melwcastle foure miles, situated nere to the mouth of Tine. Wilremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Cirwic in the yeare 673. There were a 600 monks found in those two houses, and gouerned vnder one abbat. The said Benedictus was the first that brought glassers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went fiew times to Rome, and came againe.

670

Glassers first brought into England, Ran. Cest.

Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne ouer the East Saxons, the one falleth from, the other cleaueth to the faith, Vulfhere king of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redresse that apostasie of the prince and the people, Ceadd bishop of Mercia, the king of that countrie hath him in his reputation, Egfrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops holden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canons by Theodoro archbishop of Canturburie, Bishynable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedie therefore; Kenwalke of a very euill prince becometh a verie good ruler, his wife gouerneth the kingdome after his death, Elcuius succeedeth him in the roome, of Thunnir a murderer king Egberts principall vicegerent, bishop Winfrid depofed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the East Saxons a professed monke, his death.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



About the same time, after that Suidhelme king of the East Saxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sighbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suidward succeeded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they were subiect vnto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mostaltie reigned, renounced the faith of Christ, with that part of the people which he had in gouernement, for both the same Sighere and others of his chieftest lords, and also part of his commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their idolish churches, and fell to the worshipping of idols, as though thereby they should haue bene defended

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 39.

Math. Wef

Egfrid.

Beda. lib. 4. cap. 5.

Math. Wef

673

A synod holden at Herford.

Articles proposed by Theodoro

from that mortalitye. But his associat Sebbie with great deuotion continued steadfast in the faith which he had receiued.

King Wulfhere being informed of Sebbies apostasie, and how the people in his part of the prouince of Eastsaxons were departed from the faith, sent thither bishop Jaruman or Jaroman, that was successour vnto Crumhere, which bled such diligence and goodlie meanes, that he reduced the said king and all his people vnto the right beliefe, so as the idolish synagogs were destroyed, and the idols also with their altars quite beaten downe, the christian churches againe set open, and the name of Christ establisht called vpon amongst the people, coueting now rather to die in him with hope of resurrection in the world to come, than to live in the seruice of idols, spotted with the filth of errors and false beliefe. And thus when bishop Jaroman had accomplished the thing for the which he was sent, he returned into Mercia.

After this, when the said Jaroman was departed this life, king Wulfhere sent vnto the archbishop Theodorus, requiring him to provide the prouince of the Mercies of a new bishop. Theodorus not minding to ordeine anie new bishop at that time, required Oswie king of Northumberland, that bishop Ceadd might come into Mercia to exercise the office of bishop there. This Ceadd liued as it were a priuat life at that time in his monasterie of Llesingham, for Willfrid held the bishopricke of Dorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amongst the Mercians also, so farre as king Oswies dominion stretched. Therefore Ceadd hauing licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiued of king Wulfhere, and well entertained, in so much that the said king gaue vnto him lands and possessions conteining families or households to build a monasterie in a certaine place within the countrie of Lindsey called Etbearne. But the see of his bishopricke was assigned to him at Lichfield in Stafforshire, where he made him a house nere to the church, in the which he with 7 or 8 other of his brethren in religion bled in an oratorie there to praie and reade, so often as they had leasure from labour and businesse of the world. Finalie, after he had gouerned the church of Mercia by the space of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing 7 daies warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he should die, after a miraculous maner, which because in the iudgement of the most it may seme mere fabulous, we will omit and passe ouer. His bodie was first buried in the church of our ladie, but after that the church of saint Peter the apostle was builded, his bones were translated into the same.

In the yeare of our Lord 671, which was the second yeare after that Theodorus the archbishop came into this land, Oswie king of Northumberland was attached with a greiuous sicknesse, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 58 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 28 yeares complet.

After Oswie, his sonne Egfrid succeeded in the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whose reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie kept a synod at Herford, the first session wherof began the 24 of September, all the bishops of this land being present either in person or by their deputies, as Bisi bishop of Exangle, Willfrid of Northumberland by his deputie Witta bishop of Rochester, Elutharius bishop of Wesssaxon, and Willfrid bishop of Mercia. In the presence of these prelates, the archbishop shewed a booke, wherein he had noted ten chapters or articles taken out of the booke of the canons, requiring that the

same might be receiued.

1 The first chapter was, that the feast of Easter should be kept on the sundae following the fourteenth day of the first moneth.

2 The second, that no bishop should intermedle in an others diocesse, but be contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

3 The third, that no bishop should disquiet in anie thing anie monasterie consecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged vnto the same.

4 The fourth, that bishops being monks should not go from monasterie to monasterie, except by sufferance and permission of their abbats, & should continue in the same obedience wherein they stood before.

5 The fifth, that none of the cleergie should depart from his bishop to run into anie other diocesse, nor comming from anie other place should be admitted, except he brought letters of testimonie with him. But if anie such chanced to be receiued, if he refused to returne, being sent for home, both he and his receiuer should be excommunicated.

6 The sixth, that bishops and other of the cleergie being strangers should hold them content with the benefit of hospitalitie, & should not take in hand anie priestlike office, without licence of the bishop, in whose diocesse he chanced so to be remaining.

7 The seventh, that twice in the yeare a synod should be kept, but because of diuers impediments herein, it was thought good to them all, that in the kalends of August a synod should be kept once in the yeare, at a certaine place called Clofethough.

8 The eighth chapter was, that no one bishop should by ambition seeke to be preferred aboue another, but that euerie one should know the time and order of his consecration.

9 The ninth, that as the number of the christians increased, so should there be more bishops ordeined.

10 The tenth was touching marriages, that none should contract matrimonie with anie person, but with such as it should be lawfull for him by the orders of the church: none should match with their kinso'ke, no man should forsake his wife, except (as the gospell teacheth) for cause of fornication. But if anie man did put awaie his wife which he had lawfully married, if he would be accounted a true christian, he might not be copled with an other, but so remaine, or else be reconciled to his owne wife.

These articles, being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the subscribing of all their hands, so as all those that did go against the same, should be disgraced of their priestshood, and separated from the companie of them all.

The foresaid Bisi that was bishop of the Eastsaxons, and present at this synod, was successor vnto Bonifacius, which Bonifacius held that see 17 yeares, and then departing this life, Bisi was made bishop of that prouince, and ordeined by the archbishop Theodore. This Bisi at length was so visited with sicknesse, that he was not able to exercise the ministracion, so that two bishops were then & there elected and consecrated for him, the one named Aecel, and the other Baldwin.

In this meane while, that is, about the yeare of our Lord 872, or in the beginning of 873, as Harison noteth, Kentwalch king of the Westsaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yeares. This Kentwalch was such a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the worst kind of rulers, but in the middle and later end of his reigne, to be matched with the best. His goodlie zeale bozne towards the aduancing of the christian religion well appeared in the building of the church at Winchester, where

L. j. the

Bishop Jaruman or Jaroman.

671

Manh. West.

Egfrid.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 5.

Manh. West.

673

A synod holden at Herford.

Articles proposed by Theodore.

Bisi bishop of the Eastsaxons.

873

Manh. West. de reg. lib. 1.

the bishops see of all that province was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdome of Westsaxons after him, a woman of stoutnesse wrought to haue attained acts of worthie remembrance, but being prevented by death yet she had reigned one whole yeere, she could not shew anie full proofe of hir noble courage. I remember that Marth West maketh of her report herof, declaring that the nobilitie removed hir from the government. But I rather follow William Malmeburie in this matter.

Esquinus.
Will. Malme.

The proced, after Segburga was departed this life, or deposed (if you will needs haue it so) Esquinus or Elcuinus, whose grandfather called Cuthgild, the brother of B. Kingils, succeeding in government of the Westsaxons, reigned about the space of two yeeres: and after his decesse, one Centuinus or Centwine toke upon him the rule, and continued therein the space of nine yeeres. But Beda saith that these two ruled at one time, and diuided the kingdome betwixt them. Elcuinus fought against Wulfhere king of Mercia, a great number of men being slaine on both parties, though Wulfhere yet had after a manner the upper hand, as some haue written.

Hen. Hunt.

Beda lib. 4. ca. 12.
supr. dist.

To. Lothaire.

Will. Malm.
Beda de reg.
lib. 1.
Thunmir.
B. de mur-
ther.

In the same yeere that the synod was holden at Hereford, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 673, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Iulie, and left the kingdome to his brother Lothaire, which held the same eleuen yeeres, & seven moneths. Some haue written that king Egbert by the suggestion of one Thunmir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome under him, suffered the same Thunmir in lamentable manner to kill the two innocent sonnes of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt least they being towardly young gentlemen, might in time grow so into fauour with the people, that it should be easie for them to depprue both Egbert, and his issue of the kingdome. Also, that they were piously put to death, and secretly buried at the first, but the place of their buriall immediatlie being shewed after a miraculous maner, their bodies long after in the daies of king Egilred the sonne of king Edgar, were taken up, & conueied vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being gilty of the death of those his colens, did soe repent him, so that he vnderstood they died giltylesse, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offense, as after shall be shewed.

Bishop win-
frid deposed.
Seruulfus or
deined bishop
of the Merc-
cia.
685, as Marth.
VVestm. saith.
Bishop Er-
kenwald.

Ethelburga.

John Cap-
grau.

Waldhere.
Sebbie king
of Eastsaxons
Beda lib. 4.
cap. 16.

Winfrid bishop of the Mercias, for his disobedience in some point, was depprue by archbishop Theodore, and one Seruulfus that was the builder and also the abbat of the monasterie of Weidhamsted, otherwise called Peterborough, was ordeined and consecrated in his place. About the same time, Erkenwald was ordeined bishop of the Eastsaxons, and appointed to hold his see in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holinesse and vertue. Before he was made bishop, he builded two abbeies, the one of monks at Chertsey in Southerie, where he himselfe was abbat, and the other of nuns at Werking, within the province of the Eastsaxons, where he placed his sister Ethelburga, a woman also highlie esteemed for hir deuout kind of life. She was first brought up and instructed in the rules of hir profession by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the seas, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpose.

After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made bishop of London, in whose daies Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, being now vexed with a greuous sickness, professed himselfe a monke: which thing he would haue done long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died shortly after within the citie of London, and

was buried in the church of saint Paul. King Sig- here, which in the beginning reigned with him, and gouerned a part of the Eastsaxons, was departed this life before, so that in his latter time, the fore said Sebbie had the gouernment of the whole province of the Eastsaxons, and left the same to his sonnes Sigward and Seulfred. About the yeere of our Lord 675, Wulfhere king of Mercia departed this life: after he had reigned (as some say) 19 yeeres, but (as o- ther affirme) he reigned but 17 yeeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that passed after the slaughter of Wenda, wherein Wote and Wenda held the aforesaid kingdome.

Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth the kingdome of Kent, and maketh great waste without resistance of Lothaire the king thereof. Putta of a bishop becommeth a poore curat and teacheth musick. Wilfred deposed from his bishop- rike by king Egfrid. Upon displeasure, he preacheth the gospel in Suffex by the licence of king Edilwalke no raine in Suffex for the space of three yeeres, the word and sacraments bring blessings with them; bishop Wilfrid the first teacher to catch fish with nets, the people haue him in great reuerence, a great and bloudie battell betwene Egfrid & king Edilred, they are reconciled by the means of archbishop Theodore; a synod holden at Hatfield, the clergie subscribe to certeine articles, of Hilda the famous abbess of Whitbie.

The xxxv. Chapter.

After Wulfhere, his brother Edilred or Ethelred succeeded in government of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the kingdome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yeere of our Lord 677, destroying the countrie afore him, not sparing churches nor abbeies, but spoiling the same without respect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durst not appeere in the field to giue him battell, so that Edilred went thorough the countrie, destroyed the citie of Rochester, and with great riches gotten by the spoile he returned home. Putta the bishop of Rochester, after that his church was spoiled and defaced by the enemies, went to Seruulfus bishop of Mercia, and there obtaining of him a small cure, and a portion of ground, remained in that countrie, not once labouring to restore his church of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach long, and instruct such as would learne musick, whereoeuer he was requited, or could get intertainment.

Hereupon the archbishop Theodore consecrated one William bishop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after, when the said William constrained by po- uertie, left that church, Theodore placed one Er- mound in his stead. In the yeere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of August, a blasing starre appeared, with a long bright beame like to a pillar. It was seene e- uerie morning for the space of three moneths tog- ther. The same Egfrid king of Northumberland, ban- nished bishop Wilfrid upon displeasure taken with him, out of his see, and then were two bishops orde- ined in his place, to gouerne the church of the North- umbers, the one named Wola at Pothe, and the o- ther called Cata at Hagulfald or Lindefferne. Also one Cadhibus was ordeined about the same time bi- shop of Lindsey, the which province king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Wulfhere the late king of Mercia, whome he overcame in battell, and drove him out of that countrie. The said three bishops

Will. Malme.

677

Will. Malme.

230r other

firm the

reign 17

yeeres.

Beda.

De canone

ther weat.

The church of

Wippon.

Wilfrid by li-
cence of king
Edilwalke
preacheth the
gospel to them
of Suffex.

Larks &
raue.

Edilred.

677

Hen. Hunt.

Catching of
fish with
nets.

678

Blasing star

Match. Wd.

Beda lib. 4.

ca. 12.

Bishop wd-

frid banishd.

Hagulfald.

Perham.

Edilthrus.

Lindefferne

Wote & Wenda

Bondmen
made trulle
free.

bishops were consecrated at Dorchester by the archbishop of Canturburie Theodosius, the which within three yeeres after ordeined two bishops more in that prouince of the Northumbres, that is to say, Eumbert at Eborac, and Cata that was appointed to remaine at Lindesferne, & Trimmune was ordeined to haue the cure of the prouince of those parts which as then were vnder the English dominion. Also because Eadilred king of Mercia recovered the countrey of Lindsey, and ioined it to his dominion, bishop Eadhebnus coming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Kipon.

The church of Kipon.

Wilfrid by licence of king Eadilwalke, who as before is mentioned, was conuerted and baptised in Mercia by the procurement of king Wulfher, that then became his godfather, and gave him at the same time the Ile of Wight, and the prouince of the people anciently called Hæthari, which he had won from the Westsaxons: Bishop Wilfrid then by king Eadilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptised the chiefe lords and gentlemen of that prouince. But certain priestes baptised the residue of the people, either then or in the time following.

Wulfher of Lindsey.

It chanced that for the space of three yeeres (as it is said) before the coming thither of bishop Wilfrid, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that prouince of the Southsaxons, so that the people were brought into great miserie by reason of famine, which through want of necessarie fruits of the earth sore afflicted the whole countrey, insomuch that no small numbers threw themselves headlong into the sea, despairing of life in such lacke of necessarie victuals. But as God would, the same day that Wilfrid began to minister the sacrament of baptism, there came downe sweet and plentifull showers of raine, so watering the earth, that thereby great store of all fruits plentifullie took root, and yielded full increase in growth, to the great comfort and reliefe of all the people, which before were in maner starued and lost through want of food.

Catching of fish with nets.

Bishop Wilfrid also taught them in that countrey the manner how to catch fish with nets, where before that time, they had no great skill in any kind of fishing, except it were in catching eels. Whereby the said bishop grew there in great estimation with the people, so that his words were the better credited amongst them, so that through him they received so great benefits, God by such meanes working in the peoples hearts a desire to come to the understanding of his lawes. The king also gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Sealesew, compassed about on each side (except on the west halfe) with the sea, containing 87 households or families, where he built an abbey, and baptised all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and bondwomen, whome he made free both in bodie and soule: for he did not onelie baptise them, but also enfranchised them of all bodilie seruitude and bondage.

Bondmen made free.

In this meane while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and first in the yeere after the appearing of the blasing starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the said Egfrid and Eadilred king of Mercia, nere to the river of Trent, where Alfwine the brother of king Egfrid was slaine, with manie other of the Northumbres, so that king Egfrid was constrained to returne home with losse. The archbishop of Canturburie

Theodosius perceiuing that great warre and effusion of blood was like to follow thereupon, travelled so in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a peece of monie in recompense of his losses. The foresaid battell was fought in the yeere of our Lord 679; and in the yeere following, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 680, which was also in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumberland, the first yeere of Eadilred king of Mercia, the 17 of Albbulfe king of Eastangles, and in the 7 of Aother king of Kent.

The archbishop of Canturburie Theodosius held another synod at Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there present subscribed to certaine articles touching the belaste of the trinitie of persons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of the like substance, and also of the same vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the church of God. Moreover, they acknowledged by the like subscription, the five generall counsels, of Nice, of Constantinople the first, of Ephesus, of Calcedon, and of Constantinople the second, with the synod also holden at Rome in the daies of Martin bishop of Rome about the yeere of the emperour Constantine. At this synod holden at Hatfield, was present one John the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, sent into this land of purpose to bring from hence a certificat vnto pope Agatho of the agreement of the English church in matters of faith, with other churches of the christian world: but the foresaid archchanter died by the way in France, as he returned homeward, and was buried at Towern in Towaine.

The same yeere that famous woman Hilda abbess of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other say) three yeeres after, hauing first bene detained long with grievous sicknesse. She was the daughter of one Herericus the nephew of king Edwin, and conuerted to the faith of Christ at the preaching of bishop Pauline, and afterwards instructed by bishop Aldan, she professed hirselfe a nun, applying hir whole studie to the reading of the scriptures, to prayer, & other godlie exercises. She builded the abbey of Whitbie, wherein were placed both men and women, with such an equalitie in all things, that there was no rich person amongst them, nor any that wanted things necessarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yeeres of age. As some haue written she argued stoutlie on bishop Colmans part, at the disputation holden in the monasterie of Whitbie, in the yeere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yeere of our Lord 682, that is to say, in the seventh yeere of Centwine or Centwinus king of Westsaxons, the same Centwine fought with the Wiltains, and ouercame them in battell, pursuing them with fire and sword vnto the sea side.

Thus (at this time as also at diuerse other times) they were discomfited and put to flight, being a people allotted and shared out as it were to suffer many an ouerthrow, and abide manie a sharpe and shameful repulse at the hands of their enemies, who conuerted the distresse of that people to their profit, and took pleasure in the extremitie of the miseries wherein they were plunged, as may be obserued by the pittifull alteration of their state vnder diuerse gouernors, and speciallie vnder the Danish dominion, who kept them in no lesse vile seruitude than Pharao did the Hebrewes at the making of bricke & chopping of straw. So that some thinke this land to be corruptlie named Britania, but ought rather to be called Bredania, that is, *Libera Danica, sive regio in qua Daniliberebant*, for they liued as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they listed. But of this matter more shall be spoken hereafter in place conuenient.

L. ij.

Cadwal-

679
680

The synod at Hatfield.

Articles subscribed.

Bale. The abbess Hilda. Beda.

Bale. Ran. Cest. Marth. West. Beda.

Henric Hunt.

The Wiltains discomfited.

Gorop. in Gotodanica lib. 7. pag. 759.

Cadwallader king of Britaine, the people are brought into great miserie, and he forced to flee the land, he dieth at Rome, the British writers noted of error, Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons, the kingdome is diuided; the valorous mind of Ceadwalla, he is forced to forsake his countrie, he vanquisheth and killeth Edilwalke king of the Westsaxons, his returne into his kingdome with reuenge vpon Berthun duke of Suffex and other his heauie friends, his vow if he might conquer the Ile of Wight, his bountifull offer to bishop Wilfrid, the Ile of Wight receiue the faith; Ceadwalla inuadeth Kent, of a barbarous warriour he becommeth a religious christian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king of Northumberland inuadeth Ireland, he is slaine by Brudeus king of the Picts; the neglect of good counsell is dangerous; Etheldreda a wife and a widow (hauing vowed chastitie) liued a virgine 12 yeres with hir husband Egfride, she was called saint Auderic of Elic.

The xxxvj. Chapter.

Cadwal-
lader.676 faith
March, West.

Galfrid.

Ceadwallader
constrained
to forsake
the land.

1689

Cead-
walla.

But now to returne vnto that which is found in the British histories, by the tenor thereof it should appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his son Cadwallader succeeded him in gouernement of the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yere of the emperor Constantus Paganotus, and in the 13 yere of the reigne of Childericus king of France. This Cadwallader, being the sonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe sister of Penda king of Mercia, for one father begot them both, but of two sundrie mothers, for she had to mother a ladie descended of the noble blood of the Westsaxons, and was married vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him and his brother the said Penda. After that Cadwallader had reigned the space of 12 yeres (as Geoffrey of Monmouth saith) or (as others write) but 3 yeres, the Britains were brought into such miserie through ciuill discord, and also by such great and extreme famine as then reigned throught all the land, that Cadwallader was constrained with the chiefe part of his people to forsake their native countrie, and by sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to seeke reliefe by vittels for the sustentation of their languishing bodies.

Long procelle is made by the British writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admonished by a dreame to the contrarie, the which because it seemeth but fabulous, we passe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the christian religion by pope Sergius, where shortly after he fell sicke, and died the 12 kalends of May, in the yere of our Lord 689. But herein appeareth the error of the British writers in taking one for another, by reason of resemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons about that time moued of a religious deuotion, after he was converted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there baptised, or else confirmed of the foresaid pope Sergius, and shortly after departed this life in that citie in the foresaid yere of 689 or thereabouts. The Westsaxons count him to be their Cadwallader; which to be true is verie unlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of diuers good and approved authors.

This Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons succeeded after Centwine or Centininus, which

Centwine reigned nine yeres, though it should appeare by that which is written by authors of good credit, that during two of those yeres at the least, the kingdome of Westsaxons was diuided betwixt him and Eleutherus or Eleutherius, so that he should not reigne past seven yeres alone.

But now to Ceadwalla, whome some take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie descended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling king of Westsaxons, as sonne to Kenbert or Kenbright that was sonne to Ceadba the sonne of the foresaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble house of the kings of Westsaxons, he proued in his youth a personage of great towardnesse, and such a one as no small hope was of him conceiued; he would let no occasion passe wherein he might exercise his force, to shew proofe of his high valancie, so that in the end with his worthie attempts shewed therein, he purchased to himselfe the ennie of those that ruled in his countrie, by reason whereof he was banished in a conspiracie made against him. Whereupon he took occasion as it were in reuenge of such vnthankfulness to withdraue out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the same, the which either pitting his present estate, or moued with pleasure taken in his valiant doings, followed him at his going into exile.

The first hunt of his furious attempts after he was out of his countrie, Edilwalke the king of the Southsaxons taken, who in defense of himselfe coming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was slaine with the most part of all his armie. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his souldiers, filled with good hope of this happie atchieued victorie, returned with good and prosperous speed into his owne countrie, and that yet he was looked for, and earnestlie pursuing his aduersaries, droue them out of the kingdome, and taking vpon him to rule the same as king, reigned two yeres, during the which he atchieued diuers notable enterprises.

And first, whereas Berthun and Authun dukes of Suffex & subiects vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had slaine the said Edilwalke, and also taken vpon them the rule of that kingdome, hauing now attained to the gouernement of the Westsaxons, he inuaded the countrie of Suffex againe, and slue Berthun in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He also set vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-nere destroyed all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. He bound himselfe also by vow, although as yet he was not baptised, that if he might conquer it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lord. And in performance of that vow, he offered vnto bishop Wilfride (who then chanced to be present) when he had taken that Ile, so much thereof as contained 300 households or families, where the whole consisted in 1200 households. Wilfrid receiuing thankesfullie the gift, deliuered the same vnto one of his clearks named Bernewine that was his sisters sonne, appointing to him also a priest named Hilola, the which should minister the word and the sacrament of baptism vnto all those that would receiue the same. Thus was the Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Christ last of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the same faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons.

Afterward, king Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdome of Kent, where he lost his brother Gollo, as after shall appeere, but yet he reuenged his death with great slaughter made of the inhabitants in that countrie. Finally, this worthie prince Ceadwalla, turning

Wil. Mal.
Ranulph.689
Beda, lib. 4.
cap. 26.Ireland inuad-
ed by the
Northum-
bers.Ceadwalla
driven to be
part out of his
countrie.King Egfrid
slain by 231
duns king of
the Picts.Beda lib. 4.
cap. 25.Berthun &
duke of Suff-
ex slaine.Ceadwalla
his vow.
The Ile of
Wight con-
quered.The Brit-
tains were
those who
scattered & dw
in the north
well parts
this Ile, as
is not men-
tioned by the
of writers.

Etheldreda

Galf.

The Ile of
Wight recei-
ued the faith.

turning himselfe from the desire of warre and bloodshed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, so that ye could not haue wished more vertuous manners to rest in one as yet not chiselled. And shortly after, willing to be admitted into the fellowship of the christians (of whose religion he had taken good taste) he went to Rome, where of pope Sergius he was baptised, and named Peter, and shortly after surprised with sickness, he died, and was buried there within the church of saint Peter in the yeare of our Lord 689.

In the meane while, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland sent an armie under the guiding of a captaine named Bertus into Ireland, the which wasted that countrie, sparing neither church nor monastrie, soze indamaging the people of that countrie, which had cuer bene friends unto the English nation, and deserued nothing lesse than so to be inuaded and spoiled at their hands. The Irish men defended themselves to their power, beseeching God with manie a salt teare, that he would reuenge their cause in punishing of such extreme iniuries. And though cursers may not inherit the kingdome of heauen, yet they ceased not to curse, hoping the sooner that those which with god cause were thus accursed, should wortheilie be punished for their offences by God, & so peraduenture it fell out. For in the yeare following, the said Egfride had lead an armie into Pictland against Buidus king of the Picts, and being trained into straits within hills and craggie mounteins, he was slaine with the most part of all his armie, in the yeare of his age 40, and of his reigne 15, upon the 13 halends of June.

There were diuers of Egfrides friends, and namelie Cutberd (whome he had aduanced the same yeare unto the bishops see of Lindesferne) that aduised him in no wise, either to haue taken this warre in hand against the Picts, or the other against them of Ireland, but he would not be counsellled, the punishment appointed for his sinnes being such, that he might not giue eare to his faithfull friends that aduised him for the best. From that time forth, the hope and power of the English people began to decaye. For not onelie the Picts recovered that part of their countrie which the Englishmen had held before in their possession, but also the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewise some part of the Britains took vpon them libertie, which they kept and mainteined a long time after, as Beda confesseth.

Egfride died without issue, & left no children behind him. He had to wife one Ethelreda or Etheldritha, daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, which liued with hir husband the foresaid Egfride twelue yeeres in perfect virginitee (as is supposed) contrarie to the purpose of hir husband, if he might haue perswaded hir to the contrarie, but finallie he was contented that she should keepe hir first vow of chastitie which she had made. She was both widow and virgin when he married hir, being first coupled in wedlocke with one Cumbert a noble man, and a ruler in the south parts of the countrie, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the same where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnshire, Northfolke, Huntingdonshire, & Cambridgehire, howbeit he liued with hir but a small while. After she had obtained licence to depart from the court, she got hir first into Coldingham abbeie, and there was professed a nun. Then she went to Elic, and there resided the monastrie, and was made abbess of the place, in the which after she had gouerned seuen yeeres, she departed this life, and was there buried. This same was she which commonlie is called saint Audrie of Elic, had in great reuerence for the opinion concei-

ued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

Alfride (the bastard) king of Northumberland, his life and death, Iohn archbishop of Canturburie resigneth his see, Lothar king of Kent dieith of a wound, Edrike getteth the regiment thereof but not without bloodshed, Ceaddwalla wasteth Kent being at strife in it selfe, his brother Mollo burned to death; Withred made king of Kent, he vanquisheth his enemies, Inas king of Weillaxons is made his friend, Suebhard and Nidred vilerpers of the Kentish kingdome, the age and death of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation; the end of the British regiment, and how long the greatest part of this land was vnder their gouernement.

The xxxvij. Chapter.



After that king Egfride was slaine (as before is mentioned) his brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the bastard sonne of king Oswie, and in his brothers daies (either willinglie, or by violent means constrained) he liued as a banished man in Ireland, where applying himselfe to studie, he became an excellent philosopher. And therefore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receiued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his subiects the space of 20 yeares and more, with great wisdom and policie, but not with such large bounds as his ancestors had done: for the Picts (as before is mentioned) had cut off one peece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 698, one of his captains named earle Berthred, whose name he had as then inuaded. The curse of the Irish men, whose countrie in the daies of king Egfride he had cruellie wasted, as before is mentioned, was thought at this time to take place. Finallie king Alfride, after he had reigned 20 yeares & 10 months, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 705.

In the beginning of king Alfrides daies, Cata the bishop of Werham being dead, one Iohn a man of great holinesse was admitted bishop, and after that, bishop Alfrid was restored, when he had remained a long time in exile. The said Iohn was removed to the church of Woke, the same being then void by the death of the archbishop Wosa. At length the foresaid Iohn wearied with the cares of publike affaires resigned his see, and got him to Wenerley, where he liued a solitarie life for the space of foure yeares, and then died, about the yeare of our Lord 721, king Edrike as then reigning in Northumberland. He continued bishop for the space of 24 yeares, and builded a church, and founded a colledge of priests at Wenerley aforesaid, in which church he lieth buried.

The same yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfride was slaine, Lothar king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of Februarie, of a wound by him receiued in a battell which he fought against the Southsaxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was sonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had maintained warre against his vncle the said Lothar, euen from the beginning of his reigne, till finallie he was now in the said battell stricken thorough the bodie with a dart, and so died thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeares, and seuen moneths. It was thought

Alfride
685.

698
Beda in Epir.
Mart. V. V. V.

705
Beda.

Iohn archbishop of Woke.

He resigneth his see.

721

686 faith
Marth. West.
Lothar king
of Kent dieith
of a wound.

684
Beda in A.
cap. 25.

Ireland inuaded
by the
Northumbers.

king Egfride
slain by 1324
Beda king of
the Picts.

The Britains
were
those without
the north-
west parts of
this Ile, and
is not extant
only by them
of Wales.

Ethelreda.

Strig.

L. ij.

that

Wil. Malm.

Capgrauce
saith, their
sister.

Edricke.

Hollo bro-
ther to king
Ceadwalla
burnt to
death.

that he was disquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finally brought to his end before the naturall course of his time, for a punishment of his wicked consent giuen to the putting to death of his cousins Ethelbert & Ethelhit, as appeared, in that when they were reported to be martyrs, because it was known they died innocentlie, he mocked them and made but a iest at it, although his brother in acknowledgement his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue in recompense to their mother a part of the Isle of Thanet to the building of a monasterie.

The foresaid Edricke (after Lothar was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill warre, in so much that before he had reigned the full terme of two yeares, he was slaine in the same warre. Then Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons being thereof aduertised, supposing the time now to be come that would serue his purpose, as one still cōtending to worke the Kentishmen all the displeasure he could, entred with an armie into their countrie, and began to waste and spoile the same on eich side, till finally the Kentishmen assembled themselues together, gaue battell to their enemies, and put them to flight. Hollo brother to Ceadwalla was drinen from his companie, and constrained to take an house for his refuge: but his enemies that pursued him set fire thereon, and burned both the house and Hollo within it to ashes. Yet did not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the countrie, but to wreake his wrath, and to reuenge the griefe which he toke for the death of his brother, he wasted and destroyed a great part of Kent per he returned home, and left (as it were) an occasion to his successor also to pursue the quarell with reuenging. Wherein we see the cankered nature of man, speciallie in a case of wrong or displeasure, which we are so far from tollerating & forgiving, that if with tooth and nail we be not permitted to take vengeance, our hearts will breake with a full conceit of wrath. But the law of nature teacheth vs otherwise to be affected, namely,

per te nulli unquam iniuria fiat,
Sed verbis alijsque modis fuge ledere quenquam,
Quod tibi nollis, alijs fecisse caueto,
Quodque tibi velles, alijs prestare studeto;
Hæc est natura lex optima, quam nisi ad unguem
seruabis, non ipse Deo (mibi crede) placebis,
Postque obitum infelix non aurea sidera adibis.

Which lesson taught by nature, and commanded of God, if these men had followed (as they minded nothing lesse in the fier of their furie) they would haue bene content with a competent reuenge, and not in such outrageous manner with fier and sword haue afflicted one another, nor (which is more than tigerlike crueltie) haue ministred occasion to posterities to reuenge wrongs giuen and taken of their ancestors. But we will let this passe without further discourse, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the proccesse.

The Kentishmen being destitute of a king, after that diuers had coueted the place, and sought to at-

teine thereto, as well by force as otherwise, to the great disputing of that prouince for the space of 6 yeares together, at length in the 7 yeare after Cedrics death, Wilfred an other of the sonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligent trauell overcome enemies at home, & with monie redeemed peace abroad, was with great hope conceiued of his worthinesse made king of Kent, the 11 of Nouember, & 205 after the death of Hengist, he reigned 33 yeares, not deceiuing his subiects of their good conceiued opinion of him: for overcoming all his aduersaries which were readie to leue ciuill warre against him, he also purchased peace of Inas king of the Westsaxons, which ment to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

A little before that Wilfred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrie, Suehard and Aldred, or rather the same Wilfred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled *Ecclesiastica historia gentis Anglorum* haue not that name corrupted: for where he sheweth that the archbishop Theodorus being of the age of 88 yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 690, in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare 692, the first date of Iulie one Brightwald was chosen to succeed in the archbishops see of Canturburie, Wilfredus and Suehardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Wilfredus gouerned as then with Suehardus, or that some other named Aldred, it forceth not: for certeine it is by the agreement of other writers, that till Wilfred obtained the whole rule, there was great strife and contention moued about the gouernement, and diuers there were that sought and fought for it. But this ought to be noted, that the forenamed Brightwald was the eight archbishop in number, and first of the English nation that sat in the see of Canturburie: for the other seuen that were predecessors to him, were strangers borne, and sent thither from Rome.

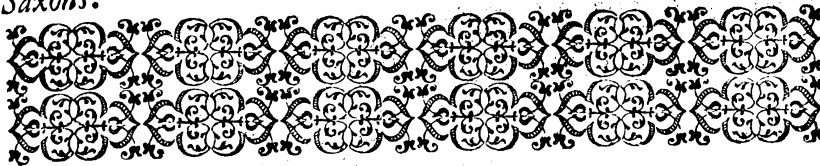
Here endeth the line and gouernement of the Britains, now called Welshmen, which toke that name of their duke or leader Mallo or Gallo; or else of a queene of Wales named Gales or Wales. But howsoeuer that name fell first vnto them, now they are called Welshmen, which sometime were called Britains or Brutons, and descended first of the Troians, and after of Brute, and lastlie of Pulmucius Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with sundrie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called English that in their beginning were named Saxons or Angles. To conclude therefore with this gouernement, so many times intercepted by forren power, it appeareth by course of histories treating of these matters, that the last yeare of Ceadwallader was the yeare of our Lord 686, which makes the pere of the world 4647. So that (as Fabian saith) the Britains had the greater part of this land in rule (reckoning from Brute till this time) 1822 yeares. Which terme being expired, the whole dominion of this realme was Saxonish.

with this
made king
next.Hen. Hunt.
Beda lib. i.
Suehard
and Aldred
kings by
b-
surpation en-
not by succe-
sion, as Hen.
Hunt. says
tech.Brightwald
the first arch-
bishop of the
English na-
tion.Inas.
689The Bri-
tains cease
reigne in
land.Fabian.
H. Hunt.

Thus farre the interrupted regiment of
the Britains, ending at the
fift booke.



The



THE SIXT BOOKE

of the Historie of England.

Inas king of the Westsaxons, the whole monarchie of the realme falleth into their hands, Inas for a summe of monie granteth peace to the Kentishmen, whom he was purposed to haue destroyed, he & his cosen Nun fight with Gerent king of the Britains, and Cheolred king of Mercia, and Ealdbright king of Southsaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas giueth ouer his roialtie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his lawes written in the Saxon tongue; of what buildings he was the founder, queene Ethelburgas de- uise to persuaide Inas to forsake the world, he was the first pro- curer of Peter pence to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kentred, and king Offa become monks; the setting vp of images in this land authorized by a vision; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is slaine of his owne subjects by the suggesti- on of Bernred the vsurper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, nuns kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.

The first Chapter.



After that Ce- adwalla, late k. of the Westsaxons was gone to Rome, where he departed this life (as afore is shew- ed) his cosen Inas or Ine was made king of the Westsaxons, be- gining his reigne in the yere of our Lord 689, in the third yere of the emperour Justinianus the third, the 11 yere of the reigne of Theodoricus k. of France, and about the second yere of the reigne of Eugen- ius king of Scots. Now because the rule of the Bri- tains commonlie called Welshmen, ceased in this realme, as by confession of their owne writers it ap- pareth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the same realme came to the hands of the kings of Westsaxons, we haue thought meet to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the same kings, as be- fore we did in the Britaine kings, reseruing the par- ticular doings to the kings of the other prouinces or kingdoms, as the same haue fallen out, and shall come to hand.

This Inas, whome some (mistaking I for A) doe wrongfullie name Ine or Inow, proued a right excellent prince, he was descended of the an- cient linage of the kings of the Westsaxons, as sonne to one Kentred, that was sonne to Ceolwold the son of Cutha or Cuthwine, that was sonne to Kenricke the sonne of Certicus, the first king of Westsaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdom more for the valiant prowes knowne to rest in his worthy per- son, than for the succelline ofspring of which he was descended. The first vantage that he made, was a- gainst the Kentishmen, on whome he purposed to re-

venge the death of his cosen Pollo, the griefe where- of as yet he kept in fresh memorie. But when the Kentishmen perceiued, that to resist him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and so obtained their purpose, vpon payment made to him of thirtie thousand marks of siluer.

After this, about the 21 yere of his reigne, king Inas and his cosen Nun fought with Gerent king of the Britains. In the beginning of the battell, one Wigelbald a noble man of the Westsaxons part was slaine, but in the end Gerent with his Britains was chased. In the 26 yere of his reigne, the same Inas fought a mightie battell against Cheolred king of Mercia, at Wodenessburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part sustained greater losse. In the 36 yere of his reigne, king Inas inuaded the Southsaxons with a mightie ar- mie, and slue in battell Ealdbright or Aldinus king of the Southsaxons, and ioined that kingdom vnto the kingdom of the Westsaxons: so that from thenceforth the kingdom of those Southsaxons ceased, after they had reigned in that kingdom by the space of fise kings successiuelie, that is to say, Ella, Cissa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this last Al- dinus or Ealdbright.

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 37 yeres, and 10 or 11 odd moneths, he renounced the rule of his kingdom, together with all worldlie pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pilgrime, and there en- ded his life: but before this, during the time of his reigne, he shewed himselfe verie deuout and zealous towards the aduancement of the christian religion. He made and ordeined also good & wholesome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon tongue, and translated into the Latine in times past, and now latelie againe by William Lambert gentle- man, and printed by Iohn Day, in the yere 1568, together with the lawes and statutes of other kings before the conquest, as to the learned mate appere.

Moreover, king Ine builded the monasterie of Glasenburie, where Ioseph of Arimathea in times past builded an oratorie or chappell (as before is reci- ted) when he with other christians came into this land in the daies of Arutragus, & taught the gospel here to the Britains; conuerting manie of them to the faith. Moreover, king Ine or Inas builded the church of Welles, dedicating it vnto saint Andrew, where afterwards a bishops see was placed, which at length was translated vnto Salisburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of no le linage, who had bene earnest with him a long time to persuaide him to forsake the world: but she could by no meanes bring hir purpose to passe, till vpon a time the king and she had lodged at a manors place in the countrie, where all prouision had bene made for the receiuing of them and their traine in most sumptuous maner that might be, as well in rich furniture of household, as also in costlie viands, and all other things need- full,

Matt. Westm.
Wil. Malin.

Anno 708, as
is noted by
Matt. West.

H. Hunt.

Matt. VVest.
saith 718.

Math. West.
saith 722.
The end of
the kingdom
of the South-
saxons.

Inas went
to Rome and
there died.

Polydor.

Ethelburga.

Will. Malmes.

Inas.
689

The Bri-
tains cease to
reigne in this
land.

Fabian.
H. Hunt.

The deuil of
queene Ethel-
burga to per-
suade hir hus-
band to for-
take the woꝝld

full, or that might serue for pleasure, and when they were departed, the queene the foresaid Ethelburga caused the keeper of that house to remove all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had been brought thither and ordeined for the beautifull setting forth of the house, and in place thereof to bring ordure, straw, & such like filth, as well into the chambers and hall, as into all the houses of office, and that done, to late a sow with pigs in the place where before the kings bed had stood. Hereupon when she had knowledge that euery thing was ordered according to hir appointment, she perswaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

Now when he was returned to that house, which before seemed to the eye a palace of most pleasure, and now finding it in such a filthy state as might loath the stomack of anie man to behold the same, she took occasion thereupon to perswade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this woꝝld, which in a moment turne to naught, together with the corruption of the flesh, being a filthy lump of claie, after it should once be dissolved by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to moue him to renounce the woꝝld, though all in vaine, yet now the beholding of that change in his pleasant palace, wherein so late he had taken great delight, wrought such an alteration in his mind, that hir woꝝds lastlie took effect: so that he resigned the kingdome to his cosen Ethelard, and went himselfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned) and his wife became a nun in the abbey of Warking, where she was made abbesse, and finallye there ended hir life. This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid vnto the bishop of Rome, which was for euery household within his dominion a penie.

Peter pence.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the kingdome of Mercia by the tearme of 29 yeres, became a monk in the abbey of Barneie, and after was made abbat of that house. He had to wife one Alstida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whome he had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his brother Cuthbert to succeed him in the kingdome. The said Alstida was cruelle slaine by the treason of hir husbands subiects, about the yere of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, deuout towards God, a furtherer of the commonwealth of his countrie, and passed his life in great sinceritie of manners. In the sixt yere of his reigne, he renounced the woꝝld, and went to Rome, together with Offa king of the Eastsaxons, where he was made a monk; and finallye died there, in the yere of our Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a monke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbey of Euesham, who afterwards was made bishop of Worcester.

Beda in Epit.
697

King Kenred

711
Naclerus.
Egwin bishop
of Worcester.

A fabulous
and trifling
deuile.

Bale.
712

H. Hunt.

¶ We find recorded by writers, that this Egwin had warning giuen him by visions (as he constantly affirmed before pope Constantine) to set by an image of our ladie in his church. Whereupon the pope approuing the testifications of this bishop by his buls, writ to Brightwalb archbishop of Canturburie, to assemble a synod, and by authoritie thereof to establish the vse of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, vpon paine of excommunication. This synod was holden about the yere of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of Westsaxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia, successor to the foresaid Kenred.

After Kenred succeeded Ceolred, the sonne of his uncle Edilred, & died in the 8 yere of his reigne, and was buried at Ichfield. When succeeded Ethelbalus that was descended of Cope the brother of

king Wenda, as the fourth from him by lineall succession. This man gouerned a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and spred uictrilie. In the 18 yere of his reigne, he besieged Somerton and won it. He also invaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him.

Ran. Cestria

He ouercame the Welshmen in battell, being then at quiet, and ioued as confederats with Cuthred li. of Westsaxons. But in the 37 yere of his reigne, he was ouercome in battell at Hereford by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yeres after, that is to say, in the 41 yere of his reigne, he was slaine in battell at Secardon, or Seckenton, by his owne subiects, which are reared warres against him, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, who after he had slaine his naturall prince, took vpon him the kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succeeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelwald was buried at Rippon.

Hen. Hunt.

Hereford.

755

Chymeria
from Can-
worth.
Wil. Malm.

758

March. West.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Ment; or Mogunt; hauing assembled a councell with other bishops and doctors, deuised a letter, and sent it vnto this Ethelwald, commending him for his god deuotion and charitie in almes-giuing to the reliefe of the poore, and also for his byright dealing in administration of iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such like misdoers: but in that he abstained from marriage, and swallowed in filthy lecherie with diuerse women, and namelie with nuns, they sore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamie the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countreies for their licentious liuing in sinfull fornication, and namelie the most part of the noble men of Mercia by his euill example did forsake their wives, and deflowred other women which they kept in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreover, he shewed how that such euill women, as well nuns as other, vied to make a waie in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graues with dead bodie, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other epistle which he wrote vnto Cuthbert the archbishop of Canturburie, counsellid him not to permit the English nuns to wander abroad so often on pilgrimage, because there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that liued wantonly in fornication and whoredome.

The history
of Mog.

King Offred
slaine in battell

729

Beda.
Kenred bishop of
Worcester.

710

710

Offa king of the Eastsaxons with other go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a moonke, succession in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons and Eastangles. Ofred king of Northumberland had carnall knowledge with nuns, he is slaine in battell, Offa king of the Eastsaxons becommeth a monk. Bishop Wilfrid wife restored to his see, Westsaxonie diuided in two diocesses, bishop Aldhelme a founder of religious houses, Ethelard succedeeth Inas in regiment, two blasing starres seene at once, and what ensued, the king dieth: the successeuie reigne of Wichtreds three sonnes ouer Kent, what prouinces were gouerned by bishops, of what puissance Ethelwald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke aduanceth his see, a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.

729

Beda.
Kenred bishop of
Worcester.

710

710

The second Chapter

In this meane time Sigward and Serfrest, kings of the Eastsaxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigericus succeeded in gouernment

Kings of the
Eastsaxons.
Beda lib. 5.
cap. 20.
Offa king of
Eastsaxons.

under th

King Sigward.

688

705
Wil. Malm.
Ofred king of
Northumber-
land.

Hen. Hunt.

729
Ofred king of
Northumber-
land.

King Offred
slaine in battell

729

Beda.
Kenred bishop of
Worcester.

710

Two bishops
Ken.
March. West.
Bishop De-
mell.

Bishop De-
beline.

ment of that kingdome, a man of great tow-
 nesse, and of right comelie countenance: but after he
 had ruled a certeine time, being moued with a reli-
 gious deuotion, he went to Rome in companie of
 Kenred king of Mercia, and of one Egvine bishop
 of Worcester, and being there thauer into the order
 of monks, so continued till he died. After him one
 Seired the sonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the East
 saxon the tearme of 38 yeres. After Alaulfe the
 king of Eastangles departed this traile life, which
 chanced about the yere of our Lord 688, his brother
 Clewold or Alcwold succeeded him, and reigned a-
 bout twelue yeres. After whose decease one Wicene
 was made king of Eastangles, and reigned about
 26 yeres. In this meane while, that is to say, in the
 yere of our Lord 705, Alfride king of Northumber-
 land being dead, his sonne Osdred, a child of 8 yeres
 of age succeeded him in the kingdome, and reigned
 11 yeres, spending his time when he came to ripe
 yeres in filthie abusing his bodie with nuns, and o-
 ther religious women.

275 Seired.

688

705
Osdred king of
Northumberland.

Heard Hunt.

Bretton
Osdred king of
the Northumber-
land.King Osdred
kings in battell

729

Beda,
Beda bishop of
Hexham.

710

Two bishops
see.
March West.
Bishop De-
mell.Bishop Al-
helme.

About the seventh yere of his reigne, that is to
 say, in the yere of our Lord 711, one of his capitans
 named earle Berthfride fought with the Picts, be-
 twixt two places called Heue and Cere, and obtai-
 ning the victorie, slew an huge number of the en-
 mies. At length king Osdred by the traitorous means
 of his consens that arreared warre against him, was
 slaine in battell, and so ended his reigne, leaving to
 those that procured his death the like fortune in time
 to come. For Kenred reigning two yeres, and O-
 rricke ten yeres, were famous onclie in this, that be-
 ing toothlie punished for shedding the blood of their
 naturall prince and soueraigne lord, they finished
 their lines with dishonourable deaths, as they had
 well deserued. Osdricke before his death, which chan-
 ced in the yere of our Lord 729, appointed Ceol-
 wolve the brother of his predecessor Kenred, to suc-
 ceed him in the kingdome, which he did, reigning as
 king of the Northumbres by the space of 8 yeres
 currant, and then renouncing his kingdome, became
 a monke in the Ile of Lindesferne.

In this meane while, bishop Willfride being dead,
 one Acca that was his chapline was made bishop of
 Werham. The said Willfride had bene bishop by the
 space of 45 yeres: but he liued a long time in exile.
 For first being archbishop of Dorke, and exercising
 his iurisdiction ouer all the north parts, he was after
 banished by king Egbert, and againe restored to the
 see of Werham in the second yere of king Alfride,
 and within five yeres after estones banished by the
 same Alfride, and the second time restored by his suc-
 cessor king Osdred; in the fourth yere of whose reigne
 being the yere after the incarnation of our Sau-
 our 709, he departed this life, and was buried at
 Rippon. Whereafter, after John the archbishop of
 Dorke had resigned, one Willfride furnished the se-
 cond was made archbishop of that see: which Will-
 fride was chapline to the said John, and gouerned
 that see by the space of fiftene yeres, and then died.
 About the yere of our Lord 710, the abbat Adrian
 which came into this land with Theodoze the arch-
 bishop of Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) de-
 parted this life, about 39 yeres after his comming
 thither.

Also Inas the king of Westsaxons, about the 20
 yere of his reigne, diuided the prouince of the West-
 saxons into two bishoprics, whereas before they
 had but one. Daniell was ordeined to gouerne the
 one of those sees, being placed at Winchester, hauing
 vnder him Suffex, Southerie and Hamshire. And
 Alhelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder
 him, Warckeshire, Wiltshire, Sommerfetshire,
 Dorsetshire, Denonshire, and Cornwall. This Al-

helme was a learned man, and was first made ab-
 bat of Abneshurke, in the yere of our Lord 675, by
 Eleutherius then bishop of the Westsaxons, by
 whose diligence that abbeie was greatly aduanced,
 being afore that time founded by one Medulfe a Sco-
 tish man, but of so small reuenues afore Alhelms
 time, that the monks were scarce able to liue there-
 on. Also the same Alhelme was a great furtherer
 into king Inas in the building of Glaffenburie.

Ethelard, the cosen of king Inas, to whome the
 same Inas resigned his kingdome, began to gou-
 erne the Westsaxons in the yere of our Lord 728,
 or rather 727, which was in the 11 yere of the emperour
 Leo Maurus, in the second yere of Theodorus king
 of France, and about the 8 or 9 yere of Hordache
 king of the Scots. In the first yere of Ethelards
 reigne, he was disquieted with ciuill warre, which one
 Osualda noble man, descended of the roiall blood
 of the Westsaxon kings, procured against him: but
 in the end, when he perceiued that the kings power
 was too strong for him, he fled out of the countrie, lea-
 uing it thereby in rest.

In the yere 729, in the moneth of Januarie there
 appeared two comets or blasing starres, verie terri-
 ble to behold, the one rising in the morning before the
 rising of the sunne, and the other after the setting
 thereof: so that the one came before the break of the
 day, and the other before the closing of the night,
 stretching forth their fierie hands toward the north;
 and they appeared thus enerie morning and euening
 for the space of a fortnight together, moracing as it
 were some great destruction or common mishap to
 follow. The Saracens hostile after entered France,
 and were ouerthrowne. Finally, when king Ethel-
 ard had reigned the terme of fourtene yeres cur-
 rant, he departed this life.

Now when Wichtred king of Kent had gouer-
 ned the Kentishmen by the space of 33 yeres,
 with great commendation for the good orders which
 he caused to be obserued amongst them, as well con-
 cerning matters ecclesiasticall as temporall, he de-
 parted this life, leaving behind him three sonnes, who
 successiue reigned as heires to him one after ano-
 ther (that is to say) Eobert 23 yeres, Ethelbert 11
 yeres currant, and Alricke 34 yeres, the which three
 princes following the steps of their father in the ob-
 seruance of politike orders & commendable lawes,
 vsed for the more part their fathers good lucke and for-
 tune, except that in Ethelberts time the citie of Can-
 turburie was burned by casual fire, and Alricke lost
 a battell against them of Mercia, whereby the glorie
 of their times was somewhat blemished: for so it
 came to passe, that whatsoever chanced euill, was
 kept still in memorie, and the good haps that came
 forward, were some forgotten and put out of re-
 membrance.

In the yere of our Lord 731, Bettrwald arch-
 bishop of Canturburie departed this life in the first day
 of Januarie, after he had gouerned that see by the
 space of 27 yeres, 6 moneths, and 14 daies: in whose
 place the same yere one Eadwine was ordeined
 archbishop, that before was a priest in the monaste-
 ric of Winton within the prouince of Mercia. He
 was consecrated in the citie of Canturburie, by the
 reuerend fathers Daniell bishop of Winchester,
 Ingwald bishop of London, Aldwin bishop of Rich-
 field, and Aldwulfe bishop of Rochester, the tenth day
 of June being sundaie.

As touching the state of the English church for
 ecclesiasticall gouernours, certeine it is, that the
 same was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of
 Canturburie was gouerned touching the ecclesi-
 asticall state by archbishop Eadwine, and bishop
 Aldwulfe. The prouince of the Eastsaxons by bishop
 Ingwald.

The abbete of
Abneshurke

Ethelard.

728
March West.
saith 727.

March West.

729
Blasing stars

Wil. Malm.

Beda lib. 5.
cap. 24.

731

Bishops
what prouin-
ces they go-
uerned.

Mank. West.

Ethelbald k.
of Mercia, of
what puissance
he was.

Wil. Malin.

733

Ingwald. The prouince of Eastangles by bishop Cadbertus and Hadulacus, the one keeping his see at Elmham, and the other at Dunwich. The prouince of the Westsaxons was governed by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succeeded next after Alhelme in the see of Sherburne. This Forthere in the yere of our Lord 738, left his bishoppe, and went to Rome in companie of the quene of the Westsaxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, prestes and laymen, together with women, used to make such iournies thither in those daies. The prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Wastod holding his see at Werford governed those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Sauerne toward the west. The prouince of Willessex, that is, Wilchester, one Willfride governed. The Southsaxons and the Isle of Wight were vnder the bishop of Winchester. In the prouince of the Northumbres there were four bishops, that is to say, Willfride archbishop of Yorke, Eadwald bishop of Lindeserne, Acca bishop of Werham, and Beathelmus bishop of Whiterne, other wise called Candida Casa, he was the first that governed that church after the same was made a bishops see. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall governors in that season.

And as for temporall gouernement, king Ceolwulf had the soueraigne dominion ouer all the Northumbres: but all the prouinces on the south side of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Eadwald or Ethelbald king of Mercia. The nation of the Picts were in league with the English men, and gladlie became partakers of the catholike faith and veritie of the vniuersall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, contenting themselves with their stone bounds, went not about to practice any deceitfull traikes nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains otherwise called Welshmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English nation, & the obseruance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both diuine and humane force vtterlie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to attaine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie free, yet in some point remained still as thral and mancipate to the subiection of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, lacing armour and weapon afooe, applied themselves to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what will come thereof (saith he) the age that followeth shall see and behold. With these wordes doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yere of our Lord 731, which was from the comming of the Englishmen into this land, about 285 yeres, according to his account.

In the yere following, that is to say 732, in place of Willfrid the second, Egbert was ordeined bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie aduanced the see of Yorke, and recouered the pall: so that where all the other bishops that held the same see before him with Paulins daies, wanted the pall, and so were counted simple but particular bishops: now was he intuled by the name of archbishop. He also got together a great number of good books, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. ¶ In the yere 733, on the 18 halends of September, the sunne suffered a great eclipse about thre of the clocke in the after none, in somuch that the earth seemed to be covered with a

blacke and horrible penthouse.

In the yere 735, that reuerend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 halends of June, and 26 of Aprill, as Matt. Westm. hath diligently obserued. W. Harison addeeth hitherto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cuthbert monke of the same house vnto Cuthwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospel of saint John into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of god booke, and not to exercise themselves with fables and frivulous matters. Finally he was buried in the abbey of Certe, distant siue miles from Elyre, mouth, an abbey also in the north parts, not far from Bewcastle (as is before remembered.) He was brought up in those two abbeies, and was scholer to John of Beverley. How thoughtlie he was scene in all kinds of god literature, the booke which he wrote doth manifestlie beare witness. His ingement also was so much esteemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celside the abbat of Whitremouth, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certain questions moved there, which without his opinion might seme to rest doubtfull. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthy of credit, he neuer went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeies of Certe and Whitremouth, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeies, and after vnder the said Celside, in whose time he received orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop John, surnamed of Beverley: so that it may be marvelled that a man borne in the uttermost corner of the world, should prove so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his native countrie to seek it. But who that marketh in reading old histories the state of abbeies and monasteries in those daies, shall well perceiue that they were ordered after the maner of our scholes or colleges, hauing in them diuerse learned men, that attended onelie to teach & bring vp youth in knowledge of god learning, or else to go abroad and preach the word of God in towne and villages adioining. The same yere died archbishop Tacine, and in the yere following, that is to say 735, Pothelmus was ordeined archbishop of Canturburie in his place, and Egbert the archbishop of Yorke the same yere got his pall from Rome, and so was confirmed archbishop, and ordeined two bishops, Frudberd, and Frudwald. But some refer it to the yere 744.

Cuthred king of the Westsaxons, he is greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuthreds sonne slaine, earle Adelme rebelleth against him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth sicke and dieth; Sigebert succeedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruell to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murder reuenged with murder, succession in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for monkes cowles; the Britains subiect to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moone eclipsed.

The third Chapter.

After the decease of Ethelard king of Westsaxons, his cosine Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the tearme of 16 yeres. He began his reigne in the yere

735
Beda departed
this life

Matt. Westm.

Kenric
king of
Mercia.74
March.

75

7
Matt. VB. Ed
put to

Cuthred.

Sign

7

749

Mar. West.
land war.Reigne the
king's sonne
died.749
Mar. West.

751

752
Mar. West.A. Ceolbald
put to flight.

Sigibert.

755

yeare of our Lord 740, in the twentie fourth yeare of the emperour Leo Maurus, in the 14 yeare of the reigns of the second Theobodus Cala k. of France, and about the 6 yeare of Ethine king of Scots. This Cuthred had much to do against Ceolbald king of Mercia, who one while with stirring his own subjects the West Saxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and sometime by secret craft and subtil practises sought to disquiet him. Holobett, in the fourth yeare of his reign, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then joining their powers together, they went against the Welshmen, & gaue them a great overthrow: as before is partly touched. In the 9 yeare of this Cuthreds reign, his sonne Kenic was slaine in a seditious tumult amongst his men of warre, a gentleman young in yeares, but of a stout courage, and verie forward, whereby (as was thought) he came the sooner to his wofull end.

In the 11 yeare of his reign, Cuthred had wars against one of his earls called Adelme, who raising a commotion against him, adventured to giue battell though he had the smaller number of men, and yet was at point to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that instant received, his pericull had not bene punished, and the kings iust cause aduanced to triumph over his aduersarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 12 yeare of his reign, king Cuthred being not well able to sustain the proud exactions and hard doings of Ceolbald king of Mercia, raised his power, and encountered with the same Ceolbald at Hereford, hauing before him the said earle Adelme, in whose valiant promise he put great hope to attaine victorie: neither was he deceived, for by the stout conduct and noble courage of the said Adelme, the losse pride of king Ceolbald was abated, so that he was there put to flight, and all his armie discomfited, after sore and terrible fight continued and maintained even to the bitter most point. In the 24 yeare of his reign, this Cuthred fought skirmishes with the Welshmen, and obtained the upper hand, without any great losse of his people: for the enemies were easlie put to flight and chased, to their owne destruction. In the yeare after, king Cuthred fell sicke, and in the 16 yeare of his reign he departed this life, after so manie great victories got against his enemies.

After him succeeded one Sigibert, a cruell and vnniercfull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigibert or Sigibert began his reign in the yeare of our Lord 755, verie nere ended. He intreated his subjects verie euill, setting law and reason at naught. He could not abide to heare his faults told him, and therefore he cruellie put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his counsell, and faithfull admonished him to reforme his euill doings: whereupon the rest of his nobles assembled themselves together with a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his estate in the beginning of the second, or (as some say) the first yeare of his reign. Then Sigibert, as he was fearefull of nature, fearing to be apprehended, got him into the wood called as then Andredeswald, and there hid himselfe, but by chance a swineheard that belonged to the late earle Cumbra at Piuersflood found him out, and perceiving what he was, slue him in reuenge of his masters death.

¶ Lo here you may see how the righteous iustice of God rewardeth wicked doings in this world with worthe recompense, as well as in the world to come, appointing euill princes sometimes to reigne for the punishment of the people, according as they deserue, permitting some of them to haue gouerne-

ment a long time; that both the forward nations may suffer long for their sins, and that such wicked princes may in an other world taste the more bitter toiments. Again, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be deliuered from oppression, and also that the naughty ruler for his misdeemour may speedie receiue due punishment.

After Beorne king of East Angles one Ethelred succeeded in gouernment of that kingdome a man noted to be of god and vertuous qualities, in that he brought by his sonne Ethelred (which succeeded him) so in the feare of the Lord, that he proued a right goodlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers say) the terme of 52 yeares.

After that Ceolbulf king of Northumberland was become a monke in the abbie of Lindesferne, his vnckles sonne Egbert (by order taken by the said Ceolbulf) succeeded him in the kingdome, and gouerned the same right worthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a monke, by the example both of his predecessor the foresaid Ceolbulf, and also of diuers other kings in those daies, so that he was the eight king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a monks cowle (as Simon Dunel. writeth.)

This Egbert (in the 18 yeare of his reign) and August king of Pias came to the citie of Alclud with their armies, and there receiued the Britains into their subiection, the first day of August: but the tenth day of the same month, the armie which he led from Duan into Newbrough, was for the more part lost and destroyed. ¶ The same yeare on the 8 kalends of December, the mone being as then in hir full, appeared to be of a blouodie colour, but at length the came to hir accustomed shew, after a maruellous meanes, for a starre which followed hir, passed by hir, & went before hir, the like disface as it kept in following hir before she lost hir usual light.

Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories against the Kentishmen and West Saxons, he killeth Egilbert king of East Angles by a policie or subtil deuise of profered currencie, he inuadeth his kingdome, and possesseth it, the archbishop see of Canturburie removed to Lichfield; archbishop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogative is deprived by king Offa, he seizeth vpon churches and religious houses; mistrusting his estate, he alich himselfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had doone to churches and religious houses, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the said see, Peter pence paid, he falleth sicke and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the short reign of his sonne.

The fourth Chapter.

After that Offa had slaine Egbert the usurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the same Offa took vpon him the gouernment of that kingdome 758, a man of such stoutnesse of stomach, that he thought he should be able to bring to passe all things whatsoever he conceived in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His doings were great and marvellous, and such as some times his vertues surpassed his vices, and sometime againe his vices seemed to overmatch his vertues. He overcame the Kentishmen in a great battell at Otford, and the Northumbrians also were by him vanquished, and in battell put to flight. With Beornulf king of West Saxons he fought

Ethelred.

738

Egbert king
of Northumberland.

758

Changing of
crownes for
monks
cowles.

756

Offa.

758

Mar. West.

Wil. Malin.

The victories
of king Offa,
Mar. West.

772

fought in open battell, and obtained a noble victorie, with small losse of his people; although the same Kentwulfe was a right valiant prince, and a good captaine.

Falsehood in
fellowship.

Againe, perceiuing that to proceed with craft, should sooner aduance his purpose, than to vse open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, vnder faire promises to giue vnto him his daughter in marriage, he allured him to come into Mercia, and receiuing him into his palace, caused his head to be stricken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his possession: yet he caused the bones of the first martyr of this land saint Albane (by a miraculous meanes brought to light) to be taken vp, and put in a rich thrine adorned with gold and stone, building a goodlie church of excellent workmanship, and founding a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he indowed with great possessions. He removed the archbishops see from Canturburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & prebeminence of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to bring his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by great gifts and rewards obtained it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then gouerning the Romane see. And so Cadulfus then bishop of Lichfield was adorned with the pall, and taken for archbishop, hauing all those bishoprics within the limits of king Offa his dominion suffragans vnto him; namelie, Denebertus bishop of Worcester, Werbertus bishop of Chester, Cadulfus bishop of Worcester, Willnar-dus bishop of Hereford, Halard bishop of Elyham, and Ceoferth bishop of Donwich. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.

The archbi-
shops see re-
moued from
Canturburie
to Lichfield.

785
Mau VVest.

The archbi-
shop Lambert
defended his
cause.

This separation continued all the life time of the archbishop Lambert, although he travelled earnestly to mainteine his prerogative. Now, for that he still defended his cause, and would not reuolt from his will, Offa depriued him of all his possessions & reuenues that he held or intoid within anie part of his dominions. Neither was Offa satisfied herewith, but he also toke into his hands the possessions of manie other churches, and sacred the house of Malmeburie of a part of his reuenues. Because of these & other his hard doings, doubting the malice of his enimies, he procured the friendship of forren princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the Westsaxons he gaue his daughter Ethelburga in marriage. And sending diuers ambassadours ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both emperour & king of France, he purchased his friendship at length, although before there had depended a pece of displeasure betwixt them, inasmuch that the intercourse for trade of merchandize was staied for a time. One of the ambassadours that was sent vnto the said Charles (as is reported) was that famous cleerke Albine or Alcuine, by whose perswasion the same Charles erected two vniuersities, as in place due and conuenient may more largelie appeare.

Offa alleth
himselfe with
other princes.

Matt. Westm.

The inter-
course of mer-
chantis staied.

Alcuine an
Englishtman.

Polydor.

775

Finallie king Offa (as it were for a meane to appease Gods wrath, which he doubted to be iustlie conceiued towards him for his sinnes and wickednesse) granted the tenth part of all his goods vnto churchmen, and to poore people. He also indowed the church of Hereford with great reuenues, and (as some write) he builded the abbey of Bath, placing monkes in the same, of the order of saint Benedict, as before he had done at saint Albons. After ouer he went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 775, and there following the example of Inas king of the Westsaxons, made his realme subiect

by way of tribute vnto the church of Rome, appoin-ting that euerie house within the limits of his dominions, should yearelie pay vnto the apostolike see one pennie, which payment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiuing himselfe to draw into yeares, he caused his sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortly after departing out of this world, left the kingdome vnto him, after he had gouerned it by the space of 39 yeares.

Peter pence
or Rome
Scot.

Will. Malin
797
Offa departeth
this life.

Amongst other the doings of this Offa, which shoulde be great and marvellous, this may not passe with silence, that he caused a mightie great ditch to be cast betwixt the marches of his countrie, and the Welch confines, to diuide thereby the bounds of their dominions. This ditch was called Offa's ditch, and stretched from the south side by Wykeflow, vnder the mountaines of Wales, running northward ouer the riuers of Auerne and Dee, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that riuer falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a church in Warwickshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offa's church even to this day. Egfrid taking vpon him the rule, began to followe the approved good doings of his father, and first restored vnto the churches their ancient priuileges, which his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceiued of his further good proceeding, but death cut off the same, taking him out of this life, after he had reigned the space of foure moneths, not for his owne offenses (as was thought) but rather for that his father had caused so much blood to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdome, which so small a time he now inioied.

Offa's ditch.

Egfrid begi-
neth to reigne.

Offa's ditch
drinke water

Will. Malin
Died be-
cause he
reign
as Sim. D
leth.
Henr. Hau
Matt. We
Ethelbert

Osulph king of Northumberland traitorously murdered, Edilwald succeedeth him, thereward of rebellion, a great mortalitye of foules fishes and fruits, monkes licenced to drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edelred king of Northumberland is driuen out of his countrie by two dukes of the same, Ethelbert king of the Eastangles commended for his vertues, Alfred the daughter of king Mercia is affianced to him, tokens of mischaps towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, hir platforme of the practise to kill him, Offa inuadeth Ethelberts kingdome, Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death greivouslie, and becometh a nun, the decaye of the kingdome of Eastangles, succession in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the gouernement of the Eastsaxons, prince Algar is smitten blind for seeking to raue with virgine Friswilde, and at his prayers restored to his sight.

40

50

60

H. Hunt
John C.
graue.
Mauth.
and oth
Ethel-
king of
angles

The
king
Ethelbert.

The fifth Chapter.

When Eadbert or Egbert king of Northumberland was become a monke, his sonne Osulphus succeeded him: but after he had reigned one lie one yeare, he was traitorously murdered by his owne seruants at Epsil-wington, on the 9 kalends of August. Then succeeded one Eoll, otherwise called Edilwald or Edilwald, but not immediatlie, for he began not his reigne till the nones of August in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our saviour 759. This man proued right valiant in gouernement of his subiects. He lue in battell an earle of his countrie named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitch field at Eadwines Clive, and receiued the worthy reward of rebellion.

Eadbert
king of Northumberland
758

Simon Dun.
Henr. Hunt

Edilwald
king of Northumberland
Simon Dun.
Henr. Hunt

This

Simon Dun.
764

This chanced in the third yeare of his reigne, and shortly after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 764, there fell such a marvellous great snow, and therewith so extreame a frost, as the like had not bene heard of, continuing from the beginning of the winter, almost till the middle of the spring, with the rigour thereof, trees and frutes withered awaie, and lost their liuelie shape and growth: and not onelie feathered foules, but also beastes on the land, & fishes in the sea died in great numbers. The same yeare died Ceolwulf then king of Northumberland, unto whome Beda did dedicate his booke of histories of the English nation. After that he was become a monke in the monasterie of Lindesferne, the monkes of that house had licence to drinke wine, or ale, whereas before they might not drinke any other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule prescribed them of the bishop Aidan first founder of the place. The same yeare sundrie cities, townes, and monasteries were defaced and soe walked with fier chancing on the sudden, as Stretehu, Ewento Antwicke, London, Worke, Doncaster, &c.

Wynb's letter
concerned to
punke wine.

Wil. Malin.
Alfred began
his reigne in
the yeare 765
as Sim. Dun.
saith.
Hunt. Hunt.
March. West.
Ethelbert,

After that Hroll had reigned 6 yeares, he resigned his kingdome. But other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end slaine by treason of his successor Alred. This Alred reigned ten yeares over the Northumbers, and was then expelled out of his kingdome by his owne subiects: Then was Ethelbert, named also Eadred, the sonne of the foresaid Hroll, made king of Northumberland, and in the first yeare of his reigne, he was driven out of his kingdome by two dukes of his countrie named Eadwald and Herbert, who moving warre against him, had slaine first Aldulf the sonne of Wosa the generall of his armie at Kingescliff, and after Eadwulf and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Wetherherne in a soe foughten field: so that Ethelbert despairing of all recoverie, was constrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kingdome of Northumberland brought into a miserable state, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the same.

H. Hunt.
John Cap.
grave.
March. West.
and others.
Ethelbert
king of East-
angles.

After that Ethelbert king of Eastangles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succeeded him, a prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuously brought up by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that he utterly abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better attaining to knowledge and understanding of good sciences. There remaine manie sundrie sayings & doings of him, manifestlie bearing witness that there could not be a man more honorable, thankfull, courteous or gentle. Amongest other he had this saying oftentimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselves: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meke.

The saying of
king Ethel-
bert.

Whereover he did not onelie shew himselfe wise in words, but desired also to excell in staednesse of manners, and continencie of life. Whereby he won to him the hearts of his people, who perceiving that he was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore minded not marriage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he should in any wise yet take a wife, that he might haue issue to succeed him. At length the matter being referred to his counsell, he was persuaded to followe their aduises. And so Alfrede the daughter of Offa king of Mercia was affianced to him: so that he himselfe appointed (as meanes to procure more fauour at his father in lawes hands) to go fetch the bride from hir fathers house.

Manie strange things that happened to him in fa-

king upon him this iournie, put him in great doubt of that which should followe: he was no longer mount- ed on his horse, but that (as seemed to him) the earth shook under him: againe, as he was in his iournie, about the mid-time of the day, such a dark night com- passed him on each side, that he could not see nor dis- cerne for a certaine time any thing about him at all: lastlie, as he slept one night asleepe, he thought he saw in a dreame the roose of his owne palace fall downe to the ground. But though with these things he was brought into great feare, yet he kept on his iournie, as he that mistrusted no deceit, measuring other mens manners by his owne. King Offa right honourable receiued him: but his wife named Quendred, a wise woman, but therewith wicked, conceived a malicious deuise in hir hart, & straight- waies went about to persuade hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murder king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdome.

Tokens of
misbap to fol-
low.

The innocent
mistrustfull of
no euill.

Offa at the first was offended with his wife for this motion, but in the end, through the importunate request of the woman, he consented to hir mind. The order of the murder was committed vnto one Winnebert, that had serued both the said Ethelbert & his father before him, the which feining as though he had bene sent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night season, shew him that once mistrusted not any such treason. Offa hauing thus dispatched Ethelbert, invaded his kingdome, and conquered it.

John Capgr.
winnebert.

Sim. Dun.
saith 771.
Offa conquers
with Eastan-
gles.

But then the bryde Alfrede understood the death of hir liked make and bridegrome, abhorring the fact, she cursed father and mother, and as it were in- spired with the spirit of prophesie, pronounced that too this punishment would shortly fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in per- suading so detestable a deed: and according to hir words it came to passe, for hir mother died miser- able within three moneths after. The maid Alfrede refusing the world, professed herselfe a nun at Crow- land, the which place began to wax famous about the yeare of our Lord 695, by the meanes of one Gut- lake, a man esteemed of great vertue and holinesse, which chose to himselfe an habitation there, and de- parting this life about the yeare of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an ab- beie of monks was builded of saint Benets order. The bodie of A. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though first it was committed to buriall in a vile place, nere to the banke of a riuer called Lug.

Alfrede a nun
Beda.
March. West.

The kingdome of Eastangles from thenceforth was brought so into decaye, that it remained subiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Westsaxons, and sometime vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund surnamed the martyr got the gouernment thereof (as after shall appere.) After that Eadred king of the Eastsaxons had gouerned the tearme of 38 yeeres, he was slaine, but in what manner, writers haue not expressed. After him succe- ded one Swithred or Swithred, the 11 and last in number that particularlie gouerned those people. He was finally expelled by Egbert K. of Westsaxons, the same yeare that the said Egbert ouercame the Kentishmen (as after shall be shewed) and so the kings of that kingdome of the Eastsaxons ceased and toke end.

H. Hunt.

About this time, there was a maid in Driford named Friswilde, daughter to a certaine duke or noble man called Widianus, with whom one Algar a prince in those parties fell in loue, and would haue rauished hir, but God the reuenger of sinnes was at hand (as the storie saith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before him, she getting into the

Friswilde a
virgine.

Driford,
solong,

to one the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddently taken from him. But the man by his prayers pacified Gods wrath towards him, so that his sight was againe restored to him. Whether this be a fable or a true tale, hereof grew the report, that the kings of this realme long times after were afraid to enter into the citie of Wyndesore. So easily is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.)

Kinewulfe king of West Saxons, his conquest over the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineard the principall procurer of that mischief, he is slaine in fight; legats from the pope to the kings and archbishops of this land about reformation in the church, a counsell holden at Mercia; iudge Beorne borne to death for crueltie; Alfwold reigneth over Northumberland, his owne subiects murther him; a booke of articles sent by Charles king of France into Britaine quite contrary to the christian faith, Albinus writeth against it; great waste by tempests of wind and rage of fire.

The sixth Chapter.

Kinewulfe
Hon. Hunt.



756
Simon Dun.
saith 755.

The Brit-
tains banqu-
ished.

After that the West Saxons had depriued their unprofitable king Sigibert, they aduanced Kinewulfe or Cineulfus, the which began his reigne about the yere of our Lord 756, which was in the 16 yere of the emperor Constantinus, surnamed Copronimus, in the 6 yere of the reigne of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yere of Ethine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe proued a right warlike and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obtained great victories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Benlinton or Benton he lost a battell against Ofa king of Mercia, in the 24 yere of his reigne: and from that time forward tasting manie displeasures, at length through his owne follie came vnto a shamefull end. For where as he had reigned a long time neither slouthfullie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as it were aduanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the surertie of their state whom he should leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whose name he perceived to increase more than he would haue wished.

This Kineard dissembling the matter, as he that could giue place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled together a knot of vngracious companie, and returning priuillie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come vnto the house of a noble woman, whom he kept as paramour at Sperton, where vpon the said Kineard vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiving himselfe thus besieged of his enemies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by courteous words to appease his enemies, or with his princelie authoritie to put them in feare.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could do good, in a great chafe he brake forth of the house vpon Kineard, and went verie nere to haue killed him: but being compassed about with multitude of enemies, whilst he stood at defense, thinking it a dishonour for him to flee, he was beaten downe and slaine, together with those few of his seruants which he had there with him, who chose rather to die in se-

king reuenge of their masters death, than by cowardise to yeeld themselves into the murderers hands: There escaped none except one Welshman or Brittain, an hostage, who was neuer the lesse sore wounded and hurt.

The brute of such an heinous act was straightwaies blowne ouer all, and brought with speed to the eares of the noble men and peeres of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had bene committed. Amongst other, one Alfwold, for his age and wisdom accounted of most authority, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their soveraigne lord to passe unpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproche. Whereupon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineard, who at the first began to plead his cause, to make large promises, to pretend coforage, and so forth; but when he perceived all that he could say or do might not preuaile, he encouraged his companie to shew themselves valiant, and to resist their enemies to the uttermost of their powers. Whereupon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part striving to saue their liues, and the other to attaine honour, and punish the slaughter of their soveraigne lord. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked murderer after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, together with fouretie and eight of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Winchester, & the murderers at Kepingdon. Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the tearme of 31 yeres.

In the yere of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or (as some copies haue) George bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus bishop of Lnderto, with letters commendatorie vnto Ofa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, Jeantight or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Caubald archbishop of Poike. These legats were gladlie received, not onlie by the foresaid kings and archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, as well spirituall as temporall of the land, & namelie of Kinewulfe king of the West Saxons, which repaired vnto king Ofa to take counsell with him for reformation of such articles as were contained in the popes letters.

There were twentie severall articles which they had to propound to the popes behalfe, as touching the receiuing of the saith or articles established by the pience counsell, and obteng of the other generall counells, with instructions concerning baptisme and keeping of synods yereleie, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers. Moreover touching discretion to be vsed in admitting of gouernours in monasteries, and curats or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behanting of priests in wearing their apparell, namelie that they should not presume to come to the altar bare legged, lest their dishonestie might be discovered: And that in no wise the chalice or pater were made of the horne of an ore, because the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of pure bread. Also whereas bishops used to sit in courtels to iudge in secular causes, they were now forbidden so to do.

Manie other things were as meanes of reformation articles, both for spirituall causes, and also concerning civil ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by them were not begot in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnies or secular women. Also of payment of tithes, performing of vobles, avoiding of vndercent apparell, and abolishing of all manner of heathenish vsges and customes that sounded contrary

under the
curtaining of
willes.

764

Sim. Dun.
saith 780.

Simon Dun

Eccle. hist.
Magd.
786
H. Hunt.
Legats from
the pope.

Ouid lib.
ar. am.

Twentie ar-
ticles which
the legats had
to propound.

He began
reigne A
779, as sa
Simon D
and reigi
last ten y

78
Math. W.
Simon I
79

From com-
cubines.

Sim. Du
8 c

Kinewulfe
slaine by con-
spirators.

Continuing of
his story.

trarie to the order of christianitie, as curtailing of
horses, and eating of horses flesh. These things with
manie other expressed in 20 principall articles (as
we haue said) were first concluded to be receiued by
the church of the Northumbres in a counsell holden
there, and subscribed by Alfwold king of the North-
umbres, by Werberke bishop of Werham, by Cu-
bald archbishop of Dore, by Wigwald bishop of Lin-
colne, by Ethelbert bishop of Whithorne, by Alouise bi-
shop of Ely, by Ethelwine also another bishop by his
deputes, with a number of other of the clergie; and
lords also of the tempozaltie, as duke Alrike, duke
Segwoulfe, abbat Alebericke, and abbat Erhard. Af-
ter this confirmation had of the Northumbres, there
was also a counsell holden in Mercia at Cealride,
in the which these persons subscribed, Lambert or
Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, Osa king of
Mercia, Hughbright bishop of Lichfield, Edeulfe bi-
shop of Faron, with Winwone bishop of Ligo, and
nine other bishops, besides abbats; and three dukes,
as Wioda, Farwald, and Wercoald, with earle Dith-
bald.

But now to returne backe to speake of other do-
ings, as in other parts of this land they fell out. A-
bout the yere of our Lord 764, the see of Cantur-
burie being void, one Lambert or Lambert was elec-
ted archbishop there, and in the yere 766, the archbi-
shop of Dore Egbert departed this life, in whose
place one Adelbert succeeded. About the 25 yere
of Kentwulf king of Westsaxons, the Northumbres
hauling to their captiue two noble men, Oswald and
Ethelherard, burned one of their iudges named
Wearne, because he was more cruell in iudgement
(as they take the matter) than reason required. In
which vengeance executed upon the cruell iudge (if
he were so seuer as this attempt of the two noble
men doth offer the readers to suspect) all such of his
liuerie & calling are taught lenitie & mildnes, wher-
with they should leuen the rigor of the lawe. For

*capit indulgentia mentes,
Asperitas odium seuagque bella mouet.
Odium accipitrem, qui a uiuis semper in armis,
Et pauidum soltos in pecus ire lupos.
At caret insidys hominum, qui a mistu hirundo est,
Qualque colat turres Chaonis ales habet.*

At the same time, one Alfwold or Alfwald reigned
ouer the Northumbres, being admitted k. after that
Ethelbert was expelled, and when the same Alfwald
had reigned 10, or (as some say) 11 yeres; he was
traitorouslie and without all guilt made away;
the chafe conspirator was named Siga. The same
Alfwald was a iust prince, and worthilie gouerned
the Northumbres to his high praise and commen-
dation. He was murdered by his owne people (as
before ye haue heard) the 23 of September, in the
yere of our Lord 788, and was buried at Werham.

In the yere 792, Charles king of France sent
a booke into Britaine, which was sent vnto him from
Constantinople, containing certeine articles agreed
vpon in a synod (wherein were present about the
number of three hundred bishops) quite contrarie
and disagreeing from the true faith, namely in this,
that images ought to be worshipped, which the church
of God utterly abhorreth. Against this booke Albi-
nus that famous cleark wrote a treatise confirmed
with places taken out of holie scripture, which trea-
tise, with the booke in name of all the bishops and
princes of Britaine, he presented vnto the king of
France. ¶ In the yere 800, on Christmasse euen
chanced a marvellous tempest of wind, which ouer-
threw whole cities and towncs in diuerse places, and
trees in great number, beside other harmes which it
did, as by death of cattell, &c. In the yere following
a great part of London was consumed by fire.

Britricus K. of the Westsaxons, his in-
clination, Egbert being of the blood roiall
is banished the land, & why; crosses of bloudie
colour and drops of blood fell from heauen; what
they did prognosticate; the first Danes that arrived
on the English coasts, and the cause of their coming; fire dra-
gons flieg in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Bri-
tricus is poisoned of his wife Ethelburga, his ill qualities; why
the kings of the Westsaxons decreed that their wiues should
not be called queenes, the miserable end of Ethelburga; Ken-
nulf king of Mercia, his vertues, he restoreth the archbishops
see to Canturburie which was translated to Lichfield, he
inuaeth Kent, taketh the king prisoner in the field,
and bountifullie setteth him at libertie, the
great ioy of the people therevpon; his
rare liberalitie to churchmen, his
death and buriall.

The seventh Chapter.



After Kentwulf, one Bri-
tricus or Brightrike was or-
dained king of Westsaxons,
and began his reigne in the
yere of our Lord 787, which
was about the 8 yere of the
gouernment of the emperesse
Cirene with his son Constan-
tinus, and about the second yere of the reigne of
Achatus k. of Scots. This Brightrike was descen-
ded of the line of Cerdicus the first king of West-
saxons, the 16 in number from him. He was a man
of nature quiet & temperate, more desirous of peace
than of warre, and therefore he stood in doubt of the
noble ballancie of one Egbert, which after succeeded
him in the kingdome. The lineage of Cerdicus was
in that season so confounded and mingled, that eu-
erie one as he grew in greatest power, strove to be
king and supream gouernour. But spectallie
Egbertus was knowne to be one that coveted
that place, as he that was of the blood roiall, and
a man of great power and lustie courage. King
Brightrike therefore to liue in more safetie, ban-
ished him the land, and appointed him to go into
France. Egbert vnderstanding certeinlie that this
his departure into a forreine countrie should ad-
uance him in time, obeyed the kings pleasure.

About the third yere of Brightrikes reigne,
there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked a-
broad, crosses of bloudie colour, and blood fell from
heauen as drops of raine. Some take this wonder
for a signification of the persecution that followed by
the Danes: for shortly after, in the yere insu-
ing, there arrived three Danish ships vpon the
English coasts, against whome the lieutenant of the
parties adioining made forth, to apprehend those that
were come on land, howbeit aduenturing himselfe
ouer rashlie amongst them, he was slaine: but after-
wards when the Danes perceiued that the people of
the countries about began to assemble, and were
comming against them, they fled to their ships, and
left their prey and spoile behind them for that time.
These were the first Danes that arrived here in this
land, being onelie sent (as was perceiued after) to
biew the countrie and coasts of the same, to under-
stand how with a greater power they might be able
to inuaue it, as shortly after they did, and warred so
with the Englishmen, that they got a great part of
the land, and held it in their owne possession. In the
tenth yere of king Brightrikes reigne, there were
seene in the aire fire dragons flieg, which betokened
(as was thought) two grieuous plagues that follo-
wed. First a great dearth and famine: and secondlie
a cruell war of the Danes, which shortly followed,
as ye shall heare.

Britri-
cus.

Hen. Hunt.
Matt. VVest.
saith 787.
Simon Dun.
saith 786.

Egbert was
banished.

A strange
wonder.

Matt. West.
Wil. Malm.
Hen. Hunt.
Danes.

Famine & war
signified.

39. ij.

Finallie

64

Sim. Dun.
saith 780.

Simon Dun.

Ouid. lib. 2. de
arum.

He began his
reigne Anno.
779, as saith
Simon Dun.
and reigned
but ten yeres.

788
Math. West.
Simon Dun.
792

Sim. Duncl.
800

Ran. Cest.
lib. 5. cap. 25.
Wightrike
departed
this life.

Ethelburga
hir condicions
and wicked
nature.

A decree of the
kings of the
West Saxons
against their
Sons.

The end of
Ethelburga.
Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.
Kenulfe.

The archbis-
shops see re-
stored to Can-
turburie.

The king of
Kent taken
prisoner.

Kenulfe libe-
ralitie to-
wards church
men which
was not for-
gotten by
them in their
disposies.

Finallie, after that Wightrike had reigned the space of 16 yeres, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter unto Offa king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he married hir in the fourth yere of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie euill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainfull. She bare hir the more statelie, by reason of hir fathers great fame and magnificence: whome she hated the would accuse to hir husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so wreake hir rancour, she would not sticke to poison them.

It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a young gentleman, against whome she had a quarell, the king chanced to tast of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) His purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the king, but onelie the young gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also, the poison was so strong and vehement. For hir heinous crime it is said that the kings of the West Saxons would not suffer their wiues to be called quenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their maiesties should bee shewed) manie yeres after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbey, and demeaned hirselfe so lewdlie there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne countrie men, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordeined his sonne Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the line of Wenda king of Mercia, as rightlie descended from his brother Kenwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisdom, and by right dealing, was thought to be compared with the best princes that haue reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that enuie could with iust cause reprove. At home he shewed himselfe goodlie and religious, in warre he became victorious, he restored the archbishops see againe to Canturburie, wherein his humbleness was to be praised, that made no account of worldly honour in his prouince, so that the order of the ancient canons might be obserued. He had wars left him as it were by succession from his predecessour Offa against them of Kent, and therupon entering that countrie with a mighty armie, wasted and spoiled the same, and encountering in battell with king Eobert or Ethelbert, otherwile called Penne, ouerthrew his armie, and took him prisoner in the field, but afterwards he released him to his great praise and commendation. For where as he builded a church at Winchcombe, upon the day of the dedication thereof, he led the Kentish king as then his prisoner, by to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great proofe of his good nature.

There were present at that sight, Cuthbert whome he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Eobert, with 13 bishops, and 10 dukes. The noise that was made of the people in releasing at the kings bountious liberalitie was marvellous. For not onelie he thus restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed great rewards upon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, euerie priest had a peece of gold, and euerie monke a shilling. Also he dealt and gaue away great gifts amongst the people, and founded in that place an abbey, indowing the same with great possessions. Finallie, after he had reigned 24 yeres, he departed

this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbey of Winchcombe, leaving behind him a sonne named Keneline, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was soon murdered by his vnnaturall sister Quendred, the 17 of Iulie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Ofrike king of Northumberland lea-
ueth the kingdome to Edelbert reuoked out
of exile, king Alfwalds sons miserablie slaine,
Ofred is put to death, Ethelbert putteth away his
wife and marieth another, his people rise against
him therefore and kill him, Oswald succeeding him is driven
out of the land; Ardulfe king of Northumberland, duke Wade
raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is
slaine; a fore battell fought in Northumberland, the English
men assist one another with ciuill warres; king Ardulfe deposed
from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbers retained
as dangerous and deadlie by destinie, what befell them in lieu
of their disloialtie; the Danes inuade their land and are van-
quished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decalith, the
state of that kingdome; the primacie restored to the
see of Canturburie, Egbert (after the death of
Britricus) is sent for to vndertake the
gouernement of the West Sax-
ons, his linage.

The eight Chapter.



When Alfwald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Ofred the sonne of Aldred took upon him the rule of that kingdome anno 788, and within one yere was expelled, and left the kingdome to Ethelbert or Eobert as then reuoked out of exile, in which he had remained for the space of 12 yeres, and now being restored, he continued in gouernement of the Northumbers 4 yeres, or (as some say) 7 yeres; in the second yere whereof duke Cardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, and there without the gate of the monasterie wounded (as was thought) to death by the said king, but the monks taking his bodie, and laying it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found aliue in the church.

Whereouer, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfwald were by force dravne out of the citie of York, but first by a while they were trained out of the head church where they had taken sanctuarie, and so at length miserablie slaine by king Ethelbert in Monksdalemere, one of them was named Alfus, & the other Alfwil. In the yere of our Lord 792, Ofred upon trust of the othes and promises of diuers noble men, secretly returned into Northumberland, but his owne souldiers forsake him, and so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandment put to death at Cumburgh on the 14 day of September.

The same yere king Ethelbert married the ladie Alfed the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & hauing no iust cause of mouere giuen on his part, wherby his people took such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yeres, or (as other say) seven yeres, he could not auoid the destinie of his predecessors, but was miserablie killed by his owne subjects at Cobze, the 18 day of Aprill. After whome, one Oswald a noble man was ordeined king, and within 27 or 28 daies after was expelled, and constrained to flee first into the Ile of Lindisferne, and from thence vnto the king of Dacia.

Then Ardulfe that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulfe was reuoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at York by the archbishop Cumbald, and

palaege.

792

The English
men assisted
each other
with ciuill
warres.

Ofred.
788
Wil. Malm.
Math. West.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

Duke Cardulfe
taken and
wounded.

This ch
in the yere
of our Lord
790, as
Dun. saith

791

The D
in the yere
of our Lord
790, as
Dun. saith

John Paul
Arnulfe.

The D
banqu
this
anno 7
Simon
saith.

796

Malage.

799

The English men allured each other by small wars.

and three other bishops, the 15 of June, in the yere 796. About two yeres after, to wit, in the yere 798, one duke Alde, and other conspirators which had bene also partakers in the murdering of king Ethelbert, raised warre against king Ardule, and fought a battell with him at Aldeg, but king Ardule got the upper hand, and chased Alde and other his enemies out of the field. In the yere 799, duke Alde that had murdered Ethelbert or Athelred king of Northumberland, was slaine by another duke called Gothmund, in reuenge of the death of his maister the said Ethelbert. Shortly after, about the same time that Brightrike king of Westsaxons departed this life, there was a soze battell fought in Northumberland at Wellehare, in the which Alricke the sonne of Werbert, and manie other with him were slaine: but to rehearse all the battels with their successes and issues, it should be too tedious and irkesome to the readers, for the English people being naturallie hard and high-minded, continually scourged each other with intestine warres. About six or seven yeres after this battell, king Ardule was expelled out of the state.

Thus ye may consider in what plight things stood in Northumberland, by the often seditions, tumults and changings of gouernours, so that there be which haue written, how after the death of king Ethelbert, otherwise called Edelred, diuers bishops and other of the chiefe nobles of the countrie obtaining such traitorous prince-killings, ciuill seditions, and intestine dealings, as it were put in daillie practise amongst the Northumbers, departed out of their native borders into voluntarie exile, and that from thenceforth there was not anie of the nobilitie that durst take vpon him the kingly gouernement amongst them, fearing the fatall prerogative thereof, as if it had bene Scians horse, whose rider came euer to some euill end. But yet by that which is here tofore shewed out of Simon Dunelm, it is euident, that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted.

Howbeit this is certaine, that the sundrie murdering and banishments of their kings and dukes gine vs great lie to gesse, that there was but soze obedience vied in the countrie, whereby for no small space of time that kingdome remained without an head gouernor, being set open to the prey and iniurie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewise vnto strangers. For the Danes, which in those daies were great rovers, had landed before in the north parts, & spoiled the abbeie of Lindisferne otherwise called holie Iland, and perceiuing the fruitlesse of the countrie, and easinesse for their people to invade it (because that through their pinate quarrelling there was little publike resistance to be looked for) at their coming home, entised their countreymen to make boiages into England, and so landing in Northumberland, did much hurt, and obtained a great part of the countrie in manner without resistance, because there was no ruler there able to raise anie power of men by publike authoritie to encounter with the common enemies, whereby the countrie was brought into great miserie, partie with war of the Danes, and ciuill dissention amongst the nobles and people themselves, no man being of authoritie (I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet we find that the nobles and capitaines of the countrie assembling together at one time against the Danes that were landed about Wymouth, constrained them by sharpe fight to flee backe to their ships, and toke certaine of them in the field, whose heads they stroke off there vpon the shore. The other that got to their ships, suffered great losse of men,

and likewise of their vessels by tempest.

Here then we are taught that the safest way to mainteine a monarchie, is when all degrees liue in loialtie. And that it is necessarie there should be one supereminent, vnto whome all the residue should scope: this traile booke of ours may giue vs sufficient instruction. For reason ruleth in the mind as soueraigne, and hath subiect vnto it all the affections and inward motions, yea the naturall actions are directed by his gouernement: wherefo if the will be obedient there cannot crape in anie outrage or disorder. Such should be the sole regiment of a king in his kingdome; otherwile he may be called *Rex regendo*, as *Mons mouendo*. For there is not a greater enemie to that estate, than to admit participants in roialtie, which as it is a reabie way to cause a subuersion of a monarchie; so it is the shortest cut ouer to a disordered anarchie. But to proceed in the historie.

After that Alricke (the last of king Westsaxons sonnes, which reigned in Kent successiuelie after their father) was dead, the noble offspring of the kings there so decayed, and began to wade adwaie, that euerie one which either by flattering had got riches together, or by seditious partaking was had in estimation, sought to haue the gouernement, and to usurp the title of king, abusing by vnlawfulie means the honor and dignitie of so high an office. Amongest others, one Gobert or Edelbert, surnamed also Denne, gouerned the Kentishmen for the space of two yeres, and was in the end banquished by them of Mercia, and taken prisoner, as before is said: so that for a time he liued in captiuitie, and although afterwards he was set at libertie, yet was he not receiued againe to the kingdome, so that it is incertaine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kingulfe the king of Mercia, to reigne in place of the same Gobert or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eight yeres as king, rather by name than by act, inheriting his predecessors euill hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discord.

After that Lambith or Lambert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primasie was restored, which in his predecessors time was taken a waie by Offa king of Mercia, as before is recited. Also after the death of Cubald archbishop of Dorke, another of the same name called Cubald the second was admitted to succeed in that se. After that Brightrike the king of Westsaxons was departed this life, messengers were sent with all speed into France, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egbert, which as before is shewed, was constrained by the said Brightrike to depart the countrie. At the first, he withdrew vnto Offa king of Mercia, with whome he remained for a time, till at length (through suit made by Brightrike) he perceiued he might not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enemies hands; and so Offa winkling at the matter, he departed out of his countrie, and got him ouer into France. But being now aduertised of Brightrikes death, and required by earnest letters sent from his friends to come and receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he returned with all conuenient speed into his countrie, and was receiued immediatlie for king, by the generall consent of the Westsaxons, as well in respect of the good hope which they had conceiued of his worthie qualities and aptnesse to haue gouernement, as of his roiall linage, being lineallie descended from Arnigils the brother of king Inas, as sonne to Alricke mount, that was the sonne of one Cassa, which Cassa was sonne to Ope the sonne of the foresaid Arnigils.

Edelbert.

Lambert.

Egbert receiued as king of Westsaxons his linage.

ap. iij.

Egbert

This chanced in the yere about 790, as Simon Dun. saith.

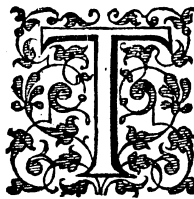
The Danes made for Northumberland.

The Danes banquished. This was in anno 794, as Simon Dun. saith.

Egbert reigneth ouer the West Saxons, his practise or exercise in the time of his exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornishmen and Welshmen, Bernulfe king of Mercia taketh indignation at Egbert for the enlarging of his roiall authoritie, they fight a fore battell, Egbert overcometh, great ods betwene their souldiers, bishop Alstan a warrior; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Suffex, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert; he killeth Bernulfe K. of Mercia, and conquereth the whole kingdome, Whithlase the king thereof becommeth his tributarie, the Northumbers submit themselves to Egbert, he conquereth Northwales and the citie of Chester, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this Ile was called England, the Danes invade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen ioine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.

The ninth Chapter.

Egbert.
802 as Simon
Duncl. and
M. W. hath
noted but 801.



His Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperor Cirine began the second time to rule the empire, and in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Charles the great king of France, which also was in the same yeare after he was made emperor of the west, and about the second yeare of Conwall king of Scots. Whilist this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his aduersaries into an occasion of his valliance, as it had bene a grindstone to grind a waite and remove the rust of sluggish slothfulness, in so much that hauing the wars in France, in seruice of Charles the great, he attained to great knowledge and experience, both in matters appertaining to the wars, and likewise to the well ordering of the common wealth in time of peace. The first wars that he toke in hand, after he had attained to the kingdome, was against the Cornishmen, a remnant of the old Britains, whome he shortly overcame and subdued. Then he thought god to tame the vniquiet Welshmen, the which still were readie to moue rebellion against the Englishmen, as they that were vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, therefore about the 14 yeare of his reigne, he invaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding a

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Bernulfe king
of Mercia.

A battell
fought at
london.

Egbert was
the victorie.

King Egbert hauing overcome his enemies of Wales and Cornwell, began to grow in authoritie about all the other rulers within this land, in so much that euerie of them began to feare their owne estate, but namelie Bernulfe king of Mercia sore stomached the matter, as he that was wise, and of a loslie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was knowen also to be a man both skilfull and valiant. At length yet considering with himselfe, that if his chance should be to spead well, so much the more should his praise be increased, he determined to attempt the fortune of warre, and thereupon intimated the same vnto Egbert, who supposing it should be a dishonour vnto him to giue place, boldlie prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field. Hereupon they incountred together at Ellendun, & fought a fore battell, in the which a huge number of men were slaine, that on the one part, and on the other, but in the end the victorie remained with Egbert, although he had not the like host for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and hartie men; where Bernulfe

souldiers (through long ease) were cowardlie persons, and overcharged with sleth. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was aduanced into such hope, that he persuaded himselfe to be able without great adoe to overcome the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plaine lie soe weakened and fallen into great decaye. Hereupon before all other, he determined to assaile

- 10 Edelbulfe king of Kent, whome he knew to be a man in no estimation amongst his subiects. A competent armie therefore being leued, he appointed his sonne Ethelwulfe & Alstan bishop of Shirebozne, with earle Walhard to haue the conduct thereof, and sent them with the same into Kent, where they wrought such maiesties, that they chased both the king and all other that would not submit themselves, out of the countrie, constraining them to passe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Westsaxons following the victorie, brought vnder subiection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Essex, Southerie, and Suffex. The Eastangles also about the same time receiued king Egbert for their soveraigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, invaded the confines of his kingdome, in reuenge of displeasures which he had done to them latelie before, by invading their countrie, and as it came to passe, incountring with the said Bernulfe which came against them to defend
- 30 his countrie, they slue him in the field.

Thus their minds on both parts being kindled into further wrath, the Eastangles esloones in the yeare following fought with them of Mercia, and overcame them againe, and slue their king Ludcenus, who succeeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with 5 of his earles. The state of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceived an assured hope of good successe, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open inuasion into the countrie, and chasing Whithlase king of Mercia (that succeeded Ludcenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercians. But yet in the yeare next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whithlase, with condition, that he should inioy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king of Mercia was slaine by the Eastangles, there was a fore battell foughten at Gauleford, betwixt them of Deuonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.

King Egbert hauing conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Hamber, led forth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie vered with ciuill sedition, but also with the often inuasion of Danes, perceived not how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore vpon good aduiseement taken in the matter, they resolved to submit themselves, and thereupon sent ambassadors to him to offer their submission, committing themselves whole vnto his protection. King Egbert glablie receiued them, and promised to defend them from all forein enemies. Thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiection to the kings of the West Saxons, after the state had bene soe weakened with contention and ciuill discord that had continued amongst the nobles of the countrie, for the space of manie yeeres, beside the inuasion made by outward enemies, to the greuous damage of the people.

After that king Egbert had finished his business in Northumberland, he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subuerted the same,

Will. Main
826

Alstan bishop
of Shirebozne
a warrior.

The countie
of the west
saxons.

Hen. Hunt.

Bernulfe
king of Mercia
slaine.

Simon Dun.

These were
the English
men as is to
be supposed.

King Egbert
invadeth
Northumberland
land.
The North
thumbers sub
mit them
selves to king
Egbert.

under t.
Ran. Hugd.
Northwales
and the citie
of Chester
conquered by
Egbert.

The name
this he wot
it was than
god.

The Dane

The Eng
men discou
ered by Da
Simon Du
H. Hunt.
March, W
821

Danes at
Northwales
banquish

821
March, W

Egbert
parteth
life.
833
March, W

the name of
this sic when
was chan-
g'd.

The name of
this sic when
was chan-
g'd.

The Danes.

The English-
men discomf-
ted by Danes.
Simon Dun-
H. Hunt.
March, West.
824

Danes and
wellmen
banquished.

836
March, West.

Egbert de-
parteth this
life.
837
March, West.

with the citie of Cheshir, which till those daies, the Britains or Welshmen had kept in their possession. When king Egbert had obtained these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people here in this land, he caused a counsell to be assembled at Winchester, and there by advise of the highestates, he was crowned king, as soueraine gouernour and supream lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to giue commandement, that from thence forward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appere (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortly after the first time that the Angles and Saxons got possession thereof.

Now was king Egbert settled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of 35 ships, were arrived on the English coasts, and began to make soze warre in the land. B. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient speed got together an armie, and went forth to giue battell to the enemies. Hereupon encountering with them, there was a soze foughten field betwixt them, which continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen, which before were at point to haue gone auaite with victorie, were banquished and put to flight, yet king Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enemies hands: but two of his chiefe captiues Dudda and Olmond, with two bi-shops, to wit, Herferd of Winchester, and Wigferd of Shireborne, were slaine in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yere of king Egberts reigne.

In the yere following, the Danes with their nauie came into Westsates, and there the Welshmen joining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune banquished and slue both the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great number, at a place called Hengistenton. The next yere after also, which was 836, he ouerthrew another armie of Danes which came against him, as one author writeth, finally. When king Egbert had reigned the tearme of 36 yeres and senen moneths with great glorie for the enlarging of his kingdome with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compass, he departed this life, leaving to his issue matter of worthy praise to mainteine that with order which he with painfull diligence had ioined together. His bodie was buried at Winchester, and he left behind him two sonnes Ethelwulf, otherwile named Athanle and Adelfkan. The first he appointed to succede him in the kingdome of Westsaxons, and Adelfkan he ordeined to haue the gouernment of Kent, Suffex, and Essex.

Where we see the paterne of a fortunate prince in all his affaires, as well forreign as domesticall, wherein is first to be obserued the order of his education in his tender yeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progresse of his age bring great matters to passe; his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no pollicie, so he had powelle enough to encounter with his enemies, to whome he gaue manie a fawle discomfiture. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happie successe in his mariall affaires, was the good chiefe that he made of seruiceable soldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and ha-ving gotten it, were not vntaught to vse it to their benefit, by their warineffe and heedfaling, for

Sapius incant a noctis victoribus

The kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, the end of the kingdome of Kent and Essex; Kenelme king of Mercia murdered by the means of his owne sister Quendred, the order of his wicked practise; his death prophesied or foresewed by a signe, the kings of Mercia put by their roialtie one after another, the kingdome of Britaine beginneth to be a monarchie; Ethelwulf king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his butlers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enemies, the Danes sought the ruine of this Ile, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and verie seruiceable to king Ethelwulf in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Englishmen chased, Ethelwulfs great victorie ouer the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethelwulfs deuotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he marrieth the ladie Iudith, his two sonnes conspire (vpon occasion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethelwulf dieth, his foure sonnes by his first wife Osburga, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.

The tenth Chapter.



When Cuthred K. of Kent had reigned 8 yeres, as before is mentioned, he was constrained to giue place vnto one Walred, that toke vpon him the gouernment, & reigned the space of 18 yeres, without anie great authoritie, for his subiects regarded him but as a liege, so that in the end, when his countrie was invaded by the Westsaxons, he was easilie constrained to depart into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdome had continued in gouernment of kings created of the same nation for the space of 382 yeres, that is to say, from the yere of our Lord 464, vnto the yere 827. Cuthred or Sauthred king of Essex was banquished and expelled out of his kingdome by Egbert king of Westsaxons (as before ye maie read) in the same yere that the Kentishmen were subdued by the said Egbert, or else verie shortly after. This kingdome continued 281 yeres, from the yere 614, vnto the yere 795, as by the table of the Heptarchie set forth by Alexander Neuell appeareth. After the deceasse of Kentwulf king of Mercia, his sonne Kenelme a child of the age of seuen yeres was admitted king, about the yere of our Lord 821. He had two sisters, Quendred and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to say) Quendred, of a malicious mind, moued through ambition, enuied his brothers aduancement, and sought to make him a waic, so that in the end she corrupted the gouernour of his person one Althbert, with great rewards and high promises perswading him to dispatch his innocent brother out of life, that he might reigne in his place. Althbert one day vnder a colour to haue the young king forth on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie; an impe by reason of his tender yeres and innocent age, vnto the world vnde of gile; and yet thus traitorously murdered without cause or crime: he was afterward reputed for a martyr.

There hath gone a tale that his death should be signified at Rome, and the place where the murder was committed, by a strange manner: for as they say a while after came and lighted vpon the altar of saint Peter, bearing a scroll in his bill, which the set fall on the same altar, in which were among other things these words contained, Kenelme Houball, Kenelme kinbaradeth vnder the stone, heaued be read: that is, at Clene in a stone picture, Kenelme the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale

Wil. Malm.

The end of
the kingdome
of Kent.
827

The end of
the kingdome
of Essex.

Matt. Westm.
821
The wicked-
nes of Quen-
dred.

King Kenelm
murdered.

See legenda
aurea, fol. 64,
in the life of
S. Kenelme.

I beaue, not for anie credit I thinke it woorthie of, but onelie for that it seemeth to note the place where the young prince innocentlie lost his life.

Coelwulfe k.
of Mercia.
823

After that Mercie was thus made alwaie, his vnckle Coelwulfe the brother of king Kenulfe was created king of Mercia, and in the second yere of his reigne was expelled by Bernwulfe. Bernwulfe in the third yere of his reigne, was vanquished and put to flight in battell by Egbert king of Westsaxons, and shortly after slaine of the Eastangles, as before ye haue heard. Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created king of Mercia, and within two yeres after came to the like end that happened to his predecessor before him, as he went about to reuenge his death, so that the kingdome of Britaine began now to reele from their owne estate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the creation of a perfect monarchie, and finall subuersion of their particular estates and regiments. After Ludicenus, succeeded Wightlase, who first being vanquished by Egbert king of Westsaxons, was afterwards restored to the kingdome by the same Egbert, and reigned 13 yeres, wherof twelue at the least were vnder tribute which he paid to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his souereignes and supream gouer- nours. The kingdome of Northumberland was brought in subiection to the kings of Westsaxons, as before is mentioned, in the yere of our Lord 828, and in the yere of the reigne of king Egbert 28, but yet here it take not end, as after shall appere.

Matt. Westm.
728

828

Ethel-
wulfus.

Ethelwulfus, otherwife called by some writers Aethulfus, began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons in the yere 837, which was in the 24 yere of the emperour Ludouicus Plus that was also k. of France, in the tenth yere of Theophilus the emperour of the East, & about the third yere of Kenneth, the second of that name king of Scots. This Ethelwulfus min- ding in his youth to haue bene a priest, entered into the orders of subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howeuer the matter stand, or whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortly after he was absolved of his bowes by authoritie of pope Leo, and then married a proper gentlewoman named Osburga, which was his butlers daughter. He was of nature courteous, and rather desirous to liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the go- uernment of manie countries, so that contenting himselfe with the kingdome of Westsaxons, he per- mitted his brother Adelstan to inioy the residue of the countries which his father had subdued, as Kent and Essex, with other. He aided Worthed the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie ad- uanced his estimation, by giuing into him his daughter in marriage.

Henric Hunt.
Marth. West.

Wil. Malm.

Four expect-
all destructi-
ons of this
land.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this land by forein enemies, was at hand: for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those northeast regions, which in that season were great rousers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and preies as they had taken in the same, so that perswading they could not purchase more pro- fit anie where else, they set their myndes to invade the same on eche side, as they had parties begun in the daies of the late kings Wightlase and Egbert. The persecution fled by these Danes seemed more gre- uous, than anie of the other persecutions, either be- fore or since that time: for the Romans hauing quickly subdued the land, gouerned it without taking the subuersion thereof. The Saxons and Brits onelie invaded the north parts. And the Saxons say- ing the conquest of the land, when they had once get it, they kept it, and did that they could, to better and aduance it to a flourishing state.

The Romans likewise hauing made a conquest,

granted both life, libertie, and ancient lawes to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now invading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much couet to conquer it, as to spoile it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste and destitute it: who if they were at anie time overcome, the victors were no- thing the more in quiet: for a new nauie, and a great armie was readie to make some new inuasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and another in the west, or in the north and south coasts, in such sort, that the Englishmen knew not whether they should first go to make resistance against them.

This mischief began chieflie in the daies of this king Ethelwulfus, but it continued about the space of two hundred yeres, as by the sequelle of this booke it shall appere. King Ethelwulfus was not so much gi- uen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and subiects, he was readie to take order for the beating backe of the enemies, as occasion serued, and speciallie chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and wisdom. Amongst other, there were two notable prelates, Sui- thune bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, who were readie euer to giue him good aduise. Swithune was not so much expert in mo- bilie matters as Adelstan was, & therefore chieflie coun- selled the king in things appertaining to his sonles health: but Adelstan toke in hand to order matters appertaining to the state of the commonwealth, as providing of monie, and furnishing forth of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldlie begun, and hapilie atchiued, as by writers hath bene recorded. He gouerned the se of Shireborne the space of 50 yeres, by the good coun- sell and faithfull aduise of those two prelates.

King Ethelwulfus gouerned his subiects verie pa- cislicelie, and by himselfe and his capteins oftentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at their hands great los- ses, and sundrie soe detriments. In the first yere of his reigne, the Danes arrived at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whome he sent earle Wulhard with part of his armie, the which giuing battell to the en- mies, made great slaughter of them, and obtained a noble victorie. He sent also earle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men against an other number of the Danes, which were landed at Dorsetmouth, but af- ter long fight, the said Adelhelme was slaine, and the Danes obtiained the victorie. In the yere following, earle Werbert fought against the Danes at Perse- ware, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same yere, a great armie of Danes passing by the east parts of the land, as through Lindsey, Eastan- gle, and Kent, slue and murdered an huge number of people. The next yere after this, they entered fur- ther into the land, and about Canturburie, Rochester, and London, did much mischief.

King Ethelwulfus in the sixt yere of his reigne, with a part of his armie incountred with the Danes at Carrum, the which were arrived in those parties with 30 ships, hauing their full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of men of warre, in so much that they obtiained the victorie at that time, and put the king to the worse. About the tenth yere of king Ethelwulfus reigne, one of his capteins called Crinwulfus, and bi- shop Adelstan, with the Summertshire men, and an other capteine called Olfred, with the Dorsetshire men, fought against the Danes, at a place called Weddesmouth, and vanquished them with great tes- timony. In the sixteenth yere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfus and his sonne Ethelbalde hauing assembled

The Danes
fought the
first battle
of this land.

How long the
persecution of
the Danes
lasted.

Will. Malm.

Two notable
bishops in E-
thelwulfus
daies.

Simon Dun
852

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Danes be-
comfith.
Marth. West.

Englishmen
put to flight.

They are the
last time
quiesced.

Great slan-
ter of Dan-
es: East.

The Sax-
ons.

King Ethel-
wulfus libe-
tie to chi-
ches.
Will. Malm.
Simon Dun.
Manuscr.

The last
battle.

Will. Malm.

all their powers together, gaue battell at Deley, to a huge host of Danes, the which with foure hundred and fiftie ships had arrived at Thames mouth, and destroyed the famous cities of London and Canterbury, and also had chased Wightwille king of Mercia in battell, and being now entered into Southrie, were encountered by king Ethelwulle at Deley aforesaid, & after sore fight and incredible slaughter made on both sides, in the end, the victorie by the power of God was given to those that beleued on him, and the losse rested with great confusion to the miscreants.

Thus king Ethelwulle obtained a glorious victorie in so mighty a battell, as a greater had not bene lightlie heard of to chauce within the English dominions. The same yere also Athelstan king of Kent and duke Calhere fought by sea with the Danes, and took 9 of their ships, and chased the residue. Moreover, one earle Ceole having with him the power of Devonshire, fought with the Danes at Winton, and got the victorie. This yere was verie luckie to the English nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged all the winter season in the Isle of Tenet. And this was the first time that they remained here all the winter, using afore time but to come and make an invasion in one place or other, and immediatlie to returne home with the prey.

In the 18 yere of king Ethelwulfs reigne, he aided Wulfred king of Mercia against the Welshmen (as before is mentioned) and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the solemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The same yere king Ethelwulle sent his sonne Alured as then but six yeres of age to Rome, where he was consecrated B. by pope Leo the fourth, and was received of him as if he had bene his owne sonne. Duke Calhere or Cadhere with the Kentishmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southrie, fought against the armie of Danes at Tenet, where great slaughter was made on both sides, the Englishmen prevailing in the beginning, but in the end, both their foresaid dukes or leaders died in that battell, beside manie other that were slaine and drowned.

In the 19 yere of his reigne, king Ethelwulle ordained that the tenths or tithes of all lands due to be paid to the church, should be free from all tribute, duties, or services regall. And afterwards, with great devotion he went to Rome, where he was received with great honour, and taried there one whole yere: he took with him his sonne Alured, who had bene there before as ye have heard. He repaired the Saxons scholl, which Wita king of Mercia had sometime founded in that cite, and latelie had bene soze decayed by fire. He confirmed the grant of Peter pence, to the intent that no Englishmen from thence forth should do penance in bounds as he sawe some there to do before his face. It is also writtten, that he should acquit all the churches of his realme of paying tribute to his coffers (as before ye have heard) & moreover, he commanded to send unto Rome everie yere three hundred marks, that is to say, one hundred marks to saint Peters church, an other hundred marks to saint Pauls light, and the thirde hundred marks to the Pope.

In his returne thorough France, he married the ladie Judith, daughter to Charles the bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his countrie, placed hir by him in a chaire of estate, with which deed he offended so the minds of his subjects, because it was against the order taken before him, for the offense of Ethelburga, that his sonne Ethelbald and Adelftan bishop of Shireborne, with Entwulle earle of Summerfet, conspired to depose him from his kinglie authoritie; but by mediation of friends,

the matter was taken up, and so ordered, that the kingdome was divided betwixt the father and the sonne, with such partialitie, that the sonne had the better part lying westward, and the father was constrained to content himselfe with the east part being the worst.

Of this trouble of Ethelwulle some write otherwise, after this manner word for word. Ethelwulle king of the Westsaxons being returned from Rome & the parties beyond the seas, was prohibited the entrance into his realme by Adelftan bishop of Shireborne, and Ethelbald his eldest sonne; pretending outwardlie the coronation of Alfride, the marriage of Judith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the table, to be the onelie cause of this their manifest rebellion. Whereby he seemeth to inferre, that this revolting of Adelftan and his son, should proceed of the ambitious desire of Ethelbald to reigne, and likelie enough, or else this unquall partition should never have bene made.

But howsoever the matter stood, king Ethelwulle lived not long after his returne from Rome, but departed this life, after he had ruled the kingdome of the Westsaxons the space of 20 yeres and odmoneths. His bodie was buried at Winchester. He left behind him foure sonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert or Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alfred or Alured, which was begotten of his first wife Osburga. A litle before his death he made his testament and last will, appointing his sonne Ethelbald to succeed him in the whole regiment of his kingdoms of Wessex and Suffer, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdoms of Kent and Essex he assigned to his son Ethelbright. About the same time also the Danes sojourned all the winter season in the Isle of Shepie.

The old Saxons do bring the genealogie of this Ethelwulle to Adam, after this maner following.

the son of Alemund,	the son of Frethelwold,
the son of Cassa,	the son of Freolaffe,
the son of Coppa,	the son of Frethelwulle,
the son of Angils,	the son of Finnle,
the son of Kentred,	the son of Godulle,
the son of Coelwald,	the son of Geta,
the son of Cudwine,	the son of Teathswie,
the son of Ceawlin,	the son of Wcaine,
the son of Kenric,	the son of Scelbie,
the son of Cerdic,	the son of Seafe,
the son of Ellie,	the son of Heremod,
the son of Etwise,	the son of Itermod,
the son of Wlingie,	the son of Iordie,
the son of Frealwin,	the son of Wale,
the son of Fridagare,	the son of Wredwie,
the son of Wendie,	the son of Wem,
the son of Weldegie,	the son of Wsoah,
the son of Woden,	and so forth to Adam,

as you shall find it by retrogradation from the 32 verse unto the first of the first chapter of Genesis. Which genealogicall recapitulation in their nationall families and tribes, other people also have observed; as the Spaniards, who reckon their descent from Hesperus, before the Gothes and Moors overrun their land; the Italians from Aeneas, before they were mingled with the Vandals and Lombards; the Saxons from Woden, before they were mixed with the Danes and Normans; the Frenchmen at this day from the Thracians; the Germans from the children of Gwiffon; and other people from their farre fetcht ancestrie. To conclude, of this Ethelwulle it is writtten, that he was so well learned & devout, that the clerks of the church of Winchester did chuse him in his youth to be bishop, which function he undertooke, and was bishop of the said see by the space of seven yeres before he was king.

Bertwolic

857

Onelie west-
sex faith Marc.
Westm. and
Sim. Dunel.
faith that E-
thelbright had
Suffer also,
and so forth
H. Hunt.

Math. Paris.

* De quo Seld.
lib. in cap. p. 136.

John Castor.
Simon Dun
Mau. Parker.
A kings son
and heire a
bishop.

Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to the West Saxons, the same of Modwen an Irish virgine, she was a great builder of monasteries, she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuide their fathers kingdome betwixt them, Ethelbald marieth his mother, he dieth, Winchester destroyed by Danes, Danes vanquished
 destroyed by the Danes, they plaid the trucebreakers and did much mischief in Kent, Ethelbright dieth; Ethelred king of the West Saxons, his commendable qualities, his regiment was full of trouble, he fought against the Danes nine times in one yere with happie successe, the kings of Mercia fall from their fealtie and allegiance to Ethelred, Hungar & Vbba two Danish capteines with their power lie in East Angles, Osbight and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine of the Danes in battell, they set York on fire, a commendation of bishop Adelfstan, his departure out of this life.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Bertwolfe, of Mercia.

Matth. West. saith the daughter. Ranulf. Cest. John Capgrauc.



After Wightlase king of Mercia, one Bertwolfe reigned as tributarie vnto the West Saxons, the space of 13 yeres, about the end of which tearme he was chased out of his countrie by the Danes, and then one Burthred was made king of that kingdome, which married Ethelwida the sister of Ethelwolfe king of West Saxons. In this season, one Godowen a virgine in Ireland was greatlie renowned in the world, vnto whom the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by his meanes he recovered health, and therefore when his monasterie was destroyed in Ireland, Godowen came ouer into England, vnto whom king Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered vnto him his sister Edith to be possessed a nun. Godowen hereupon built two monasteries, one at Doulesworth, ioining to the bounds of Arderne, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Wifh and Athea: the other, whether it was a monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenthall or Trentfall, where she herselfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thence to Rome, and finally died, being 130 yeres of age. Her bodie was first buried in an Island compassed about with the river of Trent called Andrefey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrefe, which she had built in the same Island, and dwelled therein for the space of seuen yeres. Many monasteries she builded, both in England (as partly aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Striueling, Edenbrough; and in Ireland, at Celestine, and elsewhere.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright.

857

The vnlawful marriage of Ethelbald, Wil. Malm.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuiding their fathers kingdom betwixt them, began to reigne, Ethelbald ouer the West Saxons and the South Saxons, and Ethelbright ouer them of Kent and Essex, in the yere of our Lord 857, which was in the second yere of the emperor Lewes the second, & the 17 of Charles surnamed Caluus or the bald king of France, and about the first yere of Donald the first of that name king of Scots. The said Ethelbald greatlie to his reproch toke to wife his mother in law quene Judith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past fife yeres in gouernement of the kingdome, but was taken out of this life to the great sorow of his subjects whom he ruled right long while, and so as they had him in great loue and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright toke on him the rule of the whole gouernment, as well ouer the West Saxons & them

of Sussex, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Essex.

In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroyed the citie of Winchester: but duke Ostrike with them of Hamshire, and duke Adelwolfe with the Barke, stre men gaue the enemies battell, & vanquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the first yere of Ethelbrights reigne, a nauie of Danes arrived in the Ile of Kent, vnto whom when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to haue a truce granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and waisted all the east part of Kent: whereupon the Kentishmen assembled together, made towardes those trucebreakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the West Saxons fife yeres, and the Kentishmen ten yeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

After Ethelbright succeeded his brother Ethelred, and began his reigne ouer the West Saxons and the more part of the English people, in the yere of our Lord 867, and in the 12 yere of the emperor Lewes, in the 27 yere of the reigne of Charles Caluus king of France, and about the 6 yere of Constantine the second king of Scots. Touching this Ethelred, he was in time of peace a most courteous prince, and one that by all kind of meanes sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and sterne, as he that vnderstood what appertained to good order, so that he would suffer no offense to escape unpunished. By which meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but he neither liued any long time in the gouernement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

For whereas he reigned not past six yeres, he was continuallie during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and speciallie towardes the latter end, in so much that (as hath bene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with the victorie. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in wait for their foragers, and such as strayed abroad to rob and spoile the countrie, whom he met withall and ouerthrew. There were slaine in his time nine earles of those Danes, and one king, beside other of the meaner sort without number.

But here is to be vnderstood, that in this meane time, whilst Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland taking occasion thereof, began to withdraw their covenanted subiection from the West Saxons, and toke vpon them as it were the absolute gouernment and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to susteine the enemies within their dominions, than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serue and obeie.

By reason hereof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them, whilst the inhabitants were still put in feare each day more than other, and euertie late gotten victorie by the enemies by the increase of prisoners, ministred occasion of some other conquest to follow. When about the beginning of Ethelreds reigne, there arrived vpon the English coasts an huge arme of the Danes, vnder the conduct of two renowned capteins Hungar and Abba, men of marvellous strength and valancie, but both of them passing cruell of nature. They lay

Hen. Hunt. Winchester destroyed by Danes. Danes vanquished.

Hen. Hunt. King of bright day and Ella.

Ethelred. 867

Osbyght. Ella king. Northunland slain. The most upon the halenda. pull, or el will not curre. Soli. Helmsfor. De. Mar.

York. bu by Dane.

Four yeres six months. saith Harlon. Wil. Malm. Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yere.

The condation of Sam. bish. Shyrbo.

The kings of Mercia and Northumberland neglect their duties.

Bishop. Can. Hen. Hunt.

The Danes grow in power.

Hungar and Abba.

lay all the winter season in the said compounding with them of the countie for to help their for as for quietnesse sake.

In the second part of king Ethelred, the said captains came with their armies into Northumbria, finding the country in a most desperate defence because of the civil discord that reigned among the Northumbrians, the which had lately expelled king Oswig, that had the government of those parts, and placed one Ella in his room. But now they were constrained to reuoke him home againe, and sought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yet that might be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at length they were made friends, by reason of this inuasion attempted by foreign enemies, and then raising their powers they came to Porke, where the Danes, hauing wasted the countie euen to the riuer of Ene, were lodged.

The English host entring the citie, began to fight with the Danes, by reason whereof a fore battell issued betwixt them: but in the end the two kings Oswig and Ella were slaine, and a great number of the Northumbrians, what within the citie, and what without lost their liues at that time, the residue were constrained to take truce with the Danes. This battell was fought the 11 day of March being in Lent, on the Friday before Palm Sunday, in the yere 657.

Some haue written otherwise of this battell, reporting that the Northumbrians calling home king Oswig (whome before they had banished) incountered with the Danes in the field, without the walles of Porke, but they were easilie beaten backe, and chased into the citie, the which by the Danes pursuing the victorie, was set on fier and burnt, together with the king and people that were fled into it for succour. How soeuer it came about, certaine it is, that the Danes got the victorie, and now hauing subdued the Northumbrians, appointed one Egbert to reigne ouer them as king, vnder their protection, which Egbert reigned in that sort six yeares ouer those which inhabited beyond the riuer of Ene. In the same yeare, Adelfane bishop of Shireborne departed this life, hauing gouerned that see the terme of 50 yeares. This Adelfane was a man of high wisdome, and one that had boine no small rule in the kingdome of the West Saxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when king Ethelwulf returned from Rome, he would not suffer him to be admitted king, because he had done in certaine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the same kingdome, whereupon by this bishops means Ethelwulf the sonne of the same king Ethelwulf was established king, and so continued till by agreement the kingdome was diuided betwixt them, as before is mentioned. Finally, he greatly enriched the see of Shireborne, and yet though he was seruentic set on couetousnesse, he was neuertheless verie free and liberrall in gifts: which contrarie extremities so ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being considered) they might seeme somewhat tollerable, yet simple & in truth they were bitterlie repugnant to the law of the spirit, which bideth that none should do euill that good may come thereof. Against which precept because Adelfane could not but offend in the heat of his couetousnesse, which is termed the root of all mischiese, though he was exceeding bountifull and large in distributing the wealth he had grauellie gotten together, he must needs incur reprehension. But this is so much the lesse to be imputed vnto him as a fault, by how much he was ignorant what (by the rule of equitie and conscience) was requirable in a christian man, or one of his vocation.

Burthred king of Mercia with aid be-
seegeth the Danes in Nottingham. Rast-
reeg and Halden two Danish kings with their
powers invade the West Saxons, they are incounter-
ed by Eadric the earle of Mercia: King Eadric
grieth them and their cheef guides a fore dishonour,
what Polydor Virg. recordeth touching Eadricus king of
the Danes, and the waies that Eadric had with them, his
death: Eadric king of East Angles giveth battell to the
Danes, he yeeldeth himselfe, and for christian religion take
10 by them most cruellie murdered, the kingdome of the
East Angles endeth, Guthry a Dane gouerneth the
whole countie, K. Oswig raueth the wife
of one Beorne a noble man, a bloodie bat-
tell inlieth there vpon, when Ein Of-
bright and Ella are
slaine.

The twelfth Chapter.

In the yeare following, Burthred
that is to say, in the third
yeare of Ethelreds reigne,
he with his brother Alured
went to aid Burthred king
of Mercia, against the two
foresaid Danish captiues
Hungrar and Abba, the which
were entred into Mercia, and had won the towne
for the winter season. Whereupon the foresaid E-
thelred and Burthred with their powers came to
Nottingham, and besieged the Danes within it.
The Danes perceiuing themselves in danger,
made suite for a truce & assistance from war, which
they obtained, and then departed backe to Porke,
where they consumed the most part of all that yeare.

In the first yeare of king Ethelreds reigne, a
new armie of great force and power came into the
countie of the West Saxons vnder two leaders of
kings of the Danes, Rastreeg and Halden. They
lodged at Reding with their maine armie, and with
in three daies after the earle of Berrockshire Ethel-
wulf fought at Englefield with two earles of those
Danes, vanquished them, and slue the one of those
earles, whose name was Sidroc. After this king
Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great
host vnto Reding, and there gaue battell vnto the
armie of Danes, so that an huge number of people
died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

After this also king Ethelred and his brother
Alured fought againe with those Danes at Aich-
don, where the armies on both sides were diuided
into two parts, so that the two Danish kings lead
the one part of their armie, & certaine of their earles
lead the other part. Likewise on the English side
king Ethelred was placed with one part of the host
against the Danish kings, and Alured with the other
part was appointed to incounter with the earles,
whereupon they being on both parts readie to giue
battell, the euening coming on caused them to de-
ferre it till the morow. And so earlie in the morning
when the armies should ioine, king Ethelred stated
in his tent the heare diuine seruice, whilst his bro-
ther vpon a forward courage hasted to incounter his
enemies, the which receiued him so sharplie, and
with so cruell fight, that at length, the Englishmen
were at point to haue turned their backs. But here-
with came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the
battell, stated his people from running away, and so
encouraged them, and discouraged the enemies, that
by the power of God (whom as was thought in the
morning he had serued) the Danes finally were
chased and put to flight, losing one of their kings
(that is to say) Rastreeg or Rastreeg, and 5 earles, Si-
droc the elder, and Sidroc the younger, Osberne,
freine,

Hen. Hunt.
king of
bright deposed
and Ella placed
in.

Oswig and
Ella kings of
Northumbria
slaine.
It must be
upon this 10
kalends of Ap-
ril, or else it
will not con-
curre with
Palm Sunday,
see Mar. Weir.

Porke burnt
by Danes.

The commen-
tation of Adel-
fane bishop of
Shireborne.

Ship Del-
ganous
Hen. Hunt.

Burthred
king of Mer-
cia.

Danes belie-
ged in No-
tingham.

Rastreeg and
Halden.

Ethelwulf,
eric of Bar-
shire fought at
Englefield
with the
Danes.

The Danes
won the victo-
rie at Aich-
don.

The Danes
discomfited.

A battell at
Merton.The swast-
shop of Shire-
borne as Mat.
West. faith.

Polyd. Virg.

Iuarus.

Danes put to
flight.Agnerus and
Hubba.winboerne ab-
bey.Agnerus.
Fabian.

870

Edmund R.
of the East-
angles.Framingham
castell.
King Ed-
ward shot to
death.

Freine, and Harold. This battell was fore-
told, and continued till night, with the slaughter of
manie thousand of Danes. About 12 daies after,
king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought ef-
fectually with the Danish armie at Wading, where the
Danes had the victorie. Alfor two monthes after this
they likewise fought with the Danes at Merton.
And there the Danes, after they had bene put to the
worste, pursued in chase a long time; yet at length
they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund
bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other
that were men of worthie fame and good account.

In the summer following, a mightie host of the
Danes came to Reading, and there sojourned for a
time. These things agree not with that which Po-
lydor Virgil hath written of these warres which
king Ethelred had with the Danes: for he maketh
mention of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who
landed (as he writeth) at the mouth of Humber, and
like a stout enimie invaded the countrie adjoining.
Against whom Ethelred with his brother Alured
came with an armie, and encountering the Danes,
fought with them by the space of a whole day to-
gether, and was in danger to have bene put to the
worste, but that the night severed them asunder. In
the morning they joined againe: but the death of I-
uarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of
the battell, discouraged the Danes, so that they
were easilie put to flight, of whom (before they could
get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But
after that they had recovered themselves together,
and found out a convenient place where to pitch their
camps, they chose to their capteines Agnerus, and
Hubba, two brethren, which intended themselves
by all meanes possible to repaire their armie: so that
within 15 daies after, the Danes effectually fought
with the Englishmen, and gave them such an over-
throw, that little wanted of making an end of all in-
counters to be attempted after by the Englishmen.

But yet within a few daies after this, as the
Danes attended their market to spoile the countrie
and range somewhat licentiouslie abroad, they fell
within the danger of such ambushes as were laid for
them by king Ethelred, that no small slaughter
was made of them, but yet not without some losse
of the Englishmen. Amongest others, Ethelred
himselfe received a wound, whereof he shortly after
died. Thus saith Polydor touching the warres
which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet
confesseth (as the truth is) that such authors as he
herein followed, varie much from that which the Da-
nish writers do record of these matters, and name-
lie touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danish
histories you may see more at large.

But now to our purpose touching the death of
king Ethelred, whether by reason of hurt received
in fight against the Danes (as Polydor saith) or
otherwise, certaine it is, that Ethelred anon after
Easter departed this life, in the first yeare of his
reigne, and was buried at Winboerne abbey. In
the daies of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish cap-
teins, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and
Hubba returning from the north parts into the
countrie of the Eastangles, came unto Thetford,
whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that sea-
son ouer the Eastangles, being aduertised, raised
an armie of men, and went forth to giue battell un-
to this armie of the Danes. But he with his people
was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of
Framingham, where being environed with a siege
by his enimies, he yielded himselfe unto them. And
because he would not renounce the christian faith,
they bound him to a tree, and shot arrows at him
till he died: and afterwards cut off his head from his

body, and threw the same into a thicke growe of bri-
thes. But afterwards his friends took the bodie
with the head, and buried the same at Egleston:
there after ward also a faire monastrie was built
by one bishop Alwin, and changing the name of
the place, it was after called saint Edmundsbu-
rie. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the
cruell Danes for his constant confessing the name
of Christ, in the 16 yeare of his reigne, and so ceased
the kingdom of Eastangles. For after that the
Danes had thus slaine that blessed man, they con-
quered all the countrie, & wasted it, so that through
their tyrannic it remained without any gouernour by
the space of nine yeares, and then they appointed a
king to rule ouer it, whose name was Guthrum, one
of their owne nation, who gouerned both the East-
angles and the Eastsaxons.

We have heard how the Danes slue Alfricke and
Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victo-
rie by them obtained, they did much hurt in the north
parts of this land, and amongst other cruell deeds,
they destroyed the citie of Alnwick, which was a fa-
mous citie in the time of the old Saxons, as by Be-
da and other writers doth manifestlie appeare. There
is to be remembred, that some writers rehearse the
cause to be this. Alfright or Alfricke king of Nor-
thumberland rauished the wife of one Berne that
was a noble man of the countrie about Poike, who
toke such great despight therat, that he fled out of
the land, and went into Denmarke, and there com-
plained vnto the king of Denmarke his cousin of the
inurie done to him by king Alfright. Whereupon
the king of Denmarke, glad to haue so iust a quarrell
against them of Northumberland, furnished with
an armie, and sent the same by sea (vnder the lea-
ding of his two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into
Northumberland, where they slue first the said king
Alfright, and after king Ella, at a place besides
Poike, which vnto this day is called Ellas croft, ta-
king that name of the said Ella, being there slaine
in defense of his countrie against the Danes. Which
Ella (as we find registred by writers) was eleard
king by such of the Northumbers, as in fauour of
Berne had refused to be subiect vnto Alfright.

Alfred ruleth ouer the Westsaxons and
the greatest part of England, the Danes
afflict him with fore warre, and cruellie make
wast of his kingdom: they lie at London a whole
winter, they invade Mercia, the king whereof (Bur-
thred by name) forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome, his
death and buriall; Halden king of the Danes diuideth Nor-
thumberland among his people; Alfred encountereth with the
Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart
out of his kingdom, they breake the truce which was made
betwixt him and them, he giueth them battell, and (besides
a great discomfure) killeth manie of their capteines,
the Danes and English fight neere Abington, the
victorie vncerteine, seven foughen fieldes
betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes
soiourne at London.

The xiiij. Chapter.



After the decease of king
Ethelred, his brother Al-
fred or Alstred succeeded him,
and began his reigne ouer
the Westsaxons, and other
the more part of the people of
England, in the yeare of our
Lord 872, which was in the
19 yeare of the emperour Lewis the second, and
32 yeare of the reigne of Charles the bald, king of
France, and about the eleuenth yeare of Charle-
time

Egleston

Wil. Malin.

Eastangles
without ap-
purnour.Guthrum
Dane king of
Eastangles.

Polychron.

Caxton.

Alured
cured by
Danes.

Mat. W.

The D
obscure
historyThe I
winter
LondonS
AlfredBurt
king
cia.The
Dane
North
landCh
at C
EThe
two
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cel

Hi

the second king of Scotland. Although this Alured was consecrated king in his fathers life time by pope Leo (as before ye haue heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the decease of his three elder brethren: for he being the yongest, was kept backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wisdom and policie most highlie esteemed and had in all honour.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in manie great troubles and miseries, speciallie by the persecution of the Danes, which made soze and greuous wars in sundrie parts of this land, destroying the same in most cruell wise. About a moneth after he was made king, he gaue battell to the Danes of Wiltton, hauing with him no great number of people, so that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the worse, yet in the end they obtained the victorie. Shortly after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Westsaxons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, removed from thence vnto London, where they lay all the winter season. In the second yeare of Alured his reigne, the Danish king Halden led the same armie from London into Lindsey, and there lodged all that winter at Loxheie. In the yeare following, the same Halden invaded Mercia, and wintered at Kipindon. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godun, Elketell, & Ammond, so that their power was greatly increased. Burthzed king of Mercia which had gouerned that countrie by the space of 22 yeeres, was not able to withstand the puissance of those enemies: whereupon he was constrained to auoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our ladie, nere to the English schole.

In the fourth yeare of king Alured the armie of the Danes diuided it selfe into two parts, so that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumberland, and lay in the winter season nere to the riuer of Tyne, where hee diuided the countrie amongst his men, and remained there for the space of two yeeres, and oftentimes fetched thither booties and preies out of the countrie of the Pictas. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foresaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, and remained there a whole yeare. In the same yeare king Alured fought by sea with 7 ships of Danes, take one of them, & chased the residue. In the yeare next ensuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Westsaxons, and king Alured toke truce with them againe, and they swore to him (which they had not used to doe at anye afore that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by sea sailing from Warham toward Excester, sustained great losse by tempest, for there perished 120 ships at Swane-wiche.

Whereouer the armie of the Danes by land went to Excester in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not ouertake them till they came to Excester, and there he approached them in such wise, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performance of such coucnants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And so then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But shortly after, when they had the whole gouernment of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to suffer king Alured to continue in rest with the residue of the countries beyond Thames. And therefore the three foresaid rulers of Danes, Godun, Elketell, and Ammond, invading the countrie of Westsaxons came to Chipnam, distant 17 miles from Wilslow, & there pitched their tents. King Alured aduertised hereof, hastened thither,

and lodging with his armie nere to the enemies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiving that either they must fight for their liues, or die with shame, boldly came forth, and gaue battell. The Englishmen rashlie encountered with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with such violence they gaue the onset, that the enemies at the first were abashed at their hardie assaults. But when as it was perceived that their slender ranks were not able to resist the thicke leggers of the enemies, they began to shrink & looke backe one vpon another, and so of force were constrained to retire: and therewithall did cast themselves into a ring, which though it seemed to be the best way that could be deuised for their safetie, yet by the great force and number of their enemies on each side assailing them, they were so thronged together on heaps, that they had no comie to stir their weapons. Which disadvantage notwithstanding, they slue a great number of the Danes, and amongst other, Hubba the brother of Agner, with manie other of the Danish capteins. At length the Englishmen hauing valiantlie foughten a long time with the enemies, which had compassed them about, at last brake out and got them to their campe. To be brieue, this battell was foughten with so equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be ascribed. But after they were once seuered, they toke care to cure their hurt men, and to burie the dead bodies, namely the Danes interred the bodie of their capteine Hubba with great funerall pompe and solemnitie: which done, they held out their iournie till they came to Abington, whither the English armie shortly after came also, and incamped fast by the enemies.

In this meane while, the rumor was spread abroad that king Alured had bene discomfited by the Danes, because that in the last battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatly to his aduantage: for thereby a great number of Englishmen hastened to come to his succour. On the morrow after his comming to Abington, he brought his armie ready to fight into the field: neither were the enemies slacke on their parts to receiue the battell, and so the two armies ioined and fought verie fore on both sides: so that it seemed the Englishmen had not to doe with those Danes, which had bene diuerse times before discomfited and put to flight, but rather with some new people fresh and lustie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to giue ouer: in so much that the horsemen alighting on foot, and putting their horses from them, entered the battell amongst the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, which parted the affraie, being one of the fourest foughten fields that had bene heard of in those daies. As whether partie a man might iustlie attribute the victorie, it was butterlie vncertaine, with so like losse & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the semblable chance of danger and glorie seven times that yeare did the English and Danes encounter in battell, as writers haue recorded. At length, when their powers on both parts were so diminished, they agreed vpon a peace, with these conditions, that the Danes should not attempt anye further warre against the Englishmen, nor bring into this land anye newe supplie of souldiers out of Denmarke. But this peace by those peacemakers was violated and broken, in so much as they ment nothing lesse than to fall from the conceiued hope which they had of bearing rule in this land, and of enriching themselves with the goods, possessions, rents and reuenues of the inhabitants. The same yeere the Danes sojourned in the winter season at London, according as they had done oftentimes before.

Shured persons
used by
Danes.

Wilt. Westm.

The Danes
obtaining the
victorie.

The Danes
wintered at
London.

874
Bipind.

Burthzed
king of Mercia.

875
The Danes
went into
Northumberland.

The Danes
at Cambridge
876

The Danes
toke an oth.
Hen Hunt.

The Danes
went to Excester.

Hen. Hunt.

877
Polydor.

Hubba the.

The victorie
doubtfull.

Abington.

The Danes
and Englishmen
fight nere
to Abington.

Uncertaine
victorie.
Thus saue
Polydor.

Ran. Higd.

A peace agreed
vpon.

The Danes
sojourned at
London.

Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with a fresh power entred England, and beginneth to waste it, king Alured giueth him battell, Rollo sailthouer into France; who first inhabited Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the Danes breake the peace which was made betwixt them and Alured, he is driven to his shifts by their inuasions into his kingdome, a vision appeereth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrell entereth the Danish campe, marketh their behauiour vn suspected, assalteth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manie of them at aduantage; the Deuonshire men giue the Danes battell vnder the conduct of Haldens brother, and are discomfited; Alured fighteth with them at Edanton, they giue him hostages, Gurthrun their king is baptised and named Adelftan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kingdome.

The xiiij Chapter.

Ann. 876 & 11th
Simon Dun.



About the same time, 20
thortlie after, there came into
England one Rollo, a noble
man of Denmarke 22. For
way, with a great armie, and
(notwithstanding the peace
concluded betwene the En-
glishmen and the Danes) be-
gan to waste and destroy the countrie. King Alured
hearing these newes, with all speed thought best in
the beginning to stop such a common mischiefe, and
immediatlie assembling his people, went against
the enimies, and gaue them battell, in the which there
died a great number of men on both sides, but the
greater losse fell to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthew
Westmin. saith, that the Englishmen were put to
flight. After this, it chanced that Rollo being warned
in a dreame, lest England, & sailed ouer into France,
where he found fortune so sauourable to him, that he
obtained in that region for him and his people a
countrie, the which was afterwards named 30.
mandie, of those northerne people which then began
to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France
you may see more at large.

30 yeres after
this he was
baptised.

King Alured
return to his
shifts.

Edlingsey.

A vision it
be true.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king
Alured (as before you haue heard) thortlie after, by
on the first occasion, brake the same, and by often in-
uasions which they made into the countrie of West-
saxons, brought the matter to that passe, that there
remained to king Alured but onelie the thre coun-
tries of Hamshire, Wiltshire, & Summerfetshire, 50
in so much that he was constrained for a time to
keepe himselfe close within the fennes and marsh
groundes of Summerfetshire, with such small com-
panies as he had about him, constrained to get their
living with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He
remained for the most part within an Ile called E-
dolingsey, that is to say, the Island of noble men, enui-
roned about with fennes and marshes.

Whiles he was thus shut vp within this Island, he
was by dreame aduertised of better hap thortlie to 60
follow: for as it hath bene said, saint Cuthbert ap-
peered to him as he lay in sleepe, and comforted him,
declaring to him, that within a while fortune should
so turne, that he should recouer againe his kingdome
to the confusion of his enimies. And to assure him
that this should proue true, he told him that his men
which were gone abroad to catch fish, should bring
home great plentie, although the season was against
them, by reason that the waters were frozen, and that
a cold rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of
their purpose. His mother also at that time being in
sleepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed,
so it came to passe: for being awakened out of their
sleepe, in same his men with so great fission of fish,

that the same might haue sufficed a great armie of
men, for the bittelling of them at that season.

Thortlie after, king Alured toke vpon him the ha-
bit of a minstrell, and going forth of his cloister, re-
paired to the campe of the Danish king, onelie ac-
companied with one trustie seruant, and tarrying
there certeine daies together, was suffered to go in-
to euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well
afore the king as others, so that there was no secret,
but that he vnderstood it. Now when he had scene and
learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned
againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there decla-
red to his nobles what he had scene and heard, what
negligence was amongst the enimies, and how easie
a matter it should be for him to indamage them.
Whereupon they conceiuing a marvellous god
hope, and imboldened with his words, a power was
assembled together, and spies sent forth to learne and
bring word where the Danes lodged: which being
done, and certifiat made accordingly, king Alured
comming vpon them on the sudden, slue of them a
great number, haning them at great aduantage.

About the same time the brother of king Walden
came with thirtie and thre ships out of Wales into
the countrie of Westsaxons, on the coast of Deuon-
shire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battell,
and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other
write, that Walden himselfe was present at this con-
flict, with Inguare, other wise called Hungar, and
that they were both slaine there, with twelue hun-
dred of their companie (before a certeine castell cal-
led Riuin) receiuing as they had deserued for their
cruell dealing latelie by them practised in the parties
of Southwales, where they had wasted all afore them
with fire and sword, not sparing abbies more than
other common buildings.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more
comforted, builded a fortresse in the Ile of Edling-
sey, afterwards called Athelney, and breaking out
offentimes vpon the enimies, distressed them at sun-
drie times with the aid of the Summerfetshire men,
which were at hand. About the fourth weeke after
Easter, in the seventh yere of his reigne, king Al-
ured went to Eglesighston, on the east part of Sch-
wood, where there came to him the people of Sum-
merfetshire, Wiltshire, & Hamshire, reioicing great-
lie to see him abroad. From thence he went to Edan-
ton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes,
and chased them vnto their strength, where he remai-
ned afore them the space of fouretee daies. Then
the armie of the Danes deliuered him hostages and
covenants to depart out of his dominions, and that
their king should be baptised, which was accom-
plished: for Gurthrun, whome some name Gurmond,
a prince 22. king amongst these Danes, came to Al-
ured and was baptised, king Alured receiuing him at
the fontaine, named him Adelftan, and gaue to him
the countrie of Eastangle, which he gouerned 22. yeres
after spoiled by the space of twelue yeres.

Duerse other of the Danish nobilitie to the num-
ber of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis saith) came at
the same time in companie of their king Gurthrun,
and were likewise baptised, on whome king Alured
bestowed manie rich gifts. At the same time (as is
to be thought) was the league concluded betwixt
king Alured and the said Gurthrun 22. Gurmond, in
which the bounds of king Alureds kingdome are set
forth thus: First therefore let the bounds 22. marches
of our dominion stretch vnto the river of Thames,
and from thence to the water of Lea, enen vnto the
head of the same water, and so forth straight vnto
Bedford; and finally going alongst by the river of
Ouse, let them end at Watlingstreet.

This league being made with the aduise of the
same

King Alured
disguising
himselfe
Polydor.
Fabian.

Hene Hunt
877
March, West.

Simon Dun

Edlingsey.

Edanton.

This battell
should seme
the same that
Polydor spea-
keth of fought
at Basington.
Polychron.
John Pike.

Gurthrun 22.
Gurmond was
named Adelftan,
is made king
of Eastangle.

sage personages as well English as those that inhabited within east England, is set forth in maister Lamberts booke of the old English lawes, in the end of those lawes of ordinances which were established by the same king Alured, as in the same booke ye may see moze at large.

Th' English called diuers people Danes whom the French named Normans, whereupon that generall name was given them; Gurmo Angliens K. of Denmark, whose father Froto was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Rochester, Alured putteth them to flight, recovereth London out of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eldred his sonne in law; he assauleth Hasting a captaine of the Danes, causeth him to take an oth, his two sonnes are baptised; he goeth forth to spoile Alfreds countrie, his wife, children, and goods, &c. are taken, and fauourable given him againe; the Danes besiege Excester, they flee to their ships, gaine with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alured, his issue male and female.

The xv. Chapter.

Here is to be noted, that writers name diuerse of the Danish captaine, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles.) to 30 reign in those parties. But true it is, that in those daies, not onelie the Danish people, but also other of those northeast countries or regions, as Swedens, Norwegians, the Wendens, and such other (which the English people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen Normans) used to roaue on the seas, and to invade forren regions, as England, France, Flanders, and others, as in conuenient places ye may find, as well in our histories, as also in the writers of the French histories, and likewise in the chronicles of those north regions. The writers berelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name Angliens, because he was borne here in England, which succeeded his father Froto in gouernment of the kingdome of Denmarke, which Froto receiued baptisme in England, as their stories tell.

In the eight yere of king Alfred his reigne, the armie of the Danes wintered at Cirencester, and the same yere an other armie of strangers called Wincigilae at Fulham, and in the yere following departed forth of England, and went into France; and the armie of king Godun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there diuiding the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yere of king Alfred his reigne, part of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approached to the rescue, the enemies fled to their ships, and passed ouer the sea againe. King Alfred sent a nauie of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle, the which at the mouth of the riuer called Sture, encountering with 16 ships of the Danes, set upon them, and ouercame them in fight; but as they returned with their prizes, they encountered with another mightie armie of the enemies, and fighting with them were overcome and vanquished.

In the yere following, king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within it fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof gladlie receiued him, reioicing that there was such a prince beynd of their nation, that

was of power able to reduce them into libertie. This citie being at that season the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered into the keeping of duke Ethred, which had married his daughter Etheldreda, & held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before time possessed by the grant of the Danes, after they had subdued it. Burthred (as before is said.) About the 21 yere of it, Alured, an armie of those Danes & Normans, which had bene in France, returned into England, and arrived in the haven of riuer of Limerne in the east part of Kent, nere to the great wood called Andredesley, which did containe in times past 120 miles in length, and thirtie in breadth. These Danes landing with their people builded a castle at Appledore.

In the meane time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and builded a castle at Middelton, but he was constrained by siege which king Alfred planted about him, to receiue an oth that he should not in any wise annoie the dominion of king Alfred, who upon his promise to depart, gaue great gifts as well to him as to his wife and children. One of his sonnes also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Alured was god father. For (as it were to win credit, and to auoid present danger) Hasting sent vnto Alfred these his two sonnes, signifying that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But neuertheless this Hasting was euer most untrue of word and deed, he builded a castle at Beamsfield. And as he was going forth to spoile and wast the kings countries, Alfred took that castle with his wife, children, ships and goods, which he got together of such spoiles as he had abroad: but he restored vnto Hasting his wife and children, because he was their godfather.

Shortly after, newes came that a great number of other ships of Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whiles king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Appledore invaded Essex, and built a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell nere vnto the riuer of Scuerne: but being driven out of that countrie, they returned againe into Essex. Those that had besieged Excester, upon knowledge had of king Alfreds coming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roaued abroad, seeking prizes. Besides this, other armies there were sent forth, which coming out of Northumberland took the citie of Chester, but there they were so beset about with their enemies, that they were constrained to eate their horses. At length, in the 24 yere of king Alfred, they left that citie, and fetcht a compass about North Wales, and so meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arrived in Essex, and in the winter following drew their ships by the Thames into the water of Lute. That armie of Danes which had besieged Excester, took prizes about Chichester, and was met with, so that they lost manie of their men, and also diuerse of their ships.

In the yere following, the other armie which had brought the ships into the riuer Lute, began to build a castell nere to the same riuer, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battell to the Danes, slue foure of the chiefe captaine. But by Simon Dunel. and Mart. Westm. it should seeme, that the Londoners were at this time put to flight, and that foure of the kings barons were slaine in fight. Holbeist Henric Hunt. hath written as before I haue recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Lute to be diuided into thre chanel, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they laye at anchor. When the Danes perceived

Wil. Malin. Etheldreda. Colwolphus.

Limer, now Bocher.

Andredeslegia

A castell built at Appledore.

893

Simon Dun. At Middelton.

Hasting the captaine of the Danes besieged. He receiued an oth.

Beamsfield saith M. West.

This enterprise was attended by Etheldreda duke of Mercia in the absence of the king, as Mart. West. hath noted, Excester besieged.

Scuerne.

Chester taken by Danes.

Great famine

Hen. Hunt.

The water of Lute, now Lee.

Hen. Hunt.

The Londoners bit out against the Danes.

Gurma

Hen. Hunt. 878

870 Simon Dun. Mart. West.

Rochester besieged. 885

880 London recovered out of the hands of the Danes.

Northbridge
of Wake-
bridge.

perceiued this, they left their ships behind them, and went into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbridge upon Seuerne they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, hauing left their wiues and children in the countrie of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners took the enemies ships, and brought some of them to the citie, and the rest they burnt.

The Danish
armie diuided
into parts.

Thus for the space of three yeres after the arriuing of the maine armie of the Danes in the haven of Luie, they sore indamaged the English people, although the Danes themselves sustained more losse at the Englishmens hands than they did to them with all pilfering and spoiling. In the fourth yere after their coming, the armie was diuided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the countrie of Eastangles, & another part went into France. Also certeine of their ships came vpon the coast of the Westsaxons, oftentimes setting their men on land to rob and spoile the countrie. But king Alfred took order in the best wise he might for defense of his countrie and people, and caused certeine mightie vessels to be builded, which he appointed forth to encounter with the enemies ships.

The death of
king Alfred.

Thus like a worthy prince and politike gouernor, he preuented each way to resist the force of his enemies, and to safeguard his subjects. Finally after he had reigned 29 yeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Winchester: he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter vnto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succeeded him, and Adelwold: also three daughters, Elfreda or Ethelreda, Ethelgeda or Edgiva, and Ethelwitha.

His issue.

Elfreda.

How Elfreda king Alfreds daughter (being married) contemned fleshlie pleasure; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities, his lawes for the redresse of theues, his diuiding of countries into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries he was founder, he began the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford, which is not so ancient as Cambridge by 267 yeeres; king Alfred was learned, his zeale to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murdering of Iohn Scot by his owne scholars, how Alfred diuided the 24 houres of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdom of Mercia, the Danes haue it in their hands, and dispoise it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subiect vnto them, the Northumbers expell Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland; priuileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seat roiall.

The xvj. Chapter.



In the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number & names, among whom we made report of Elfreda, who (as you haue heard) was married vnto duke Edelred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind her of despising fleshlie pleasure, for bearing her husband one child, and sore handled before she could be deliuered, she ever after forbore to companie with her husband, sauing that it was great foolishnesse to vse such pleasure which therewith should bring so great griefe.

To speake sufficientlie of the worthy praise due

The notable
saieng of
Elfreda.

to so noble a prince as Alfred was, might require eloquence, learning, and a large volume. He was of person comelie and beautifull, and better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was (as before is touched) greatly disquieted with the inuasion of foreign enemies, yet did he both manfully from time to time endeavour himselfe to repell them, and also attempted to see his subjects gouerned in god and bright iustice. And albeit that god lawes amongst the clinking noise of armes are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greiued with theues and robbers, which in time of warre grew and increased, deuised god statutes and wholesome ordinances for punishing of such offenders.

Amongst other things he ordeined that the countries should be diuided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters containing a certeine number of townships adioining together, so that euery Englishman liuing vnder prescript of lawes, should haue both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suertie for his god demaund: and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he fast extreme of the lawes. And if anie man that was guiltie fled before he found suertie, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, should be put to their fine. By this deuise he brought his countrie into good tranquillitie, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged by aloft on hills where anie common waies lay, to see if anie burth be so hardie to take them away by stealth. He was a liberall prince namely in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed such priuileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sigheimus the bishop of Exeter booke bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and sweet oiles of inestimable valure. From Rome also he brought a peece of the holy crosse which pope Martinus did send for a present vnto king Alfred.

Whereouer king Alfred founded these goodlie monasteries, one at Edinsley, where he liued some time when the Danes had bereaued him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Somersetshire about fife miles: the second he builded at Winchester, called the new minster: and the third at Shaftesbury, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgeda or Edgiva abbess. But the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and aduise of Beatus an abbat, in those daies highly esteemed for his vertue and learning with Alfred. This worke he took in hand about the 23 yere of his reigne, which was in the yere of our Lord 895. So that the vniuersitie of Cambridge was founded before this other of Oxford about 267 yeeres, as Polydore gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniuersitie at Cambridge about the yere of our Lord 630.

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and giuen much to studie, in so much that beside diuerse god lawes which he translated into the English tong, gathered together and published, he also translated diuerse other bookes out of Latine into English, as Orosius, Pastorale Gregori, Bede de gestis Anglorum, Boetius de consolatione philosophia, and the booke of Psalmes; but this he finished not, being preuented by death. So this worthy prince minded well toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little esteemed amongst the west nations, did studie by all meanes possible to instruct his sub-

Will. Mair

King John
his lawes.

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Foundation
of monasteries

895 -
Polydore.
The vniuers
sities of Ox
ford created

The virtuous
style of Alured
to bring
his people to
an honest
trade of life.
He is persuad-
ed by his mo-
ther, to applie
himselfe to
learning.

Merius
Gregorius
John Scot.

Ermbald.

Alured divid-
ed the time
for his neces-
sarie busi-
ness.

His last will
and testament

ieds in the trade of leading an honest life, and to in-
courage them generallie to imbrace learning. He
would not suffer anie to beare office in the court; ex-
cept he were learned: and yet he himselfe was twelue
yeares of age before he could read a word on the
booke, and was then trained by his mothers persua-
sion to studie, promising him a goodlie booke which she
had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

Hereupon going to his booke in post, he so ear-
nestlie set his mind thereto, that within a small time
he profited marvellouslie, and became such a fauor-
er of learned men, that he delighted most in their com-
panie, to haue conference with them; and adured di-
uerse to come vnto him out of other countries, as
Merius Spenenensis bishop of Sherborne, & Gregorius
relicidus the bishop of Worcester, who by his com-
mandement translated the bookes of Gregorius dia-
logs into English. Also John Scot, who whiles he was
in France translated the book of Dionysius Ariopa-
gita, intituled Hierarchia, out of Greeke into Latine,
and after was scholernaster in the abbey of Wal-
mesburie, and there murdered by his scholers with
penknives. He had diuerse other about him, both
Englishmen & strangers, as Iulianus afterward
archbishop of Canturburie, Ermbald gothicke
of the new monasterie at Winchester, with others.

But to conclude with this noble prince king Al-
lured, he was so careful in his office, that he diuided
the 24 houres which conteine the day and night, in
three parts, so that eight houres he spent in writing,
reading, and making his prayers, other eight he em-
ployed in relieuing his bodie with meat, drinke and
sleepe, and the other eight he bestowed in dispatching
of businesse concerning the gouernement of the
realme. He had in his chapell a candle of 24 parts,
whereof euerie one lasted an houre: so that the set-
ton, to whome that charge was committed, by bur-
ning of this candle warned the king, euery howe the
time passed away. A little before his death, he orde-
ned his last will and testament, bequeathing halfe
the portion of all his goods lastlie gotten, vnto such
monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and
reuenues he diuided into two equall parts, and the
first part he diuided into three, bestowing the first ty-
on his seruants in household, the second to such labour-
ers and workemen as he kept in his works of sur-
die new buildings, the third part he gaue to stran-
gers. The second whole part of his reuenues was so
diuided, that the first portion thereof was disperfed
amongst the poore people of his countrie, the second
to monasteries, the third to the finding of poore sch-
lers, and the fourth part to churches beyond the sea.
He was diligent in inquirie howe the iudges of his
land behaued themselves in their iudgements, and
was a sharpe corrector of them which transgressed in
that behalfe. To be brieue, he liued so as he was had
in great fauour of his neighbours, & highlie honored
among strangers. He married his daughter Ethel-
swida or rather Elfride vnto Baldwine earle of
Flanders, of whome he had two sonnes Arnulfe and
Adulfe, the first succeeding in the erldome of Flan-
ders, and the yonger was made earle of Bullogne.

The bodie of king Alured was first buried in the
bishops church: but afterwards, because the Ca-
nons raised a fono tale that the same should walke
a nights, his sonne king Edward remoued it into
the new monasterie which he in his life time had
founded. Finallie, in memorie of him a certeine
learned clarke made an epitaph in Latine, which
for the worthinesse thereof is likewise (verse for
verse, and in a manner word for word) translated by
Abraham Fleming into English, whose no little labor
hath bene diligentlie imployed in supplying sundrie
insufficiences found in of this huge volume.

Nobilitas inhata tibi probitatis honorem
(Nobilitie by birth to thee (O Alured strong in armes)
(Armpotens Alured) dedit, probitasque laborem,
Of goodness hath the honor giuen, and honesty told thee harmes,
Perpetuumque labor nomen, tui mixta dolori
And toilsome harmes an endlesse name; w. use ioues were alwaies mixt
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
Wish forrow, and whose hope with feare was they shore perplex.
Si modo victor eras, ad esia bella paucbas
If this day thou wert conqueror, the next daies warre thou dreadst,
Si modo victor erat, in crastina bella parabas
If this day thou wert conqueror, to the next daies war thou dreadst.
Cui vestes sudore iugi, cultica et uore
Whose cloathing wet with daily sweate, whose blade with bloodie staines,
Tingebat, qui, quantum sit onus agnare probantur;
Do you see how great a burthen is to begeth to raine,
Non fuit immensi quicquam perclimata mundi,
There hath not bene in any part of all the world so wide,
Cui uic in aductis uel respirare liceret,
One that was able breath to take, and troubles such abide,
Nec tamen aut ferro conuictus ponere ferrum,
And yet with weapons wearie would not weapons lay aside,
Aut gladio potuit uic finire labores;
Or with the sword the toilsomnesse of life by death diuide,
Iam post transactos regni uiaque labores,
Now after labours past of realme and life (which he did spend)
Christus ei sic ueta quiesceperumque perenne.
Christ is to him true quietnesse and scepter void of end.

In the daies of the foresaid king Alured, the king-
dome of Mercia toke end. For after that the Danes
had expelled king Burthred, when he had reigned 22
yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife
also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulfe that
was forine to king Egbert followed him, and died
in Hauia in Lombardie. The Danes hauing got the
countrie into their possession, made one Cetwulfe
thereof, whome they bound with an oth and delue-
rie of pledges, that he should not longer keepe the
state with their pleasure, and further should be re-
adie at all times to aid them with such power as he
should be able to make. This Cetwulfe was the ser-
uant of king Burthred. Within foure yeares after
the Danes returned, and toke one part of that king-
dome into their owne hands, and left the residue vnto
Cetwulfe. But within a few yeares after, king
Alured obtained that part of Mercia which Cetwulfe
ruled, as he did all the rest of this land, except those
parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland,
the countries of the East angles, some part of Mer-
cia, and other.

The yeare, in the which king Alured thus obtai-
ned all the dominion of that part of Mercia, which
Cetwulfe had in gouernance, was after the birth of
our Saviour 886, so that the foresaid kingdome
continued the space of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings,
from Crida to this last Cetwulfe. But there he that
account the continuance of this kingdome, onelie
from the beginning of Penda, vnto the last yeare of
Burthred, by which reckoning it stood not past 270
yeares vnder 18, or rather 17 kings, counting the
last Cetwulfe for none, who began his reigne vnder
the subiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our
Lord 874, where Penda began his reigne 604.

The East angles and the Northumbers in these
daies were vnder subiection of the Danes, as part-
lie may be perceiued by that which before is rehear-
sed. After Guthrum that gouerned the East angles
by the terme of 12 yeares, one Eohtrike or Eohrike
had the rule in those parts, a Dane also, and reigned
14 yeares, and was at length bereued of his go-
uernement by king Edward the sonne of king Alu-
red, as after shall appeare. But now, although that
the Northumbers were brought greatlie vnder foot
by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old ac-
customed maner to stirre tumults and rebellion a-
gainst their gouernours, in somuch that in the yeare
872, they expelled not onelie Egbert, whome the
Danes had appointed king ouer one part of the
countrie (as before you haue heard) but also the
archbi-

Cetwulfe.

886
March. West.

Guthrum K.
of the east an-
gles died 890,
Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

872
Egbert king
of Northum-
berland expelled
from his kingdome.

Egbert departed
this life.
Riclig.

The Danes
winter in
Lindseie.

975
Riclig departed
this life.

983
Cuthred or
deined king
of Northum-
berland.

The bishops
for remoued
fro holie land
to Chester in
the street.

Priviledges
granted to S.
Cuthberts
shrine.

804
Polydor,
Will. Malm.

Wil. Malm.
Sithrike.

archbishop Wilschere. In the yeare following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whome one Riclig or Ricfige succeeded as king, and the archbishop Wilschere was restored home.

In the same yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thence into Northumberland, and wintered in Lindseie, at a place called Toxseie, and went the next yeare into Mercia. And in the yeare 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue heard. In the yeare following, Ricfige the king of Northumberland departed this life: after whome another Egbert succeeded. And in the yeare 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselves there, chose Cuthred the sonne of one Hardicute to their king, whome they had sometime sold to a certaine widow at Wilttingham. But now by the aduise of an abbat called Aldred, they redeemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule both Danes and Englishmen in that countrie. It was said, that the same Aldred being abbat of holie Iland, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthbert, to giue counsell both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Cuthred king. This chanced about the 13 yeare of the reigne of Alured king of Westsaxons.

When Cuthred was established king, he caused the bishops to be remoued from holie Iland vnto Chester in the street, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gaue vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the riuers of Teise and Ene. ¶ Which christian act of the king, liuing in a time of palpable blindness and mislie superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the great men and peeres of this age (who pretend religion with zeale, and profess (in the) the trust with feruencie) not to impoverish the patrimonie of the church to enrich themselves and their posteritie, not to pull from bishoprikes their ancient reuenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall livings into temporall commodities, not to seke the conuersion of college lands into their priuat possessions; not to intend the subuersion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne cofers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the suppozte of their owne priuat lordlines; not to destroy whole towneships for the erection of one statelie manour; not to take and pale in the commons to enlarge their feueralles; but like good and gracious common-wealth-men, in all things to preferre the peoples publike profit before their owne gaine and glorie, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

Moreover, this priuiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoever fled vnto the same for succour and safegard, should not be touched or troubled in anie wise for the space of thirtie & seuen daies. And this freedome was confirmed not onelie by king Cuthred, but also by king Alured. Finally king Cuthred departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much crueltie (as some say) by the terme of a 11 yeares, or somewhat more. He is named by some writers Curmond, and also Curmo, & thought to be the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Cuthred, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at the fontaine: William Malmesburie taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Cuthred or Curmo his sonne Sithrike succeeded, and after him other of that line, till king Adelstane depriued them of the dominion, and took it into his owne hands.

Edward succeedeth his father Alured in regiment, he is disquieted by his brother Adelwold a man of a defiled life, he flieth to the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards

prouision against the irruptions and forraies of the Danes, Adelwold with a bande of Danes entred Eastangles, the Essexmen submit themselves, he inuadeth Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience preiudiciall to themselves, they and the Danes haue a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with them, he maketh a great slaughter of them by his Westsaxons and Mercians, what lands came to king Edward by the death of Edred duke of Mercia, he recouereth diuers places out of the Danes hands, and giueth them manie a foile, what castles he builded, he inuadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king therof to flight, his owne subjects murder him for his crueltie, his kingdome returneth to the right of king Edward with other lands by him thereto annexed, his sister Elsted governed the countrie of Mercia during his life.

The xvij. Chapter.



fter the deceasse of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his reigne ouer the more part of England, in the yeare of our Lord 901, which was in the second yeare of the emperours Lewes, in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, and about the eight yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the maner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princelie power more high and honorable, for he ioined the kingdome of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and vanquished the Danes, Scots, and Welshmen, to his great glorie and high commendation.

In the beginning of his reigne he was disquieted by his brother Adelwold, which took the towne of Winborne besides Bath, and married a nun there, whome he had deflowered, & attempted manie things against his brother. Whereupon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abidden the chance of warre within Winborne, yet he stole awaie in the night, and fled into Northumberland, where he was sollfully receiued of the Danes. The king took his wife being left behind, and restored hir to the house from whence she was taken. ¶ Some haue written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his vnckles sonne.

After this, king Edward prouiding for the suertie of his subjects against the forraies, which the Danes used to make, fortified diuers cities and townes, and stuffed them with great garrisons of souldiers, to defend the inhabitants, and to expell the enemies. And suertie the Englishmen were so inured with warres in those daies, that the people being abuertised of the inuasion of the enemies in anie part of their countrie, would assemble oftentimes without knowledge of king or capteine, and setting upon the enemies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they overmatched them both in number and practise. So were the enemies despised of the English souldiers, and laughed to scorn of the king for their foolish attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a bande of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and euen at the first the Essex men yielded themselves vnto him. In the

Edward
the elder.
901

Winborne.

Hen. Hunt.
Adelwold
fled to the
Danes.

Wil. Malm.

The English
nation practised
in wars,
go commonlie
awake with
the victorie.

Hen. Hunt.

Essex yielded
to Adelwold.

Ran. Higl.

Bittenden.

Hen. Hunt.

The Kentish-
men disobei-
ing the kings
commande-
ment, are sur-
prised by the
enimies.
Adelwold
king Ed-
wards bro-
ther.

Edward
the elder.

901

For the Danes
saith Simon
Dun.

w in bozre.

Hen. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt.
Adelwold
leeth to the
Danes.

Nyl. Malm.

The English
nation gradu-
ed in wars,
so commonlie
waie with
he viscopie.

Wightham.

Chester, or
rather Le-
icester, as I
thinke.
Digetune.

Hen. Hunt.

Esler peides
o Adelwold.

Ichenfield.

peere following he invaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, waſſing and ſpoiling the ſame unto Crikelade, and there paſſing over the Thames, rode ſouth till he came to Baſingſtoke, or (as ſome booke have) Bittenden, haraſſing the countrie on each ſide, and ſo returned backe unto Caſtangles with great joy and triumph.

King Edward awakened herewith, aſſembled his people, and followed the enimies, waſſing all the countries betwixt the riuer of Duſe and ſaint Edmunds ditch. And when he ſhould returne, he gaue commandement that no man ſhould ſtaie behind him, but come backe together for doubt to be ſorſaied by the enimies. The Kentiſhmen notwithstanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king ſent ſeuern meſſengers for them. The Danes awaiting their aduantage, came together, and fiercelie fought with the Kentiſhmen, which a long time ballantlie defended themſelues. But in the end the Danes obtained the victorie, although they loſt more people there than the Kentiſhmen did: and amongſt other, there were ſlaime the ſorſaied Adelwold, and diuerſe of the chiefe capitaine amongſt the Danes. Likewiſe of the Engliſh ſide, there died two dukes, Sitwolve & Singlem: Sigbelme, with ſundry other men of name, both temporall and alſo ſpirituall lordes and abbats. In the ſiſt peere of his reigne, king Edward concluded a truce with the Danes of Caſtangle and Northumberland at Kingford. But in the peere following, he ſent an armie againſt them of Northumberland, which ſlue manie of the Danes, and toke great booties both of people and cattell, remaining in the countrie the ſpace of ſiue weekes.

The peere next ſuſuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & ſpoile the countrie, againſt whome king Edward ſent a mightie hoſt, aſſembled together of the Weſſaxons & them of Mercia, which ſet vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, and ſlue of them an huge multitude, together with their chiefe capitaine and leaders, as king Halben, and king Colwils, earle Witer, earle Scurfa, and diuerſe other. In the peere 912, or (as Simon Dunelm. ſaith) 908, the duke of Mercia Eðred or Ethelred departed this life, and then king Edward ſeized into his hands the cities of London and Drford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he ſuffered his ſiſter Elſeda to inioy the moſt part thereof, except the ſaid cities of London and Drford, which he ſtill retained in his owne hand. This Elſeda was wiſe to the ſaid duke Eðred or Ethelred, as beſore you haue heard: of whoſe worthe acts more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

In the ninth peere of his reigne, king Edward built a caſtell at Hertford, and likewiſe he builded a towne in Eſſer at Wightham, and lay himſelfe in the meane time at Baldon, otherwiſe Heanldun, bringing a great part of the countrie vnder his ſubiection, which beſore was ſubiet to the Danes. In the peere following, the armie of the Danes departed from Northampton and Cheſter in breach of the former truce, and ſlue a great number of men at Hochnerton in Drfordſhire. And ſhortlie after their returne home, an other companie of them went ſouth, and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrie being aſſembled together, fought with them & put them to flight, taking from them all the ſpoile which they had got, and alſo their hozſes.

In the 11 peere of king Edward, a fleet of Danes compaſſed about the weſt parts, & came to the mouth of Seuerne, and ſo toke prizes in Wales: they alſo toke priſoner a Welſh biſhop named Camelgaret, at Ichenfield, whome they led to their ſhips: but king Edward redeemed him out of their hands, pay-

eng them fortie poundes for his ranſome. After that the armie of Danes went ſouth to ſpoile the countrie about Ichenfield, but the people of Cheſter, Hereford, and other townes and countries thereabout aſſembled together, and giuing battell to the enimies, put them to flight, and ſlue one of their noble men called earle Rehald, and Scocil the brother of earle Witer, with a great part of their armie, & drane the reſidue into a caſtell, which they beſieged till the Danes within it gaue hoſtages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king cauſed the coaſts about Seuerne to be watched, that they ſhould not breake into his countrie: but yet they ſlale twice into the borders: neuertheleſſe they were chaſed and ſlaine as manie as could not ſwim, and ſo get to their ſhips. Then they remained in the Ile of Stepen, in great miſerie for lacke of victells, becauſe they could not go abroad to get anie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence ſailed into Ireland.

The ſame peere king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there taried a whole moneth, building two caſſels, the one vpon the one ſide of the water of Duſe, and the other vpon the other ſide of the ſame riuer. He alſo ſubdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that countrie, with all the reſidue of the noble men and barons of the ſhires of Weſford and Northampton. In the 12 peere of king Edwards reigne, the Kentiſhmen and Danes fought together at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, wiſters haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. ſpeaketh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought againſt a number of Daniſh rowers at Holme, where the Danes were put to flight, but that ſhould be (as he noteth) 8 peeres beſore this ſuppoſed time, as in the peere 904, which was about the third peere of king Edwards reigne.

After this, other of the Danes aſſembled themſelues together, and in Staffordſhire at a place called Tottenhall fought with the Engliſhmen, and after great ſlaughter made on both parties, the Danes were ouercome: and ſo likewiſe were they ſhortlie after at Woodfield or Wodenfield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the worſe in each place commonlie where he came, and hearing that thoſe in Northumberland ment to breake the peace: he invaded the countrie, and ſo afflicted the ſame, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, gladlie continued in reſt and peace. But in this meane time, Cricke the king of thoſe Danes which held the countrie of Caſtangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioine with him againſt the Engliſhmen, that with common agreement they might ſet vpon the Engliſh nation, and vtterlie ſubdue them.

King Edward hauing intelligence hereof, poſed to preuent him, and there vpon entering with an armie into his countrie, cruellie waſſed and ſpoiled the ſame. King Cricke hauing already his people in armor through diſpleaſure conceiued hereof, and deſire to be reuenged, haſted ſouth to encounter his enimies: and ſo they met in the field, and fiercelie aſſailed ech other. But as the battell was rathlie begun on king Cricks ſide, ſo was the end verie harmefull to him: for with ſmall a do, after great loſſe on both ſides, he was vanquiſhed and put to flight.

After his coming home, becauſe of his great ouerthrow and ſoule diſcomſiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigor & ſharper dealing than beſore time he had uſed. Whereby he prouoked the malice of the Caſtangles ſo highlie againſt him, that they ſet vpon him and murdered him: yet did they not gaine ſo much hereby as they looked to haue done:

Danes diſ-
comfited.

The Ile of
Stepen.
Deomedun.
Danes ſaile
into Ireland.

Turketillus
an earle.

Simon Dun.

Anno, 911.
Simon Dun.

Polydor.
Cricke king
of Caſtangles

King Ed-
ward inua-
deth the coun-
trie of the
Caſtangles.

Cricke put to
flight.

The kingdom
of the Eastan-
gles subdued
by K. Edward

done: for shortly after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their countrey, were compelled to submit themselves vnto king Edward. And so was that kingdome ioined vnto the other dominions of the same king Edward, who shortly after annexed the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatlie vpon the death of his sister Elfedda, whom he permitted to rule that land all hir life.

Elfedda the sister of king Edward highly commended for gouernment, what a necessarie staie she was vnto him in hir life time, what townes she builded and repaired, hir warlike exploits against the Danes, hir death and buriall; the greatest part of Britaine in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and repaire of townes, his death, the dreame of his wife Egina, and the issue of the same, what children king Edward had by his wiues, and how they were employed, the decay of the church by the merces of troubles procured by the Danes, England first cursed and why; a prouinciall councill summoned for the reliefe of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie sent to Rome, bishops ordeined in fundrie prouinces; dissention among writers what pope should denounce the foresaid curse; a succession of archbishops in the see of Canturburie, one brother killeth an other.

The xviii. Chapter.

Not without good reason did king Edward permit vnto his sister Elfedda the gouernment of Mercia, during hir life time: for by hir wise and polittike order vsed in all hir doings, he was greatlie furthered & assisted; but speciallie in repairing and building of townes & castels, wherein she shewed hir noble magnificence, in so much that during hir gouernment, which continued about eight yeres, it is recorded by writers, that she did build and repaire these townes, whose names here insue: Tamworth beside Lichfield, Stafford, Warwick, Shrewsburie, Waterburie or Meddeshurie, Ellsburie or rather Cadshurie, in the forrest of De la Mere besides Chester, Wymsburie bidge vpon Seuerne, Romme come at the mouth of the riuer of Mercia with other. Moreover, by hir helpe the citie of Chester, which by Danes had bene greatlie defaced, was newlie repaired, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatlie enlarged. So that the castell which stood without the walls before that time, was now brought within compass of the new wall.

Moreover the boldie assailed hir enemies which went about to trouble the state of the countrey, as the Welshmen and Danes. She sent an armie into Wales, and toke the towne of Brecknocke with the queene of the Welshmen at Breconamere. Also she wan from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrey adioining. In this enterprize she put hir owne person in great aduenture: for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawen into Darbie, balliantlie defended the gates and entrie, in so much that they slew foure of hir chiefe men of warre, which were named wardens of hir person, even kill by hir at the verie entrie of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with balliant fight hir people entered, and so the towne was won: she got diuerse other places out of their hands, & constrained them of Northshire to agree with hir, so that some of them promised to become hir subiects: some vowed to aid hir, and some swore to be at hir commandement.

Finallie, this martiall labie and manlie Elfedda, the supporter of hir countrymen, and terrour of the enemies, departed this life at Tamworth about the

12 of June, in the 18 or rather 19 yere of hir h20: ther king Edwards reigne, as by Math. West. it should appeere. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceased in the yere of Christ 915, which should be about the 14 yere of king Edwards reigne. Hir bodie was conueied to Glocester, and there buried with in the monasterie of S. Peter, which hir husband and she in their life time had builded, and translated thither the bones of saint Oswald from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroyed by Danes. But Alredus the archbishop of Porke, who was also bishop of Glocester, repaired an other in the same citie, that was after the chiefe abbey there. Finallie, in memorie of the said Elfedas magnanimitie and balorous mind, this epitaph was fixed on hir towne.

O Elfedda potens, o terror virgo virorum,
O Elfedda potens, nomine digna viri.
Te quoque splendor fecit natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
Temulare decet sed solum nomina sexus,
Tu regina potens rexque trophaea parans.
Iam nec Caesaris tantum mirere triumphos,
Caesare splendor virgo virago, vale.

O puissant Elfed, o thou maid
of men the dread and feare,
O puissant Elfed woorthie maid
the name of man to beare.
A noble nature hath thee made
a maiden mild to bee,
Thy vertue also hath procured
a manlie name to thee.
It dooth but onelie thee become,
offsex to change the name,
A puissant queene, a king art thou
preparing trophes of fame.
Now maruell not so much at Ca-
sars triumphs [trim to vieu:]
O manlike maiden more renownd
than Caesar was, adieu.

After the deceasse of Elfedda, king Edward toke the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue said) into his owne hands, and so disherited his nece Alfwen or Elfwen, the daughter of Elfedda, taking hir awaie with him into the countrey of Westsaxons. By this meanes he so amplified the bounds of his kingdome, that he had the most part of all this Island of Britaine at his commandement: for the kings of the Welshmen; namelie the king of Strretclod, and of the Scots, acknowledging him to be their chiefe souereigne lord, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept so short, that they durst attempt nothing against him in his latter daies: so that he had time to applie the building and repairing of citie, townes, and castels, wherein he so much delighted. He builded a new towne at Nottingham on the south side of Trent, and made a bidge ouer that riuer betwixt the old towne and the new. He also repaired Manchester beyond the riuer of Mercia in Lancashire, accounted as then in the south end of Northumberland, and he built a towne of ancient writers called Whilwall, nere to the same riuer of Mercia, and placed therein a garrison of souldiers: diuerse other townes and castels he built, as two at Buckingham on either side the water of Ouse (as before is shewed) and also one at the mouth of the riuer of Aun. He likewise built or new repaired the townes of Locetor and Wigmore, with diuerse other, as one at Glademuth, about the last yere of his reigne. Some also he destroyed which seemed to serue the enemies turne for harborough, as a castell at Temnesford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned some what about the tearme of 23 yeres, he was taken out of this life at Faringdon: his

Translated
by Abraham
Fleming.

This Alfwen
was sister to
Elfedda, as
H. Hunt. saith.

Strretclod of
Strretclod, a
kingdome in
Wales.

K. Edward a
great builder
and repaire of
townes.
Nottingham
bidge built.

Math. West.
Manchester
repaired.
Anno 816.
Simon Dun.

Henr. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt.
Math. West.
Simon Dun.

Tamworth
was by hir
repaired, anno
914.
Cadshurie
and warwicke.
915
Chester re-
pared, 905.
Sim. Dun.

Queene of the
Welshmen ta-
ken.
Breconamere
Ran. Higd.
Hen. Hunt.
918
Darbie won
from the
Danes.

Hen. Hunt.

ine un-
Anno Christi
919
Mat. West.
Simon Dun.

Ranul.

Translated
by Abraham
Fleming.

This Alcom
was sister to
Edelfred, as
I Hunt. saith.

Stratcland of
Dreicled, a
ungdom in
wales.

i. Edward a
reat builder
nd reparet of
dwines.
Nottingham
idge built.

farr. West.
Winchester
pared.
anno 816.
imon Dun.

enr. Hunt.

der the Saxons and Danes. the historie of England.

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Polydor.

S. Dyname.

Mat. West.
Polydor.

The issue of
h. Edward.

Thes Edgina

Wil. Malm.

Ran. Hig.
Wil. Malm.
Mat. West.

England first
scattered.

Anno 903.

his bodie was conueied from thence vnto Winchester, and there buried in the new abbey. He had three wyues, or (as some haue written) but two, affirming that Edgiva was not his wyfe, but his concubine, of whome he begat his eldest sonne Adelstan, who succeeded him in the kingdome. This Edgiva (as hath bene reported) dreamed on a time that there rose a mone out of hir bellie, which with the bright shine thereof gaue light ouer all England: and telling hir dreame to an ancient gentlewoman, who coniecturing by the dreame that which followed, take care of hir, and caused hir to be brought vp in good manners and like a gentlewoman, though she were borne but of base parentage.

Whereupon when she came to ripe yeres, king Edward by chance comming to the place where she was remaining, upon the first sight was streight rauished with hir beautie (which in deed excelled) that she could not rest till he had his pleasure of hir, and so begot of hir the foresaid Adelstan: by hir he had also a daughter that was married vnto Sithrike a Dane and k. of Northumberland. The Scottish wyters name hir Beatrice, but our wyters name hir Editha. His second or rather his first wyfe (if he were not married to Edgiva mother to Adelstan) was called Elfrida or Elfrida, daughter to one earle Ethelme, by whom he had issue, to wit, two sonnes Ethelward and Edwin, which immediatlie departed this life after their father; and six daughters, Elfrida, Edgiva, Ethelthilda, Ethilda, Edgitha, and Elfgina. Elfrida became a nun, and Ethelthilda also lived in perpetuall virginittie, but yet in a laie habit.

Edgitha was married to Charles king of France, surnamed Simpler. And Ethilda by helpe of hir brother Adelstan was bestowed vpon Hugh sonne to Robert earle of Paris, for hir singular beautie most highlie esteemed: sith nature in hir had shewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comelie personage. Edgiva and Elfgina were sent by their brother Adelstan into Germanie, vnto the emperor Henrie, who bestowed one of them vpon his sonne Ditho, that was after emperor, the first of that name; and the other vpon a duke inhabiting about the Alpes: by his last wyfe named Edgiva, he had also two sonnes, Edmund & Eldred, the which both reigned after their brother Adelstan successuallie. Also he had by hir two daughters, Edburgh that was made a nun, and Edgiva a ladie of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelstan gaue in marriage vnto Leues king of Aquitaine.

Whilist this land was in continuall trouble of warres against the Danes, as before is touched, small regard was had to the state of the church, in so much that the whole countrie of the Westsaxons by the space of seuen yeres together (in the daies of this king Edward) remained without anye bishop, to take order in matters appertaining to the church.

Whereupon the pope had accursed the English people, because they suffered the bishops sees to be vacant so long a time. King Edward to auoid the curse, assembled a prouinciall councell, 905, in the which the archbishop of Canturburie Pleimond was president. Wherein it was ordeined, that whereas the prouince of Westsaxons in times past had but two bishops, now it shold be diuided into fise diocesses, euerie of them to haue a peculiar bishop.

When all things were ordered and concluded in this synod (as was thought requisite) the archbishop was sent to Rome with rich presents, to appease the popes displeasure. When the pope had heard what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And so the archbishop returned into his countrie, and in one day at Canturburie ordeined seuen bishops, as fise to the prouince of Westsaxons, that is to say,

Fridestane to the see of Winchester, Adelstan to S. German in Cornwal, Werden to Shireborne, Adeline to Wicheles, and Edbulle to Iarnton. Also to the prouince of Suffer he ordeined one Bernegus, and to Dorchester for the prouince of Mercia one Cenulfus.

¶ Here ye must note, that where William Malm. Polychro. and other do affirme, that pope Formosus did accurse king Edward and the English nation, for suffering the bishops sees to be vacant, it can not stand with the agreement of the time, vntill that the curse pronounced by Formosus for this matter long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had respect thereto. For the same Formosus began to gouerne the Romane see about the yere of our Lord 892, and liued in the papasie not past six yeres, so that he was dead before king Edward came to the crowne. But how so euer this matter maie fall out, this ye haue to consider: although that Pleimond was sent vnto Rome to aduertise the pope what the king had decreed & done, in the ordeining of bishops to their seuerall sees, as before ye haue heard, yet (as maister Fox hath noted) the gouernance and direction of the church depended chieslie vpon the kings of this land in those daies, as it manifestlie appereth, as well by the decrees of king Alfred, as of this king Edward, whose authoritie in the election of bishops (as before ye haue heard) seemed then alone to be sufficient.

Moreover, I thinke it good to aduertise pon in this place, that this Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie (of whome ye haue heard before) was the 19 in number from Augustine the first archbishop there: for after Brightuold that was the 8 in number, and first of the English nation that gouerned the see, succeeded Ladin, that sat three yeres, Stetlin fise yeres, Cuthbert 18 yeres, Berhtwin three yeres, Lambert 27 yeres, Adelard 13 yeres, Wilfred 28 yeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus 3 yeres, Celnoius or Chelnius 10 yeres. Then succeeded Alred, of whome king Edward received the crowne, and he was predecessor to Pleimond. A litle before the death of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberland killed his brother Sigellus, and then king Ketnold conquered the citie of Pothe.

Adelstane succeedeth his father Edward in the kingdome, Alfred praftising by treason to keepe him from the gouernment, fanke downe suddenlie as he was taking his oth for his purgation; the cause why Alfred opposed himselfe against Adelstane, whose praise is notable, what he did to faushe the expectation of his people, ladie Beatrice king Edwards daughter married to Sithrike a Danish gouernor of the Northumbers, by whose meanes Edwin king Edwards brother was drowned, praftises of treason, the ladie Beatrice strangelie put to death by hir steplons for being of counsell to poison hir husband Sithrike, hir death reuenged vpon the tormentors by hir father king Edward, and how chronographers varie in the report of this historie.

The xix. Chapter.



Adelstane the eldest sonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more part of all England, the yere of our Lord 924, which was in the 6 yere of the emperour Henrie the first, in the 21 yere of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, three monthes after the burning of Baue, & about the 22 or 23 yere of Constantine the third, king of Scotland. This Adelstane

Winchester.
Cornwall.
Shireborne.
Wicheles.
Iarnton.
Mercia.

Wil. Malm.
saith that pope
Formosus
pronounced
this curse.

Polydor.

Hen. Hunt.

924

Wifred triedly urbane to hispe Adelstane from the government. W. l. Malin. See more hereof in the act and monuments set forth by M. Fox, vol. 1. leafe 195.

Anno 925.
Simon Dun.
Polydor.

Wil. Malin.

H. Hunt.

Hest. Boetius. The Scottish writers varie from our English authoys. Beatrice daughter to R. Edward as the Scottish writers say. Edwin was not brother to R. Edward but son to him.

Adelstane stich the yalme.

Adelstane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone upon Thames, of Adelme the archbishop of Cantuarburie, who succeeded Pletmonde. He was the 24 king in number from Cerdicus or Cerdike the first king of the Westsaxons. There were in the beginning some that set themselves against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which practised by treason to have kept him from the government: but he was apprehended per he could bring his purpose to passe, and sent to Rome there to trie himselfe guiltie or not guiltie. And as he took his oath for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he suddenie fell downe to the earth, so that his seruants took him by, and bare him into the English schoule or hospitall, where the third night after he died.

Dope John the tenth sent unto king Adelstane, to know if he would that his bodie should be laid in christian burfall or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds friends and kinsfolks, signified to the pope that he was contented that his bodie should be interred amongst other christians. His lands being forfeited were given by the king unto God and saint Peter. The cause that moued Alfred and other his complices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his bastardie. But whether that allegation were true or but a slander, this is certeine, that except that steine of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelstane worthie of blame: so that he darkened all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both in vertuous conditions and victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in thy selfe wherein to excell, rather than to stand upon the worthinesse of thine ancestors, sith that can not rightlie be called a mans owne.

After that king Adelstane was established in the estate, he indozed himselfe to answer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great wealth to issue by his noble and prudent gouernance. First therefore meaning to prouide for the suertie of his countrie, he concluded a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, unto whome (as ye haue heard) he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in marriage. Sithrike liued not past one yere after he had so married hir. And then Adelstane brought the prouince of the Northumbers unto his subiection, expelling one Abdulph out of the same that rebelled against him. There be that write, that Godfrie and Aulase the sonnes of Sithrike succeeding their father in the gouernement of Northumberland, by practising to moue warre against king Adelstane, occasioned him to inuade their countrie, and to chase them out of the same, so that Aulase fled into Ireland, & Godfrie into Scotland: but other write, that Godfrie was the father of Reignold which was Poike, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother pigellus, as before is mentioned.

The Scottish chronicles varie in report of these matters from the English writers: whose chronicles affirme, that in the life time of king Edward, his daughter Beatrice was given in marriage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition that if anie male were procreated in that marriage, the same should inherit the dominions of king Edward after his decease. King Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwin, a iolie gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was sent into flanders in a ship that leaked, and so was drowned, to the great reioicing of all the Danes, least if he had suruived his brother, he would haue made some businesse for the crowne.

About the same time Adelstane a bafe sonne of R. Edward fled the realme, for doubt to be made away by some like traitorous practise of the Danes. Sith-

ke after, king Edward vnderstanding that Sithrike went about some mischief to toward him, perused his daughter to poison his husband and the said Sithrike. Then Aulase or Aualastus, and Godfrie the sonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, that Beatrice was of counsell in poisoning his husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wise. She was set naked upon a smithes cold anuill or stidie, and therewith hard roasted eggs being taken out of the hot timbers were put under hir armpits, and hir armes fast bound to hir bodie with a cord, and so in that state she remained till hir life passed from hir. King Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued warre against the two brethren, Aulase and Godfrie, and in battell finally vanquished them, but was slaine in the same battell himselfe.

Thus haue the Scottish chronicles recorded of these matters, as an induction to the warres which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against king Adelstane: but the truth thereof we leaue to the readers owne iudgement. For in our English writers we find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after his fathers deceasse was by his brother king Adelstane, about the first yere of his reigne, given in marriage (as before ye haue heard) unto the foresaid Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was descended of the Danish blood, who for the loue of the young ladie, renounced his heathenish religion and became a christian; but shortly after, forsaking both his wife and the christian faith, he set vp againe the worshipping of idols, and within a while after, as an apostata miserable ended his life. Whereupon the young ladie, hir virginittie being preserved, and hir bodie undefiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Hollesworth in Warwicksheire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watching, praying, and doing of almesdeedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus our writers differ from the Scottish historie, both in name and maner of end as concerning the daughter of king Edward that was coupled in marriage with Sithrike.

Adelstane subdueth Constantine king of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wulferth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a great part of the north countries, Adelstane conquereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enemie; a miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of England; king Adelstane banisheth his brother Edwin, he is for a conspiracie drowned in the sea, Adelstane repenteth him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother Aulase sometimes king of Northumberland inuadeth England, he disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell and surueieth the English campe vn suspected, he is discovered after his departure, he assaileth the English campe, Adelstane being comforted with a miracle discomfitteth his enemies, he maketh them of Northwales his tributaries, he subdueth the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbeys & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realmes, what precious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwike.

The xx. Chapter.



After that king Adelstane had subdued them of Northumberland, he was aduertised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also Huduald or Hotwell R. of Wales went about a private conspiracie against him.

Here:

Beatrice put to death by the steeple.

Editha a virgin.

Will. Malm.

Hereupon with all convenient speed assembling his power, he went against them, and with like good fortune subdued them both, and also Climer or Wulf-ferth B. of Northwales, so that they were constrained to submit themselves unto him, who shortly after moved with pity in considering their sudden fall, restored them all three to their former estates, but so as they should acknowledge themselves to governe under him, pronouncing withall this notable saying, that more honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.

Math. West.
The noble
friend of king
Abelstane.
926

We must understand, that (as it appeareth in the Scottish chronicles) the Scottishmen in time of wars that the Danes gave the English nation, got a part of Cumberland and other the north countries into their possession, and so by reason of their nere adjoining unto the confines of the English kings, there chanced occasions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelstane his sonne, although in deed the Danes held the more part of the north countries, till that this Adelstane conquered the same out of their hands, and joined it unto other of his dominions, constraining as well the Danes (of whom the more part of the inhabitants then consisted) as also the Englishmen, to obey him as their king and gouverneur. Godfric (as is said) being fled to the Scots, did so much pique there by earnest sute made to king Constantine, that he got a power of men, and entering with the same into Northumberland, besieged the citie of Dun-ferme, soliciting the citizens to receiue him, which they would gladly haue done, if they had not perceived how he was not of power able to resist the puissance of king Adelstane: and therefore doubting to be punished for their offenses if they revolted, they kept the enemies out. King Adelstane being fore moved against the king of Scots, that thus aided his enemies, raised an armie, and went northward, purposing to reuenge that iniurie.

Polydor.

934

Ran. Higd.

At his coming into Northshire, he turned out of the way, to visit the place where saint John of Beverlie was buried, and there offered his kniue; promising that if he returned with victorie, he would redeme the same with a worthy price: and so proceeded and went forwards on his iourne, and entering Scotland, waisted the countrie by land unto Dunferme and Wetermore, and his nauie by sea destroyed the coasts alongst the shore, even to Cantville, and so he brought the king of Scots and other his enemies to subiection at his pleasure, constraining the same B. of Scots to deliver him his son in hostage.

Sim. Dua.

The Scots
subdued.

I taken the
wed miracu-
lous that the
Scots ought
to be subie-
ct to the kings
of England.

It is said, that being in his iourne nere unto the towne of Dunbar, he prayed unto God, that at the instance of saint Iohnd of Beverlie, it would please him to grant, that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appeare to all them that then liued, and should hereafter succeed, that the Scots ought to be subiection unto the kings of England. Herewith, the king with his sword smote upon a great stone standing nere to the castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke, there appeared a cleft in the same stone to the length of an ell, which continued to be shewed as a witness that thing that he desired. At his coming backe to Beverlie, he redemed his kniue with a large price, as he had promised.

Will. Malm.
Math. West.
934

After this was done, the king was accused of some conspiracy by him against the king, whereupon he was banished the land, and sent out in an old rotten vessel without power or mariner, onlie accompanied with one elquier, so that being lancht forth from the shore, through despair Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himselfe, but the elquier that was with him recovered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withland besides Cantur-

burie. But James Maier in the annales of Flan- ders saith, that he was drowned by fortune of the seas in a small vessel, and being cast vp into a creeke on the coast of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his cousin ger- mane, and honorable buried by the same Adolfe in the church of Bertine. In consideration of which deed of pietie and dutie of mindfull consanguinitie, the king of England both hartlie thanked earle Adolfe, and bestowed great gifts upon the church where his brother was thus buried. For verclie king Adel- stane after his displeasure was asswaged, and hearing of this miserable end of his brother, sore repented himselfe of his rigour so extended towards him, in so much that he could neuer abide the man that had given the information against him, which was his cupbearer, so that on a time as the said cup- bearer serued him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his feet chanced to slide, but he recovered himselfe with the helpe of the other foot, saying, One brother yet hath holpen & succored the other: which words cost him his life. For the king remembryng that by his accusation he had lost his brother that might haue bene an aid to him, caused this said cupbearer to be straight put to death.

Repentance
to late.

In this meane while, Aulase the sonne of Sithe- rike, late king of Northumberland (who is also named by writers to be king of the Irishmen, and of manie Ilands) assembled a great power of Danes, Irishmen, Scots, and other people of the out Isles, and imbarcked them in 615 ships and craiers, with the which he arrived in the mouth of Humber, and there comming on land, began to invade the coun- trie. This Aulase had married the daughter of Con- stantine king of Scots, by whose procurement, notwithstanding his late submission, Aulase took in hand this iourne. King Adelstane aduertised of his enemies arrivall, gathered his people, and with all convenient speed hastened towards them, and approach- ing nearer unto them, pitcht downe his field at a place called by some Bismesburie, by others Bismesford, and also Bismesbright, and by the Scot- tish writers Bismesfield.

Will. Malm.

937
Simon Dua.

When knowledge hereof was had in the enemies campe, Aulase enterprised a marcelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the Eng- lish campe, offering himselfe disguised as a minstrell, to shew some part of his cunning in musike vpon his instrument: and so being suffered to passe from tent to tent, and admitted also to playe afore the king, surueied the whole state and order of the armie. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammifado to set vpon the kings tent. But one that had serued as a souldier sometime vnder Aulase, chanced by mar- king his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, offered to the king what he knew. The king seemed to be displeased, in that he had not told him so much before Aulase's departure: but in excusing himselfe, the souldier said: We must remember (if it like your grace) that the same faith which I haue gi- uen vnto you, I sometime otwight vnto Aulase, there- fore if I should haue betrayed him now, you might well stand in doubt least I should hereafter do the like to you: but if you will follow mine aduise, re- moue your tent, least hapilie he assaile you to- morrow. The king did so, and as it chanced in the night following, Aulase came to assaile the Eng- lish campe, and by fortune comming to the place where the kings tent stood before, he found a bishop lodged, which with his companie was come the same day to the armie, and had pitcht vp his tent in that place from whence the king was remoued: and so was the same bishop, and most part of his men there slaine. which slaughter executed, Aulase passed for- ward,

Hen. Hunc.
Will. Malm.
Math. West.
Hector Boet.
Ran. Higd.
Aulase disgui-
sed, commeth
to view the
English campe

Aulase assai-
leth the En-
glish campe.

Ran. Higd.

Wil. Malm.
The enemies
discomfited.

Ran. Higd.

Tribute.

The Cornish
men subdued.Excester re-
pared.940
Simon Dun.
The decease
of king Adel-
stane.The descrip-
tion of king
Adelstane.Wolstan arch-
bishop of
York.His estima-
tion in foraine
realmes.

ward, and came to the kings tent, who in this meane time, by reason of the alarum raised, was got up, and taking to him his sword in that sudden fright, by chance it fell out of the scabbard, so that he could not find it, but calling to God and S. Adelme (as saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie pressed forth vpon his enemies, and so valiantlie resisted them, that in the end he put them to flight, and chased them all that morning and day following, so that he slew of them an huge number. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouerthrow, and five other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and welnere all the armie of those strange nations which Aulase had gathered together. But the Scottish chronicles affirme, that Constantine was not there himselfe, but sent his sonne Malcolme, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may see more at large.

When king Adelstane had thus vanquished his enemies in the north parties of England, he went against them of Northwales, whose rulers and princes he caused to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in such sort, that they covenanted to pay him yearly in lieu of a tribute 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of silver, and 25 head of neate, with hawks and hounds a certeine number. After this, he subdued the Cornishmen: and whereas till those daies they inhabited the citie of Excester, mingled amongst the Englishmen, so that the one nation was as strong within that citie as the other, he rid them quite out of the same, and repaired the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so removed the Cornish men further into the west parts of the countrie, that he made Tamer water to be the confines betwene the Englishmen and them. Finallye the noble prince king Adelstane departed out of this world, the 26 day of October, after he had reigned the tearme of 16 yeares. His bodie was buried at Malmeburie.

He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, sloping somewhat, and yellowe haired, for his baliance joined with courtlesse beloued of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of inuincible constancie: his great deuotion toward the church appeared in the building, adorning & indowning of monasteries and abbeys. He built one at Wilton within the diocesse of Salisburie, and another at Wyche in Summersethire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adorne the same either with some new peece of building, Jewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolstan archbishop of Yorke that lived in his daies, for whose sake he greatlie enriched that bishopricke. His fame spread ouer all the parties of Europe, so that sundrie princes thought themselves happy if they might haue his friendship, either by affinitie or otherwise: by means whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highlie in marriage as before ye haue heard. He receiued manie noble and rich presents from diuers princes, as from Hugh king of France, boies and sundrie rich Jewels, with certeine reliques: as Constantines sword, in the hilt whereof was set one of the nails wherewith Christ was fastened to the crosse, the speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same where with the side of our sauour was pierced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuille saw the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares af-

ter this time, as he writeth. Of these Jewels king Adelstane gaue part to the abbie of saint Swithon at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Malmeburie. Moreover, the king of Portugal sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine workmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailes, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt paulses. In the daies of this Adelstane reigned that right worthy Con-
Harding.
corde) fought with a mightie giant of the Danes in a singular combat, and vanquished him.

Edmund succeedeth Adelstane in the kingdome, the Danes of Northumberland rebell against him, a peace concluded betwene Aulase their king and king Edmund vpon conditions, Aulase dieth, another of that name succeedeth him; king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelleth them to receiue the christian faith, Reinold and Aulase are baptised, they violate their fealtie vowed to king Edmund, they are put to perpetuall exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the eies of king Dunmills sonnes to be put out, and assigned the said countrie to Malcolme king of Scots; the Scottish chronicles error in perverting the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds lawes, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foretold to Dunstane in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstane reprooueth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.

The xxj. Chapter.

After that Adelstane was departed this life, without leaving issue behind to succeed him in the kingdome, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgine, took upon him the gouernement of this land, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otto the 1, in the 13 of Letes furnished with Frankmarinus king of France; and about the 28 yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberland rebelled against this Edmund, and ordained Aulase to be their king, whom they had called out of Ireland. Some write that this Aulase, which now in the beginning of Edmunds reigne came into Northumberland, was king of Portugal, & having a great power of men with him, marched forth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole: but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and encountered with his enemies at Leicester. Holwett, per. the matter came to the uttermost trial of battell, through the earnest sute of the archbishop of Canterbury and Hooke Bdo and Wolstan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should inioy all that part of the land, which lieth from Watlingstreet southward, & Aulase should inioy the other part as it lieth from the same street northward. Then Aulase took to wife the daughter Alditha, daughter to earle Danus; by whose counsaile and assistance he had thus obtained the upper hand. But this Aulase in the yeare following, after he had destroyed the church of saint Balder, and burned Thringham, departed this life. Then the other Aulase that was sowne to king Edgine, took upon him to gouerne the Northumbers.

After this, in the yeare 942, king Edmund assembling an armie, first subdued those Danes which had got into their possession the cities and towns of Alincote, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Nottingham,

Edmund.

Wil. Malm.
940

Simon Dun.

A peace con-
cluded.941
March, Well.
Aulase decaies
with
Another tw
late taketh
vpon him to
rule.

942

Simond:
Sodrey.
Will. Malin.

Harding.

944
Simond.

Leolin king
of South-
wales aided
king Ed-
mund in this
interpulse.
946

dmund.

l. Malin.
940

on Dun.

ice com-
d.

I. J.
Well:
deceat-
er. Sw-
ith in to

12

Polydor.
The lawes of
king Ed-
mund.

Five peares
and 7 months
bath St. Dun.

ham, confreining them to receiue the christian faith,
and reduced all the countries euen vnto Hum-
ber vnder his subiection. This done, Aulafe and
Reinold the sonne of Garin, who (as you haue
heard) subdued Þorke, as a meane the sooner to ob-
taine peace, offered to become christians, & to sub-
mit themselves vnto him: whereupon he receiued
them to his peace. There be that write, that this
Aulafe is not that Aulafe which was sonne to king
Suthrike, but rather that the other was he with
whom king Edmund made partition of the realme:
but they agree, that this second Aulafe was a Dane
also, & being conuerted to the faith as well through
constraint of the kings puissance, as through the
preaching of the gospell, was baptised, king Ed-
mund being godfather both vnto him, and vnto the
foresaid Reinold, to Aulafe at the berie fontaine,
and to Reinold at his confirmation at the bishops
hands. Neuerthelesse, their wicked natures could
not rest in quiet, so that they brake both promise to
God, and to their prince, and were therefore in the
peare next following driven both out of the coun-
trie, and punished by perpetuall exile. And so king
Edmund adioined Northumberland, without ad-
mitting any other immediat gouernor, vnto his
owne estate.

Whereafter, he wasted and spoiled whole Cumber-
land, because he could not reduce the people of that
countrie vnto due obeisance, and conformable sub-
iection. The two sonnes of Dunmaile king of that
prouince he apprehended, and caused their eies to
be put out. Whereupon consideration either of
such aid as he had receiued of the Scots at that
time, or some other friendlie respect, he assigned the
said countrie of Cumberland vnto Malcolme king
of Scots, to hold the same by fealtie of him and his
successors. The Scottish chronicles, peruertering the
time and order of the acts and doings of the English
kings which reigned about this season, affirme, that
by covenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolme
king of Scotland, and Adelfan king of England,
it was agreed, that Cumberland should remaine to
the Scots: as in their chronicles you may find at
full expresse. And againe, that Indulfe, who suc-
ceeded Malcolme in the kingdome of Scotland, aided
king Edmund against Aulafe, whom the same chro-
nicles name Aualafus, but the time which they at-
tribute vnto the reignes of their kings, will not
allow the same to stand. For by account of their writ-
ters, king Malcolme began not his reigne till after
the decesse of king Adelfan, who departed this
life in the peare 940. And Malcolme succeeded Con-
stantine the third in the peare 944, which was about
the third peare of king Edmunds reigne, and after
Malcolme (that reigned 15 peares) succeeded In-
dulfe in the peare 959. The like discordance prece-
deth and followeth in their writers, as to the dili-
gent reader, in conferring their chronicles with
ours, manifestlie appeareth. We therefore (to satisfie
the desirous to vnderstand and see the diuersitie of
writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles
left the same as we found it.

But now to the other doings of king Edmund:
it is recorded, that he ordeined diuers good and whol-
some lawes, verie profitable and necessarie for the
commonwealth, which lawes with diuers other of
like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by rust of
time, the consumer of things worthy of long re-
membrence (as saith Polydor:) but sithens his
time they haue bene recovered for the more part,
& by maister William Lambert turned into Latine,
& were imprinted by Iohn Day, in the peare 1568,
as before I haue said. Finally, this prince king
Edmund, after he had reigned ffre peares and a

halfe, he came to his end by great misfortune. For
(as some say) it chanced, that espiong there one of
his seruants was in danger to be slaine amongst
his enemies that were about him with drawn
swords, as he stepped in to haue holpen his seruant,
he was slaine at a place called Pulcher church, or (as
other haue) Spichelsborough.

Other say, that keeping a great feast at the afore-
said place on the day of saint Augustine the English
apostle (which is the 26 of Auaie, and as that peare
came about, it fell on the tuesday) as he was set at
the table, he espied there a common robber was
placed nere vnto him, whome sometime he had ba-
nished the land, and now being returned without li-
cence, he presumed to come into the kings presence,
wherewith the king was so moued with high dis-
daine, that he suddenlie arose from the table, and
flew vpon the theefe, and catching him by the beere
of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith
the theefe, hauing fast hold on the king, brought him
downe vpon him also, and with his knife stroke him
into the bellie, in such wise, that the kings bowels
fell out of his chest, and there presentlie died. The
theefe was helven in peces by the kings seruants,
but yet he slue and hurt diuers before they could dis-
patch him. This chance was lamentable, namelie
to the English people, which by the ouertimelie death
of their king, in whome appeared manie euident
tokens of great excellencie, lost the hope which they
had conceiued of great wealth to increase by his
prudent and most princelie gouernement. His bo-
die was buried at Claffenburie where Dunstane
was then abbat.

There be that write, that the death of king Ed-
mund was signified aforehand to Dunstane, who a-
bout the same time attending vpon the same king,
as he remoued from one place to an other, chanced
to accompanie himselfe with a noble man, one duke
Elfsane, and as they rode together, behold suddenlie
Dunstane saw in the waie before him, where the
kings musicians rode, the duell running and lea-
ping amongst the same musicians after a reioysing
maner, whome after he had beheld a good while, he
said to the duke, Is it possible that you may see that
which I see? The duke answered that he saw nothing
otherwise than he ought to see. Then said Dunstane,
Blesse your eies with the signe of the crosse, and trie
whether you can see that I see. And when he had done
as Dunstane appointed him, he saw also the fend in
likenesse of a little short euill fauoured Aethiopian
dancing and leaping, whereby they gathered that
some euill hap was towards some of the companie:
but when they had crossed and blessed them, the soule
spirit banished out of their sight.

Now after they had talked of this vision, and made
an end of their talke touching the same, the duke re-
quied of Dunstane to interpret a dreame which he
had of late in sleepe, and that was this: He thought
that he saw in a vision the king with all his nobles sit
in his dining chamber at meate, and as they were
there making merrie together, the king chanced
to fall into a dead sleepe, and all the noble men, and
those of his counsell that were about him were chan-
ged into robucks and goats. Dunstane quicklie de-
clared that this dreame signified the kings death, and
the changing of the nobles into dum and insens-
ible beasts betokened that the princes & gouernors
of the realme should decline from the waie of truth,
and wander as foolish beasts without a guide to rule
them. Also the night after this talke when the king
was set at supper, Dunstane saw the same spirit, or
some other, walke vp and downe amongst them that
waited at the table, and within thre daies after, the
king was slaine, as before ye haue heard.

D. J. Edred

Þundecire
saith St. Dun.
Will. Malin.
Math. West.
946

Capgrave.

3 baune tale.

Crossing brin-
geth sight of
the duels, and
crossing dri-
ueth them a-
way.

Dunstane an
interpreter of
dreames.

Dunstane seith
the duell of
ten, but now
he was be-
come a swatter
at the table
when Dun-
stane sat with
the king.

Edred succedeth his brother Edmund in the realme of England, the Northumbers rebell against him, they and the Scots sweare to be his true subiects, they breake their oth and ioine with Aulase the Dane, who returneth into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people expell him and erect Hericus in his roome, king Edred taketh reuenge on the Northumbers for their disloialtie, the reward of his armie is assailed by an host of his enemies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselves, and put a waie Hericus their king, Wollstane archbishop of Yorke punished for his disloialtie, whereto Edred applied himselfe after the appealing of ciuill tumults, his death and buriall, a speciall signe of Edreds loue to Dunstane abbat of Glaffenburie, his practise of coustenage touching king Edreds treasure.

The xxij. Chapter.

Edred.



Edred the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgine his last wife, began his reigne ouer the realme of England in the yere of our Lord 946, 02 (as other say) 997, which was in the twelue yere of the emperour Otto the first, and in the 21 yere of the reigne of Lewes II. of France, & about the third or fourth yere of Malcolm the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned and anointed the 16 day of August by Wdo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingstone vpon Thames. In the first yere of his reigne, the Northumbers rebelled against him, wherevpon he raised an armie, inuaded their countrie, and subdued them by force. This done, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anie resistance submitted themselves vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers received an oth to be true vnto him, which they obserued but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, but that Aulase which had bene chased out of the countrie by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was iustlicie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdom, which he held by the space of foure yeres, and then by the accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelled, and then they set by one Hirke or Hericus the sonne of one Harrold to reigne ouer them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yere of his reigne, Edred in the reuenge of such disloiall dealings in the Northumbers, destroyed the countrie with fire & sword, sleaing the most part of the inhabitants. He burnt the abbey of Kippon, which was kept against him.

Hen. Hunt.
The Northumbers rebell and are subdued.

Aulase returned into Northumberland.

Hirke or Hericus.
Wil. Malm.
The disloialtie of the Northumbers punished.

Ran. Higd.
Simon Dun.

Castellor.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned.
March. West.

951

As he was returning homeward, an host of enemies brake out of Yorke, and setting vpon the rearward of the kings armie at a place called Casterford, made great slaughter of the same. Wherefore the king in his rage ment to haue begun a new spoile and destruction, but the Northumbers humbled themselves so vnto him, that putting awaie their forsaid king Hirke or Hericus, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obtained pardon. But because that Wollstane the archbishop of Yorke was of counsell with his countreymen in revolting from king Edred, and aduancing of Hericus, king Edred took him and kept him in prison a long time after, but at length in respect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he set him at libertie, and pardoned him his offense. March. Westm. recteth an other cause of Wollstans imprisonment, as thus. In the yere of Grace, faith he, 951, king Edred put the archbishop of Yorke in

close prison, because of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie towneshen of Eheadford to be put to death, in reuenge of the abbat Aldelme by them trustilie slaine and murdered.

After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissensions within his land, he applied himselfe to the aduancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie torments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in praier and other deuout studies. This Edred in his latter daies being greatlie addicted to deuotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgine, refounded the abbey of Abington which was built first by king Inas, but in these daies fore decayed and fallen into ruine. Finally, after he had reigned nine yeres and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greuaunce of men, and reioysing of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedrall church there. Here is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, vpon a singular and most respectall fauour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glaffenburie, committed vnto him the chiefest part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princelie iebels as belonged to the former kings, with other such as he got of his owne, willing him to lay the same in safe keeping within his monastrie of Glaffenburie. Afterward, when king Edred perceived himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sicknesse, which in deed made an end of his life, he sent into all parties to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose thereof before his departure out of this life, as he should see cause. Dunstane took such things as he had vnder his hands, & halsted forward to deliuer the same vnto the king, and to blesse him in that time of his sicknesse according to his dutie: but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saying, Behold king Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voice, the horse whereon Dunstane rode fell doونه and died, being not able to abide the presence of the angel that thus spake to Dunstane. And when he came to the court, he vnderstood that the king died the same houre in which it was told him by the angel, as before ye haue heard.

Wil. Malm.

Edred was partly this life.

Dunstane in fauour.

But this is a denie thereby to determine the treasure for I do not read that he deliuered it out of his hands. In an angel, as some think a strange creature.

Edwin succedeth Edred in the kingdom of England, his beastlie and incestuous carnalitie with a kinfwoman of his on the verie day of his coronation, he is reprovied of Dunstane and giueth ouer the gentlewomans companie, Dunstane is banished for rebuking king Edwin for his vnlawfull lust and lewd life, the diuell reioiced at his exile, what reuenging mischiefs the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile, the middle part of England rebelleth against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar in roiall roome ouer them, he taketh thought and dieth; Edgar succedeth him, he is a fauourer of moons, his provision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in gouernment, what kings he bound by oth to be true vnto him, eight princes row his barge in signe of submission, the vicious inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen vpon his fauouring of the Danes, a restraint of excessive quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcester and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester; iustice in Edgars times euerclic executed, then punished with death, a tribute of woolls skins paid him out of Wales, and the benefit of that tribute.

The xxij. Chapter.

After the decess of Edred, his nephew Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reigne

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randed manie
death, in re-
brioultie laine

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as buried at
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thane the ab-
him the dte-
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celie tewels
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the same in
lastenburie.
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sure in his
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ture out of
e toke such
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his dutie: But was not
ake to him
is now de-
voice, the
and died,
ngell that
me to the
the same
ll, as be-

eking-
incestu-
is on the
of Dun-
ompanie,
his unlar-
e, what re-
gainst the
rebellers
r in roiall
ar succee-
or defense
ent, what
inces row
eniences
ng of the
is made
Win-
ted,

rephue Edwin.
dmund
gan his
reigne

Wil. Malm.

Edward de-
parteth this
life.

Dunstan in
lawour.

Will. Malmef.
Polydor.

John Cap-
grace.

Dunstan
banished the
realme.

Dunstan
sith not the
duell.

Dunstan de-
parted into
exile.

Will. Malm.
Edwine dis-
placeth
monks and
putteth secu-
lar priests in
their romes.

Rebellion
raised against
king Edwine
Simon Dun.

Edwine depar-
teth this life.

Edgar.

Polydor.

Edgar a fano-
r of monks.

reigne ouer the same in the yere of our Lord 955,
& in the 20 yere of the emperor Wtho the first, in the
28 and last yere of the reigne of Lewes king of
France, and about the twelfe yere of Alcolme the
first of that name, king of Scotland. He was conse-
crated at Kingston vpon Thames by Wdo the arch-
bishop of Canturburie. On the berie day of his co-
ronation, as the lords were set in counsell about
weightie matters touching the gouernment of the
realme, he rose from the place, gat him into a cham-
ber with one of his nere kinswomen, and there had
to do with hir, without anie respect or regard had to
his rofall estate and princelie dignitie. Dunstane
latelie before named abbat of Glasterburie, did not
onlie without feare of displeasure reprove the k. for
such shamefull abusing of his bodie, but also caused
the archbishop of Canturburie to confine him to
forlake that woman whom vnlawfullie he kept.

There be that write, that there were two women,
both mother and daughter, whome king Edward
kept as concubines: for the mother being of noble
parentage, fought to satiffie the kings lust, in hope
that either he would take hir or hir daughter unto
wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunstane was
fore against such wanton pastime as the king vsed in
their companie, she so wrought, that Dunstane was
through hir earnest trauell banished the land. This is
also reported, that when he should depart the realme,
the diuell was heard in the west end of the church, ta-
king vp a great laughter after his roying maner, as
though he should shew himsele gled and iostall at
Dunstanes going into exile. But Dunstane percei-
ning his behauiour, spake to him, and said: Well
thou aduersarie, do not so greatly reioice at the mat-
ter, for thou dost not now so much reioice at my de-
parture, but by Gods grace thou shalt be as forew-
full for my returne.

Thus was Dunstane banished by king Edwine,
so that he was compelled to passe ouer into Flan-
ders, where he remained for a time within a mona-
strie at Sant, finding much friendship at the hands
of the gouernor of that countrie. Also the more to
breake his wrath, the king spoiled manie religious
houses of their goods, and droue out the monks, pla-
cing secular priests in their romes, as namelie at
Alamesburie, where yet the house was not empai-
red, but rather enriched in lands and ornaments by
the kings liberalitie, and the industrious meanes of
the same priests, which toke by the bones of saint Al-
delme, and put the same into a thizne. At length the
inhabitants of the middle part of England, euen
from Humber to Thames rebelled against him, and
elected his brother Edgar to haue the gouernement
ouer them, wherewith king Edwine toke such grieffe,
for that he saw no meane at hand how to remedie
the matter, that shortly after, when he had reigned
somewhat more than foure yeres, he died, and his
bodie was buried at Winchester in the new abbete.

Edgar the second sonne of Edmund late king of
England, after the decess of his elder brother
the foresaid Edwine, began his reigne ouer this
realme of England in the yere of our Lord God
959, in the 22 yere of the emperor Wtho the first,
in the fourth yere of the reigne of Lotharius king
of France, 510 almost ended after the coming of
the Sarons, 124 after the arriuall of the Danes,
and in the last yere of Alcolme king of Scotland.
He was crowned & consecrated at Bath, or (as some
say) at Kingstone vpon Thames by Wdo the archbi-
shop of Canturburie, being as then not past 16
yeres of age, when he was thus admitted king. He
was no lesse indued with commendable gifts of
mind, than with strength and force of bodie. He
was a great fauor of monks, and speciallie had

Dunstane in high estimation. About all things in
this world he regarded peace, and studied baslie how
to preserve the same, to the commoditie & aduance-
ment of his subiects.

When he had established things in good quiet, and
set an order in matters as seemed to him best for the
peaceable gouernement of his people, he prepared
a great naue of ships, and diuiding them in three
parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the
realme, to wait about the coast, that no foren eni-
mie should approach the land, but that they might be
incountered and put backe, before they could take
land. And euerie yere after Easter, he vsed to giue
order, that his ships should assemble together in their
due places: and then would he with the east naue
saile to the west parts of his realme, and sending
those ships backe, he would with the west naue saile
into the north parts; and with the north naue come
backe againe into the east. His custome he vsed, that
he might scowre the seas of all pirats & theues. In
the winter season and spring time, he would ride
through the prouinces of his realme, searching out
how the iudges and great lords demeaned them-
selues in the administration of iustice, sherpelie pu-
nishing those that were found guilty of extortion, or
had done otherwise in anie point than dutie requi-
red. In all things he vsed such politike discretion, that
neither was he put in danger by treason of his sub-
iects, nor molested by foren enemies.

He caused diuerse kings to bind themselves by
oath to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Eadnabius or
rather Indub king of Scotland, Alcolme king of
Cumberland, Alacutus an archpirat, or (as we may
call him) a maister rouer, and also all the kings of the
Welshmen, as Duffnall, Gristith, Huball, Jacob,
and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their
solemne othes receiued, swore to be at his comman-
dement. And for the more manifest testimonie ther-
of, he hauing them with him at Chester, caused them
to enter into a barge vpon the water of De, and pla-
cing himsele in the forepart of the barge, at the
helme, he caused those eight high princes to row the
barge by and downe the water, shewing thereby his
princelie prerogative and rofall magnificence, in
that he might vse the seruice of so manie kings that
were his subiects. And there vpon he said (as hath bin
reported) that then might his successeurs account
themselves kings of England, when they intioled
such prerogative of high and supreme honor.

The fame of this noble prince was spread ouer all,
as well on this side the sea as beyond, inso much that
great resort of strangers chanced in his daies, which
came euer into this land to serue him, and to see the
state of his court, as Sarons and other, yea and also
Danes, which became berie familiar with him. He
fauored in deed the Danes (as hath bene said) more
than good with the commoditie of his subiects, for
scarle was anie strait in England, but Danes had
their dwelling in the same among the Englishmen,
whereby came great harme: for whereas the Danes
by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by
continuall conuersation with them learned the same
vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessive
quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the
procurement of Dunstane, nailles to be set in cups
of a certeine measure, marked for the purpose, that
none should drinke more than was assigned by such
measured cups. Englishmen also learned of the Sar-
ons, Flemings, and other strangers, their peculiar
kind of vices, as of the Sarons a disordered fierce-
nesse of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tendernes-
se of bodie: where before they reioiced in their owne
simplicitie, and esteemed not the lewd and vnprofi-
table manners of strangers.

D. ff.

Dunstane

The diligent
provision of
k. Edgar for
defense of the
realme.

Wil. Malm.

Alacutus.

Kings of
Welshmen.

King Edgar
roweth on
the water
of De.

Ran. Higd.
King Edgar
fauoured
Danes.

English learn-
ed to quaffe
of the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

Englishmen
learned other
vices of
strangers.

Ethelwold
made bishop of
Winchester.

Osuald:
Flopiacum.

Monks must
needs write
much in praise
of Edgar who
had men of
their cote in
such estimatiō

A tribute
instituted of
Wolfskins.

Dunstane was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the see of London committed unto him. He was in such fauor with the king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a monke of Glasterburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might doe vertie much with the king. Also Osuald, which had bene a monke in the abbey of Flore in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remoued to the see of Poike, was highlie in fauor with this king, so that by these three prelates he was most counselled. Justice in his daies was stricly obserued, for although he were courteous and gentle towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offenders, so that no person of what estate or degree soeuer he was escaped wothie punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no priuie theefe nor common robber that durst lay hands upon other mens goods, but he might loke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be guiltie. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild rauening beasts, that liued upon sucking the blood of others? For as it is said, he appointed Iudweall or Lodweall king of Wales to present him with three hundred wolues perelerie in name of a tribute, but after three yeres space, there was not a wolfe to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yere after it began to be paid.

The death of Alfred king Edgars wife (or concubine) causeth him to fall into a fowle offense, an example teaching men to take heed how they put others in trust to woo for them; earle Ethelwold cooseneth the king of his wife, the danger of beholding a womans beautie with lustfull eyes; king Edgar killeth earle Ethelwold to marrie faire Alfred his wife; the bloudie and vnnatural speech of Ethelwolds base sonne; examples of king Edgars great incontinencie and lewd life; Dunstane putteth the king to penance for his vnchastitie, the Welshmen rebell against him and are corrected, king Edgars vision before his death, of what religious buildings he was founder, his example a spur to others to doe the like, monks esteemed and secular priests little regarded, king Edgars deformed reformation, his vices, stature, and bodily qualities, he offereth to fight hand to hand with Kinadius king of Scots vpon occasion of words euill taken, Kinadius submitte himselfe and is pardoned; his wiues and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the amplenesse of his dominions.

The xxxij. Chapter.

Osborne and
Captraue hold
that the was
not his wife
but a nun.
Wil. Malm.

Wozger.

In this meane time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whome he had begot a sonne named Edward. The death of this woman caused the king to commit an heinous offense. For albeit at the same time the same went, that Wozgerius duke of Cornewall, or rather Devonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damosell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in marriage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornewall or Devonshire, to see if the yong ladies beautie answered the report that went of hir, and so to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe: yet Ethelwold being a yong iolite gentleman, toke his iournie into Cornewall, and comming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was straight rauished so far

in loue, that not regarding the kings pleasure, who had sent him thither, he began to purchase the good will of both father and daughter for himselfe, and did so much that he obtained the same in deed. Whereupon returning to the king, he informed him that the damosell was not of such beautie and comelic performance, as might be thought wothie to match in marriage with his maiestie.

Erle Ethelwold deceiveth the king of his wife.

Shortlie after perceiuing the kings mind by his wrongfull misreport to be turned, and nothing bent that way, he began to sue to him that he might with his fauour marie the same damosell: which the king granted, as one that cared not for hir, because of the credit which he gave to Ethelwolds words. And so by this means Ethelwold obtained Alfred in marriage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread ouer all the realme, now that she was married and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king chanced to heare thereof, and desirous to see hir, deuised vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no sooner set his eye vpon hir, but he was so farre wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obtaine his purpose, he shortly after contriued Ethelwolds death, and married his wife.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would see hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in fowle garments, and some euill fauored attire, that hir native beautie should not appeare: but she perceiuing how the matter went, of spite set out hir selfe to the bittermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamored of hir beautie, that taking hir husband forth with him on hunting into a forest or wood then called Marlewood, & after Hozelwood, not thewng that he meant him any hurt, till at length he had got him within the thicke of the wood, where he suddenlie stroke him through with his dart. Now as his bassard son came to the place, the king asked him how he liked the maner of hunting, where to be answered; Werie well if it like your grace, for that that liketh you, ought not to displease me. Which which answer the king was so pacified, that he inuoyed by pretending his fauor towards the sonne, to extenuat the tyrannicall murder of the father. Then did the king marie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sonnes, Edmund which died yong, and Ethelred or Egelfred.

King Edgar killeth the destruction of earle Ethelwold.

King Edgar a murderer.

This licentious life & incontinencie.

Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his fleshly lust, he also played another part greatlie to the staine of his honoz, moued also by wanton loue, with a yong damosell named Willfrid, for after that she had (to auoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agree) got hirselfe into a nunnrie, and clad hir in a nuns weed, he toke hir forth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a nun. A third example of his incontinencie is written by authors, and that is this. It chanced on a time that he lodged one night at Andouer, and hauing a mind to a lords daughter there, he commanded that she should be brought to his bed. But the mother of the gentlewoman would not that hir daughter should be deflowered: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir mai seruants, and laid hir in the kings bed, she being both faire, proper, and pleasant.

In the morning when the day began to appeare, she made haile to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hastid; that I may go to my daies worke if it please your grace (quoth she.) Wherewith she being

Note the deep hypocritie of Dunstane.

Ran. Higd.
Fabian out of
Gudo de Co-
lunna.
Wil. Malm.

Men. Hunt.
Ranul. Hig.

Polydor.

Matt. West.
Simon Dun.

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
The welsh-
men rebel and
are chastised.

Will. Malmes.
Hen. Hunt.
King Edgar
departeth this
life.

who Erle Ethel-
good would decei-
id did ueth the king
upon of his wile,
e da-
e da-
ma-

his bent
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ma-
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King Edgar
which the
destruction of
earle Ethel-
wold.
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King Edgar
a murder.

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his licenti-
ous life & in-
continencie.

der the Saxons and Danes. the historie of England.

ing staied by the king, as it were against his will,
she fell downe on his knees, & required of him that
she might be made free, in guardon of his nights
worke. For (saith she) it is not for your hono^r, that the
woman which hath tasted the pleasure of the kings
bodie should anie more suffer seruitude vnder the
rule and appointment of a sharpe & rough mistresse.

The king then being moued in his spirits, laughed
at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that
take great indignation at the doings of the dut-
chesse, and pittied the case of the poore wench. But yet
in fine (turning earnest to a iest) he pardoned all the
parties, and auanced the wench to high hono^r, farre
aboue those that had rule of hir afore, so that she ru-
led them (willed they nilld they:) for he vsed hir as
his paramour, till he married the foresaid Alfrede.

For these yonthfull parties, & namelie for the raut-
shing of Wulfstrib (which though she were no nun, yet
the offense seemed verie heinous, for that he should
not once touch anie woman shadowed vnder that

Note the deep
hypocritie of
Dunstan.

Ran. Higd.
Foliot out of
Guado de Co-
lunna.
Wil. Malin.

Men. Hunt.
Ranul. Hig.

Polydor.

Matt. West.
Simon Dun.

habit) he greatlie displeased Dunstane, so that by
him he was put to his seuen yeres penance, and
kept from the crowne till the 12 yere of his reigne
or more. For some wryte that he was not crowned
nor annointed king, till the 30 yere of his age, which
should be about the 13 or 14 yere of his reigne by
that account, sith he entred into the rule of the king-
dome about the 16 yere of his age. In deed one au-
thor writteth, that he was consecrated at Bath on
a Whit Sunday, the 12 yere of his reigne, and that by
Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie, and Adwold
archbishop of Dorke. But some which suppose that he
was consecrated king immediatlie vpon the death
of Canutus, affirme that he was crowned and an-
nointed king by the archbishop Wdo, Dunstane as
then remaining in exile, from whence he was imme-
diatlie reuoked by Edgar, and first made bishop of
Excester (as hath bene said) and after the decease
of Wdo was aduanced to be archbishop of Cantur-
burie. But by some writers it appeareth, that Dun-
stane was reuoked out of exile immediatlie vpon
partition of the realme betwixt Edwin and Edgar,
which chanced in the yere 957, by the rebellion of the
people of Mercia, & others (as before ye haue heard:)
and that in the yere following the archbishop Wdo
died, after whome succeeded Alsin bishop of Winche-
ster, who also died the same yere that king Edward
deceased, as he went to fetch his pall from Rome,
and then Wighthelme bishop of Dorchester was e-
lected archbishop. But because he was not able to dis-
charge so great an office, by K. Edgars comma-
ndement he was forced to giue place to Dunstane.

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
The well-
men rebel and
are chastised.

Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the
Welshmen moued some rebellion against him.
Whereupon he assembled an armie, and entering
the countrie of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the
same, chastising the inhabitants verie sharpelie for
their rebellions attempts. Amongst other spoiles ta-
ken in those parties at that time by the men of war,
the bell of saint Illutus was taken away, and han-
ged about a horses necke, and (as hath bene repo-
ted) in the after none, it chanced that king Edgar
laid him downe to rest, whereupon in sleepe there ap-
peared one vnto him, and smote him on the breast
with a speare. By reason of which vision he caused
all things that had bene taken away to be restored
again. But within nine daies after the king died.
Whether anie such thing chanced, or that he had anie
such vision it forceth not. But truth it is, that in the
37 yere of his age, after he had reigned 16 yeres
and two moneths he departed this life, the 8 day of
Julie, and was buried at Glaffenburie.

Will. Malmet.
Men. Hunt.
King Edgar
departed this
life.

This Edgar is highlie renowned of writers for
such princelie qualities as appeared in him, but chief-

lie for that he was so beneficiall to the church, name-
lie to monks, the aduancement of whome he great-
lie sought, both in building abbeies new from the
ground, in repairing those that were decayed: also by
enriching them with great reuerues, and in conuer-
ting collegiat churches into monasteries, remo-
uing secular priests, and bringing in monks in their
places. There passed no one yere of his reigne, where-
in he founded not one abbey or other. The abbey of
Glaffenburie which his father had begun he finished.
The abbey of Abington also he accomplished and set
in good order. The abbies of Peterborough & Thorne
he established. The nunnrie of Wilton he founded
and richlie endowd, where his daughter Editha
was professed, and at length became abbess there.
To be brieue, he builded (as the chronicles record) the
number of 40 abbeies and monasteries, in some
of which he placed monks, and in some nuns. By his
example in those daies, other nobles, as also pre-
lates, & some of the laitie, did begin the foundation of
sundry abbeies and monasteries: as Adewold bi-
shop of Winchester builded the abbey of Ely, and
(as some say) Peterborough & Thorne, though they
were established by the king (as before is mentio-
ned). Also earle Ailewin, at the exhortation of the
same bishop Adewold, builded the abbey of Ham-
sey, though some attribute the doing thereof vnto
Adwold the archbishop of Dorke, and some to king
Edward the elder.

wherefore Ed-
gar is praised
of some
writers.

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Men. Hunt.

Wil. Malin.

Men. Hunt.

To conclude, the religious orders of monks and
nuns in these daies flourishd, and the state of secu-
lar priests was smallie regarded, inasmuch that they
were constrained to auoid out of diuerse colleges,
and to leaue the same vnto monks, as at Excester
and Winchester, where in the new monasterie, be-
cause the kings liued not in such sort as was then
thought requisite, the prebends were taken from
them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were
thought to vse themselves no better, but rather
worse than the other before them, they were likewise
put out, and monks placed in their romes by autho-
ritie of pope John the 12. This reformation, or ra-
ther deformation was vsed by king Edgar in many
other places of the realme.

Matt. West.
Monks esta-
med a secular
priests little
regarded.

Ran. Higd.
lib. 6. cap. 9.

He was (as appeareth by diuers writers) name-
lie in his beginning, cruell against his owne people,
and wanton in lussing after yong women (as you
haue heard before.) Of stature & proportion of bodie
he was but small and loto, but yet nature had intlo-
sed within so little a personage such strength, that he
durst encounter and combat with him that was
thought most strong, onelie doubting this, least he
which should haue to doe with him should stand in
feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feast
(where oftentimes men vse their tongues more libe-
rallie than needeth) Kenneth the king of Scots
cast out certaine words in this maner: It may
(saith he) seme a maruell that so manie countries
and prouinces should be subiect to such a little little
bodie as Edgar is. These words being bozne awaie
by a iester or minstrell, and afterwards uttered to
Edgar with great reproch, he toselie dissembled the
matter for a time, although he kept the remem-
brance thereof inclosed within his breast: and vpon
ocasion, at length feigned to go on hunting, taking
the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing cau-
sed one of his seruants to conuey two swords into
a place within the forest by him appointed in secret
wile, of purpose he withdrew from the residue of his
companie, and there accompanied onelie with the
Scottish king, came to the place where the swords
were laid; and there taking the one of them, deli-
uered the other to the Scottish king, willing him
now to assaie his strength, that they might shew by
D. ij.

Wil. Malin.
Ran. Higd.
Tho. Eliot.

Edgar small
of stature but
strong and
hardie.

Kenneth king
of Scots.

The noble
courage of
king Edgar.

prose whether of them ought to be subiect to the other; Start not, but trie it with me (saith he:) for it is a shame for a king to be full of bags at bankets, and not to be ready to fight when triall should be made abroad. The Scottish king hertwith being astonished and maruellouslie abashed, fell downe at his feet, and with much humilitie confessed his fault, & desired pardon for the same, which vpon such his humble submission king Edward casilie granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mighty duke named Osmer, by whome he had issue a sonne named Edward that succeeded him. His second wife was called Alfredda the daughter of Edgar duke of Deuon or Cornewall (as some saie) by whome he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egelfred which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base daughter named Editha, begotten of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The state of the realme in king Edgars daies was in good point, for both the earth gaue hir increase berie plentifulle, the elements shewed themselves verie sauozable, according to the course of times: peace was maintained, and no inuasion by foraine enemies attempted. For Edgar had not onlie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & soueraigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Isles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine euen vnto the realme of Portugal. He brought also a great part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike recordes it doth and may appeare.

Wil. Malm.

Ireland sub-
icte to king
Edgar.

Contention amongst the peeres and states about succession to the crowne, the monkes remoued and the canons and secular priests restored by Alfer duke of Mercia and his adherents, a blasing starre with the euents ensuing the same, the rood of Winchester speaketh, a prettie shift of monks to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controuersie betweene the monkes and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstane, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent loue he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and hir sonne Egelfred, hir diuelish purpose to murder Edward hir stepsonne accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by meanes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture; queene Alfred repenting hir of the said premeditated murder, dooth penance, and imploie hir substance in good workes as satisfactorie for hir sinnes, king Edwards bodie remoued, and solemnlie buried by Alfer duke of Mercia, who was earene vp with lice for being against the said Edwards aduancement to the crowne, queene Alfreds offense by no meanes excusable.

The xxv. Chapter.

Edward.

Some write
that the father
king Edgar
appointed
Edward to
succeed him.
Simon Dun,
John Capg.

After the decess of king Edgar, there was some strife and contention amongst the lords & peeres of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelfredus or Ethelfredus, and diuers other of hir opinion, would gladly haue aduanced the same Egelfredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his hands the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward vnto the lords as they were assembled together, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namely Alfer the duke of Mercia were sore against him, especiallie for that he was begot in vnlawfull bed of Elfreda the nun, for which

offense he did seuen yeares penance, and not for lieng with Wilfrid (as maister Fox thinketh.) But Dunstane iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was moze fit for their behoofe to continue the world in the former course as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelfred (whose mother and such as took part with hir vnder hir sonnes authoritie were like lie inough to turne all vpside downe) vied the matter so, that with helpe of Oswald the archbishop of Porke, and other bishops, abbats, and certeine of the nobilitie, as the earle of Essex and such like, he prevailed in his purpose, so that (as before is said) the said Edward, being the second of that name which gouerned this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reigne ouer England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of the emperour Otto the second, in the 20 yeare of the reigne of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstane at Kingston vpon Thames, to the great griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. About the beginning of his reigne a blasing starre was seene, signifieng (as was thought) the miserable haps that followed. And first there ensued barrenesse of ground, and thereby famine amongst the people, and mortaine of cattell.

Also duke Alfer or Elfer of Mercia, and other noble men destroyed the abbies which king Edgar and bishop Adelwold had builded within the limits of Mercia. The priests or canons, which had bene expelled in Edgars time out of the prebends and benefices, began to complaine of the wrongs that were done to them, in that they had bene put out of possession from their linings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remoue an old inhabitant, for such maner of doing could not please God, not yet be allowed of any god man, which ought of reason to doubt least the same should hap to him which he might see to haue bene an other mans vndowing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namely the same Alfer, iudged that the priests had wrong. In so much that they remoued the monkes out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wiues. But Edwinn duke of the Eastangles, & Alfred his brother, with Wighthmoth or Wighthode earle of Essex, withstood this doing, & gathering an armie, with great ballancie maintained the monkes in their houses, within the countrie of Eastangles. Hereupon were counsels holden, as at Winchester, at Northling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to haue had their purpose, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in counsell, uttered certeine words in this wise; God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the monkes had moze right, which had bereft other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their owne. But (saith he) because the image of Christ hanging on the crosse was thought to speake these words, such credit was giuen thereto, as it had bene an oracle, that the priests had their sute dashed, and all the trouble was ceased. So the monkes held those possessions, howeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Iehesus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.

The

dert

Wil. Ma

After decess of
Alfer duke of
Mercia and
other unrighte-
ousnesse
done vpon
Edgars
death before
the crowne
was establi-
shed, remoued
the monkes
and restored
the canons,
Simon Dun.

975

Dunst-
wold
races
swell, w
gamen
lea.

Wil. Malm.

Polyd-
Wil. MThe
purpo
quasJohn Capg
Wil. Malm.
Ran. Hig.
Matt. West.
Simon Dun.The
murder
of Edw

Simon Dun.

Polydor.

Matt.
Fabia
Sim. I
WilldA prettie shift
of the monkes
to disappoint
the priests.
Polydor.

Wil. Malm.
 The Duke of
 Mercia and
 other immet-
 tle byon
 Edgar's
 death before
 the crowne
 was establi-
 shed, & moued
 the monks
 and restored
 the canons,
 Simon Dun.

975

Wil. Malm.

Alfred of
 Mercia.

John Cap-
 Wil. Malm.
 Ran. Higd.
 Mart. West.
 Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

Polydor.

Alfred's
 the monks
 o' disappoint-
 be p'p'les.
 Polydor.

Wil. Malm.

Dunstan by
 working mi-
 racles had his
 will, when ar-
 guments sat-
 isfied.

Polydor.
 Wil. Malm.

The wicked
 purpose of
 quene Alfred.

The shameful
 murder of R.
 Edward.

Mart. West.
 Fabian.
 Sim. Dun.
 Wil. Malm.

The matter therefore was not so quieted, but that upon new trouble an other counsell was had at a manour house belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to haue the hearing of the matter, sat in an upper loft. The king by reason of his young yeres was spared, so that he came not there. Here as they were busied in arguing the matter, either part laicng for himselfe what could be said, Dunstan was sore reuiled, and had sundrie reproches laid against him: but suddenlye even in the verie heat of their communication, the toils of the loft failed, and downe came all the companie, so that manie were slaine and hurt, but Dunstan alone standing upon one of the toils that fell not, escaped safe and sound. And so this miracle with the other made an end of the controuersie betwene the priests and monks, all the English people following the mind of the archbishop Dunstan, who by meanes thereof had his will.

In this meane while, king Edward ruling himselfe by god counsell of such as were thought discret and sage persons, gaue great hope to the world that he would walke in his fathers vertuous steps, as already he well began, and bearing alwaie a reuerence to his mother in law, and a brotherlie loue to his sonne Egclred, vsed himselfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a forest nere the castell of Cozfe, where his mother in law and his brother the said Egclred then sojourned, when all his companie were sped abroad in following the game, so that he was left alone, he took the waie streight vnto his mother in lawes house, to visit hir and his brother. The quene hearing that he was come, was verie glad thereof, so that she had occasion offered to worke that which she had of long time before imagined, that was, to see the king his sonne in law, that his owne sonne might intoy the garland. Wherefore she required him to alight, which he in no wise would yeld vnto, but said that he had stolne from his companie, and was onelie come to see hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore would returne to the forest againe to see some more sport.

The quene perceiuing that he would not alight, caused drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by his appointment, one of his seruants strooke him into the bodie with a knife, whereupon feeling himselfe wounded, he set spurs to the horse thinking to gallop awaie, and so to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horse, so as one of his feet was fastened in the stirrup, by reason whereof his horse drew him forth through woods and launds, & the blood which gushed out of the wound shewed token of his death to such as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horse had left him. That place was called Cozfes gate or Cozfes gate. His bodie being found was buried without anie solemne funeralls at Warham.

For they which enuied that he should intoy the crowne, enuied also the buriall of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his fame could not so secretlie be buried with the bodie, as they imagined. For sundrie miracles shewed at the place where his bodie was interred, made the same famous (as diuerse haue reported) for there was sight restored to the blind, health to the sicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are easilier to be told than beleued.

Quene Alfred also would haue ridden to the place where he laye, moued with repentance (as hath bene said) but the horse whereupon he rode would not come nere the graue, for anie thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the said horse could the matter be holpen: for euen the same thing happened to the other horses. Hereupon the woman perceiued hir great offense towards God for murdering the innocent, and did so repent hir afterward for the same, that besides the chastising of hir bodie in fasting, and other kind of penance, she imployed all hir substance and patrimonie on the poore, and in building and repairing of churches and monasteries. She founded two houses of nuns (as is said) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambresburie, and finallye professed herselfe a nun in one of them, that is to say, at Warwell, which house she builded (as some affirme) in remembrance of hir first husband that was slaine there by king Edgar for hir sake (as before is mentioned.)

The bodie of this Edward the second, and surnamed the martyr, after that it had remained thre yeres at Warham where it was first buried, was removed vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia, who also did sore repent himselfe, in that he had bene against the aduancement of the said king Edward (as ye haue heard.) But yet did not he escape worthie punishment: for within one yere after, he was eaten to death with lice (if the historie be true.) King Edward came to his death after he had reigned thre yeres, or (as other write) thre yeres and eight moneths. Whatsoeuer hath bene reported by writers of the murder committed on the person of this king Edward, sure it is that if he were base begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it should appeere he was in deed) great occasion vndoubtedlie was giuen vnto quene Alfred to seeke reuenge for the wrongfull keeping backe of his son Egclred from his rightfull succession to the crowne: but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, she might yet haue deuised some other lawfull meane to haue come by his purpose, and not so to haue procured the murder of the young prince in such vnlawfull manner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthilie allowed, nor thoroughlie excused, although those that occasioned the mischiefes by aduancing hir stepsonne to an other mans right, deserued most blame in this matter.

Building of
 abbeies in
 those daies
 was thought
 to be a full sa-
 tisfaction for
 all manner of
 sinnes.

Elfrus.

Polydor.
 Wil. Malm.

Thus farre the sixth booke, comprising the first arriuall of the Danes in this land, which was in king Britricus his reigne, pag. 135; at which time the most miserable state of England tooke beginning.



THE



THE SEVENTH BOKE of the Historie of England.

Egelred succedeth Edward the martyr in the kingdome of England, the decaie of the realme in his reigne, Dunstane refusing to consecrate him is therevnto inforced, Dunstans prophecies of the English people and Egelred their king, his slouth and idlenes accompanied with other vices, the Danes arrive on the coasts of Kent and make spoile of manie places; warre betwixt the king and the bishop of Rochester, archbishop Dunstans bitter denunciation against the king because he would not be pacified with the bishop of Rochester without monie; Dunstans parentage, his strange trance, and what a wonderfull thing he did during the time it lasted, his education and bringing vp, with what good qualities he was indued, an incredible tale of his harpe, how he was reuoked from louing and lusting after women whereto he was addicted, his terrible dreame of a rough beare, what preferments he obtained by his skill in the expounding of dreames.

The first Chapter.

Egelred.



D the former boke was discouered the troubled state of this land by the manifold and mutinous inuasions of the Danes; who though they sought to ingrosse the rule of euerie part and parcel therof in to their hands; yet being resisted by the ballantnesse of the gouernors supported with the aid of their people, they were disappointed of their expectation, and receiued manie a dishonorable or rather reprochfull repulse at their aduersaries hands. Which mischiefe doubtlesse they did, and more had done, if they had not bene met withall in like measure of extremitie as they offered, to the offense and ouerthrow of great multitudes. Their first entrance into this land is controuerted among writers, some saieing that it was in the daies of king Britricus, other some affirming that it was in the time of king Egbert, &c: about which point (sith it is a matter of no great moment) we count it labour lost to vse manie words: driekt this by the waie is noteworthe, that the Danes had an vnspect or rather a lame and limping rule in this land, so long as the gouernors were watchfull, diligent, polittike at home, and warlike abroad. But when these

kind of kings discontinued, and that the raines of the regiment fell into the hands of a pezzant not a puissant prince, a man euill qualified, dissolute, slacke and licentious, not regarding the dignitie of his stoue person, nor fauoring the good estate of the people; the Danes who before were coursed from coast to coast, and pursued from place to place, as more willing to leaue the land, than desirous to tarrie in the same; took occasion of stomach and courage to reenter this Ile, & waring more bold and confident, more desperate and venturous, spared no force, omitted no opportunitie, let slip no aduantage that they might possiblie take, to put in pzactise and fullie to accomplish their long conceiued purpose.

Now because the Danes in the former kings daies were reencountred (and that renoumedly) so often as they did encounter, and seeking the totall regiment, were dispossessed of their partile principallitie, which by warlike violence they obtained; and for that the Barons were interested in the land, and these but violent incrochers, unable to keepe that which they came to by constraint; we haue thought it conuenient to compile the troubled estate of that time in the first boke; the rather for the necessarie consequence of matters then in motion; and here deeme it not amisse, at so great and shamefull losse, nelle (speciallie in a prince) ministring hart and courage to the crinie, to begin the seventh boke. Wherein is exprest the chiefest time of their flourishing estate in this land; if in tumults, by pzoes, battels, and bloudshed, such a kind of estate may possiblie be found. For here the Danes lord it, here they take vpon them like soveraignes, & here (if at anie time they had absolute authoritie) they did what they might in the highest degre: as shall be declared in the vnsfortunate affaires of hugrations Egelred or Ethelred, the sonne of king Edgar, and of his last wife quene Alfred, who was ordeined king in place of his brother Edward, after the same Edward was dispatched out of the waie, and began his reigne ouer this realme of England, in the yere of our Lord 979, which was in the seventh yere of the emperor Who the second in the 24 of Robtarte II. of France, and about the second or third yere of Kenneth the third of that name king of Scotland.

This Ethelred or Ethelred was the 30 in number from Cerdicus the first king of the Westsaxons: through his negligent gouernment the state of the commonwealth fell into such decaie (as writers do report) that vnder him it may be said, how the kingdome was come to the uttermost point or period of gub and feble age, which is the next degre to the grade. For whereas, whilst the realme was diuided at the first by the Barons into sundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increasing from youtfull yeres) to one absolute monarchie, which passed betw

Will Malm

Polydor.

Ran. Higd.
980

Sim. Dun.

Ran. Higd.
982

983
After or Ethelred
duke of Mercia departed
this life.
Ethelred or
Ethelred duke of
Mercia.
Fabian.

979
Simon Dun

Will Malm.
Matt. West.

der the late remembred princes, Egbert, Adelfane, Edgar, and others, so that in their daies it might be said, how it was growne to mans state, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, pestilence, and warres, the state thereof was so shaken, turned by slowe downe, and weakened on eche part, that rightlie might the season be likened vnto the old broken pæres of mans life, which through feeblenesse is not able to helpe it selfe. Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie was thought to haue foreseene this thing, and therfore refused to annoint Egelred king, which by the murder of his brother should atteine to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled vnto it, and so he consecrated him at Kingston vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the 24 day of Aprill, assisted by Oswald archbishop of Booke, and ten other bishops.

Will. Malm.

But (as hath bene reported) Dunstane then said that the English people should suffer conuigine punishment generallie, with losse of ancient libertics, which before that time they had inioied. Dunstane also long before prophesied of the slouthfullnesse that should remaine in this Egelred. For at what time he ministrer the sacrament of baptisme to him, shortly after he came into this world, he desired the font with the odore of his wombe (as hath bene said): whereupon Dunstane being troubled in mind; By the Lord (saith he) and his blessed mother, this child shall proue to be a slouthfull person. It hath bene written also, that when he was but ten pæres of age, and heard that his brother Edward was slaine, he so offended his mother with weeping, because she could not kill him, that hauing no rod at hand, she toke tapers or tizes that stood before hir, and beat him so sore with them, that she had almost killed him, whereby he could neuer after abide to haue anie such candles lighted before him.

Polydor.

This Egelred (as writers say) was nothing giuen to warlike enterprises, but was slouthfull, a louer of idlenesse, and delighting in riotous luffs, which being knowne to all men, caused him to be euill spoken of amongst his owne people, and nothing feared amongst strangers. Whereupon the Danes that exercised rousing on the seas, began to conceiue a boldnesse of courage to disquiet and molest the sea coasts of the realme, in so much that in the second pære of this Egelreds reigne, they came with seuen ships on the English coasts of Kent, and spoiled the Isle of Tenet, the towne of Southampton, and in the pære following they destroyed S. Petros abbey in Cornwall, Dorsetland in Deuonshire, and diuers other places by the sea side, speciallie in Deuonshire & Cornwall. Also a great part of Cheshire was destroyed by pirats of Norway.

Ran. Higd.
980

Sim. Dun.

Ran. Higd.

982

983

After of Egbert duke of Mercia departed this life. Edfride of Elfrida duke of Mercia.

Will. Malm.
Mat. West.

The same pære by casualltie of fire, a great part of the citie of London was burnt. In the pære of our Lord 983, After duke of Mercia departed this life, who was cosen to king Edgar, & his sonne Alfrike toke vpon him the rule of that dukedome, and with in thre pæres after was banished the land. About the eight pære of his reigne, Egelred married one Elgina or Ethelgina, daughter of earle Egbert. In the ninth pære of his reigne, vpon occasion of strife betwene him and the bishop of Rochester, he made warre against the same bishop, waisted his lordships, and besieged the citie of Rochester, till Dunstane procured the bishops peace with payment of an hundred pounds in gold. And because the B. would not agree with the bishop without monie at the onelic request of Dunstane, the said Dunstane did send him word, that sithens he made more account of gold than of God, more of monie than of S. Andzeu, patrone of the church of Rochester, and more of couetousnesse than of him being the archbishop, the mischiefes which

the Lord had threatned would shortly fall and come to passe, but the same should not chaunce whilst he was alieue, who died in the pære following, on the 25 of Maie, being Saturday.

Vita Dunstani.

John Capgr.
Osborne.
Ran. Higd.

Of this Dunstane manie things are recorded by writers, that he should be of such holinesse and vertue, that God wrought manie miracles by him, both whilst he liued here on earth, and also after his decesse. He was borne in Westsaxon, his father was named Hrostan, and his mother Cintride, who in his youth set him to schoole, where he so profited, that he excelled all his equals in age. Afterward he fell sicke of an ague, which vexed him so sore that it dreane him into a frensie: and therefore his parents appointed him to the cure and charge of a certeine woman, where his disease grew so on him, that he fell in a trance, as though he had bene dead, and after that he suddenly arose, & by chance caught a staffe in his hand, and ran vp and downe through hills and dales, and laid about him as though he had bene afraid of mad dogs. The next night (as it is said) he gat him to the top of the church (by the helpe of certeine labbers that stood there for workemen to mend the rooffe) and there ran vp and downe verie dangerously, but in the end came safely downe, and laid him to sleepe betwene two men that watched the church that night, & when he awoke, he marvelled how he came there. Finally, recouering his disease, his parents made him a priest, and placed him in the abbey of Glasseburie, where he gaue himselfe to the reading of scriptures and knowledge of vertue. But as well his kinsmen as certeine other did raise a report of him, that he gaue not himselfe so much to the reading of scriptures, as to charming, coniuring and sojerrie, which he utterly denied: howbeit learned he was in deed, & could do manie pietie things both in handie worke and other deuises: he had good skill in musick and delighted much therein. At length he grew in such fauour, that he was aduanced into the seruice of king Adelfane.

Upon a time, as he came to a gentlewomans house with his harpe, and hong the same on the wall, while he shaped a priests stole, the harpe suddenly began to plaie a psalme, which dreane the whole household in such feare, that they ran out and said, he was too cunning, and knew more than was expedient: whereupon he was accused of necromancie, and so banished out of the court. After this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfraseus then bishop of Winchester and his cosen, perswaded him to become a monke, he refused it, for he rather wished to haue married a yong damosell, whose pleasant compaignie he daily inioied. But being some after stricken with such a swelling disease in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into such state, as though he had bene infected with a foule leprosie, he bethought him selfe, and vpon his recouerie sent to the bishop, who immediatlie shoke him a monke, in which life he liued in so great opinion of holinesse, as he in time became abbat of Glasseburie: where on a time as he was in his prayers before the altar of S. George, he fell asleepe: and imagining in his decame, that an oglie rough beare came towards him with open mouth, and set his forefet vpon his shoulders ready to deuoure him, he suddenly wakening for feare, caught his walking staffe which he commonlie went with, and laid about him, that all the church rang thereof, to the great wonder of such as stood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the nose with a paire of pinlozes, for tempting him with women, while he was making a chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elgeda nere kinswoman to king Adelfane bare him to hir dieng day, with a great manie of other such like matters, I leaue as frivulous,

Polychron.

lous, and whole impertinent to our purpose: onelie this I read, that through declaring of his dreames and visions, he obtained in the time of king Edgar, first the bishopricke of Worcester, after of London, & last of all the archbishopricke of Cantuarburie. But leaving Dunstane and the fond deuises depending vpon the commemoration of his life, we will now returne to the doings of Egelfred, and speake of such things in the next chapter as chanced in his time.

The Danes inuade England on each side, they are vanquished by the English, Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine; the Danes in a battell fought at Maldon kill Brighnoda earle of Essex and the most of his armie, ten thousand pounds paid to them by composition that they should not trouble the English subiects, they cease their crueltie for a time, but within a while after fall to their bloudie bias, the English people despaire to resist them; Egelfred addresseth a nauie against the Danes vnder the erles Alfrike and Turolf, Alfrike traitorously taketh part with the Danes, his ship and souldiers are taken, his sonne Algar is punished for his fathers offense, the Danes make great waite in many parts of this Iland, they besiege London and are repelled with dishonor, they driue king Egelfred to buy peace of them for 16000 pounds; Aulase king of Norway is honorable interceded of Egelfred, to whom he promiseth at his baptism neuer to make warre against England, the great zeale of people in setting forward the building of Durham towne and the minster.

The second Chapter.

Wil. Malm.
Matt. Westm.
The Danes
inuade this
land.

Alias Wece-
berport.
H. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
Danes van-
quished.

Simon Dun.

Goda earle of
Deuonshire
slaine.

Matt. VVest.

991

Ten thousand
pounds paid
to the Danes.
Danegilt.

Shortlie after the decease of Dunstane, the Danes inuaded this realme on each side, waiking and spoiling the countrie in most miserable wise. They arrived in sumanle places at once, that the Englishmen could not well deuise whither to go to encounter first with them. Some of them spoiled a place or towne called Wicheport, and from thence passing farther into the countrie, were met with by the Englishmen, who giuing them battell, lost their capteine Goda: but yet they got the victorie, and beat the Danes out of the field, and so that part of the Danish armie was brought to confusion. Simon Dunel. saith, that the Englishmen in deed wan the field here, but not without great losse. For besides Goda (who by report of the same author was Earle of Deuonshire) there died another valiant man of warre named Strentwold. In the yere 991, Brighnoda earle of Essex, at Maldon gaue battell to an armie of Danes (which vnder their leaders Iustine and Guthmond had spoiled Gipswich) and was there overcome and slaine with the most part of his people, and so the Danes obtained in that place the victorie.

In the same yere, and in the 13 yere of king Egelfreds reigne, when the land was on each side sore afflicted, wasted and haried by the Danes, which couered the same as they had bene grasshoppers: by the aduise of the archbishop of Cantuarburie Siricius (which was the second of that sex after Dunstane) a composition was taken with the Danes, so that for the sum of ten thousand pounds to be paid to them by the king, they should couenant not to trouble his subiects any further. This monie was called Danegilt or Dane monie, and was leuied of the people. Although other take that to be Danegilt, which was giuen vnto such Danes as king Egelfred afterwards retained in his seruice, to defend the land from other Danes and enemies that

sought to inuade his dominions. But by what name so euer this monie (which the Danes now receiued) was called, true it is that heretupon they ceased from their most cruell inuasions for a time. But shortlie after they had refreshed themselves, and recovered new strength, they began to play their old parts againe, doing the like mischeefe by their terrible inuasions, as they had used before. By reason hereof such feare came vpon the English people, that they despaired to be able to resist the enemies.

The king yet caused a nauie to be set forth at London, whereof he appointed earle Alfrike (whome before he had banished) to be high admerall, joining with him earle Turolf. This nauie did set forthward from London toward the enemies, who hauing waiting giuen them from Alfrike, escaped away without hurt. Shortly after a greater nauie of the Danes came, and encountered with the kings fleet, so that a great number of the Londoners were slaine, and all the kings ships taken: for Alfrike like a traitor turned to the Danes side. & Matt. West. maketh further report of this matter, declaring that Alfrike in deed being one of the chiefe captiues of the fleet, aduertised them by forwarning of the danger that was toward them, and that when they should come to joining, the same Alfrike like a traitor fled to the Danes, and after vpon necessitie being put to flight escaped away with them: but the other captiues of the kings fleet, as Theodred, Elstan, and Ectwen, pursued the Danes, toke one of their ships, and slue all those that were found therein. The Londoners also (as the same Matt. West. saith) met with the nauie of the Danish rowers as they fled away, and slue a great number, and also toke the ship of the traitor Alfrike with his souldiers & armie, but he himselfe escaped, though with much paine, hauing played the like traitorous part once before, and yet was reconciled to the kings favor againe. Vpon this mischeefe wrought by the father, the king now toke his sonne Algar, and caused his eyes to be put out.

About the same time was Bambrough destroyed by the Danes, which arrived after in Humber, and wasted the countrie of Lindsey and Pockeshire, on either side that riuer. And when the Englishmen were assembled to giue them battell, before they joined, the captiues of the English armie, Frene, Godwin, and Fredegist, that were Danes by their fathers side, began to flie away, and escaped, so giuing the occasion of the overthrow that lighted on their people. But by some writers it should appeere, that after the Danes had destroyed all the north parts, as they slyed abroad without order and good arrate, the people of the countrie fell vpon them, and slue some of them, and chased the residue. Other of the Danes with a nauie of 94 ships entered the Thames, and besieged London about our ladie daie in September. They gaue a verie sore assault to the citie, and assaied to set it on fire: but the citizens so valiantlie defended themselves, that the Danes were beaten backe and repelled, greatlie to their losse, so that they were constrained to depart thence with dishonor. Then they fell to and wasted the countries of Essex, Kent, Suffex, and Hamshire, and ceased not till they had forced the king to compound with them for 16 thousand pounds, which he was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Whereafter, whereas they wintered that yere at Southampton, the king procured Aulase king of the Norwegians to come vnto Andener (where at that time he lay) vpon pledges receiued of the king for his safe returne. Elphegus bishop of Winchester, and duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelfred to bring Aulase vnto him in most honorable manner. The same time was Aulase baptised, king Egelfred

Wil. Malm.
992

Hen. Hunt.
A nauie set
forth.

Alfrike a traitor
turned to his
countrie.
Matt. West.

Henr. Hunt.
The son
punished for his
fathers offence
993

Simon Dun.
Polydor.
March, West.

Aulase king
of Norway,
& Swen king
of Denmarke
were captiues
of this fleet,
as saith
Simon Dun.
994

Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Malm.
The king
compounded
with the
Danes for
monie.

Matt. West.
Simon Dun.
Aulase king
of Norway
baptised.

red

vnder
his promise.

John Leland.
Simon Dun.
995

The church
of Durham
builded.

Earle Ethel

Durham towne
and minster
builded.

997

The Danes
inuade the
west parts of
this land.

Canoebocke

998

999

The Danes
arrive in the
Thames.

1000

W. Malm.
992

Hen. Hunt.
The nauie let
forth.

Strike a tra-
tour to his
countrie.
Match. West.

Henr. Hunt.
The son pu-
nished for his
fathers offence
993

Simon Dun.
Polydor.
Match. West.

Alfaste king
of Norway,
Swain king
of Denmarke
were captiues
of this fleet,
as saith
Simon Dun.
994

Hen. Hunt.
W. Malm.
The king
componeth
with the
Danes for
monie.

Matt. West.
Simon Dun.
Alfaste king
of Norway
baptised.

his promise.

John Leland.
Simon Dun.
995

The church
of Warham
builded.

Eric Ethred

Durham town
and minster
builded.

997
The Danes
made the
best parts of
England.

Canoeboke

998

999
The Danes
arrive in the
Thames.

1000

red receiuing him at the fontstone, and so he promi-
sed neuer after to make anie war within this land.
And receiuing great gifts of the king, he returned
into his countrie, and kept his promise faithfullie:
but the evils took not so an end, for other of the
Danes sprang vp, as they had bene the heads of the
serpent Hyppon, some of them euer being ready to
trouble the quiet state of the English nation.

About this season, that is to say, in the yere of our
Lord 995, bishop Aldaine which was fled from Che-
ster in the street (otherwise called Cunecestre) with
the bodie of saint Guthbert for feare of the inuasion
of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the same bodie
now vnto Durham, and there began the foundation
of a church; so that the see of that bishopricke was from
thenceforth there established, and the woods were
there cut downe, which before that time couered and
ouer grew that place, whereupon it began first to be
inhabited. Earle Athred, who gouerned that coun-
trie, greatly furthered the bishop in this worke, so
that all the people inhabiting betwene the riuers of
Coquid and Rheis, came together to rid the woods,
and to helpe forwarde the building of the church and
to toun there.

The Danes inuading the west parts of
this land make great haucke by fire and
sword, they arriue at Rochester, and conquer
the Kentishmen in field, king Egelred ouercom-
meth the Danes that inhabited Cumberland and
wasteth the countrie, the Summerfestiue men are killed; the
miserable state of the realme in those daies; the English blood
mixed with the Danes and Britaines, and what inconueni-
ences grew thereupon, the disordered gouernment of king Egel-
red, sicknesses vexing the people, treason in the nobles, the
tribute paid to the Danes vnumercfullie inhanfed, the realme
brought to beggerie; king Egelred by pollicke perswasion and
counsell marieth Emma the duke of Normandies daugh-
ter, vpon what occasion the Normans pretended a title to the
croune of England, they conquer the whole land, what order
king Egelred tooke to kill all the Danes within his king-
dome, and what rule they bare in this realme yea
they were murdered, the thraldome of the Eng-
lish people vnder them, whereof the
word Lordane sprang.

The third Chapter.

In the nineteenth yere of
king Egelreds reigne, the
Danes sailed about Corno-
wall, and comming into the
Seuerne sea, they robbed &
toke prizes in the coasts of
Dewonshire & Southwaales,
and landing at Wicheport,
they burned by the countrie, and came about vnto
Pentwithstreet on the south coast, and so arriuing in
the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lidsford, and
there wasted all afoze them with force of fire. They
burned, amongst other places, the monastirie of
saint Odulfe at Ellingsloke. After this they came
into Dorsetshire, and passed through the countrie
with flame and fire, not finding anie that offered to
resist them. The same yere also they sojourned in the
Isle of Wight, and liued vpon spoiles & prizes which
they toke in Hampshire and Sussex. At length they
came into the Thames, and so by the riuer of Med-
wey arriued at Rochester. The Kentishmen assem-
bled together and fought with the Danes, but they
were overcome, and so left the field to the Danes. Af-
ter this, the same Danes sailed into Normandie,
and king Egelred went into Cumberland, where the
Danes inhabited in great numbers, whome he ouer-
came with foze warre, and wasted almost all Cum-

berland, taking great spoiles in the same. About the
same time, or shortly after, the Danes with their na-
uie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Ex-
mouth, and there assailed the castell. but they were
repelled by them that kept it. After this they spread
abroad ouer all the countrie, exercising their accusto-
med trade of destroing all before them with fire
and sword. The men of Summerfestiue fought
with them at Pentho, but the Danes got the upper
hand.

Thus the state of the realme in those daies was
verie miserable, for there wanted worthy chieftains
to rule the people, and to chastise them when they did
amisse. There was no trust in the noble men, for e-
uerie one impugned others doing, and yet would
not denie which way to deale with better likelhood.
When they assembled in counsell, and should haue
occupied their heads in devising remedies for the
mischiefe of the common wealth, they turned their
purpose vnto alteration, about such strifes, conten-
tions and quarels as each one had against other, and
suffered the generall case to lie still in the dust. And
if at anie time there was anie good conclusion agre-
ed vpon, for the withstanding of the enimie, & re-
laxse of the common wealth, anon should the enimie
be aduertised thereof by such as were of alliance or
consanguinitie to them. For (as Caxton, Polychr.
and others say) the English blood was so mixed with
that of the Danes and Britains, who were like eni-
mies to the Englishmen, that there was almost few
of the nobilitie and commons, which had not on the
one side a parent of some of them.

Whereby it came to passe, that neither the secret
purposes of the king could be concealed till they
might take due effect; neither their assemblies proue
quiet without quarelling and taking of parts. Ma-
rie also being sent forth with their powers one way
(whilst the king went to make resistance another)
did reuolt to his enimies, and turned their swords
against him (as you haue heard of Elfricke and his
complices, and shall read of manie others) so that
it was no maruell that Egelred sped no better, and
yet was he as vallant as anie of his predecessors,
although the monks fauour him not in their wor-
tings, because he demanded aid of them toward his
warres, and was nothing fauorable to their lewd
hypocrisie. But what is a king if his subiects be not
loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be
divided? By peace & concord, of small beginnings
great and famous kingdomes haue oft times proce-
ded; whereas by discord the greatest kingdomes haue
often bene brought to ruine. And so it proued here,
for whilst priuat quarels are pursued, the generall
affaires are vtterlie neglected: and whilst ech na-
tion seeketh to preferre his owne alliance, the land
it selfe is like to become a desert.

But to proceed with our monasticall writers:
certes they lay all the fault in the king, saing that
he was a man giuen to no good exercise, he deligh-
ted in fleshly lusses and riotous banquettings, and
still sought waies how to gather of his subiects what
might be got, as well by vnlawfull meanes as o-
therwise. For he would for feined or for verie small
& light causes disherit his native subiects, and cause
them to redeme their owne possessions for great
summes of monie. Besides these oppressions, di-
uers kinds of sicknesses bered the people also, as the
bloodie sir, and hot burning agues which then ra-
ged through the land, so that manie died thereof.
By such manner of meanes therefore, what through
the misgouernance of the king, the treason and di-
loialtie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and
due correction amongst the people, and by such other
scourges and mishaps as afflicted the English na-
tion

1001
Exmouth.

Pentho.

Disagreement
with council-
lors what
fruit it bring-
geth.

The misgo-
uernment of
the king.

Sicknesses
bering the
people.

Treason in
the nobilitie.

The inhancing of the tribute paid to the Danes.

The death of queene Ethelgiva.
Emma.

Hen. Hunt.
1002

Emma daughter of Al. duke of Normandy married to Al. Edgar.

1012
The 13 of November.
The murder of the Danes.

Polonhill, or Poundhill, a place within Herchington parish beside the forest of Redwood, somewhat more than two miles from Worcester.

The miserable state of this realme vnder the thraldome of the Danes.

Heftor Boet.

Lozdane whereof the word came.

tion in that season, the land was brought into great ruine, so that, where by strength the enimie could not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appease them with monie. By reason hereof from time of the first agreement with the Danes for 10 thousand pounds tribute, it was enhanced to 16000 pounds, (as you haue heard) & after that to 20000 pounds, then to 24000 pounds, & so to 30000 pounds, & lastlie to 40000 pounds, till at length the realme was emptied in maner of all that monie and coine that could be found in it. In this meane time died Ethelgiva or Ethelgiva the queene. Shortly after it was deuised that the king should be a later vnto Richard duke of Normandie, for his sister Emma, a ladie of such excellent beautie, that she was named the floure of Normandie. This sute was begun and toke such good successe, that the king obtained his purpose. And so in the yeare of our Lord 1002, which was about the 24 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, he married the said Emma with great solemnitie.

This marriage was thought to be right necessarie, honorable, and profitable for the realme of England, because of the great puissance of the Normans in those daies: but as things afterward came to passe, it turned to the subuersion of the whole English state: for by such affinitie and dealing as happened hereby betwixt the Normans and Englishmen, occasion in the end was ministred to the same Normans to pretend a title to the crowne of England, in prosecuting of which title, they obtained and made the whole conquest of the land, as after shall appeare. Egelred being greatly aduanced (as he thought) by reason of his marriage, deuised vpon presumption thereof, to cause all the Danes within the land to be murdered in one day. Herevpon he sent priue commissioners to all cities, burrowes and townes within his dominions, commanding the rulers and officers in the same, to kill all such Danes as remained within their liberties, at a certeine day prefixed, being saint Wices day, in the yeare 1012, and in the 34 yeare of king Egelreds reigne. Herevpon (as sundrie writers agree) in one day & houre this murder began, and was according to the commission and iniunction executed. But where it first began, the same is uncerteine: some say at Wellothin in Herefordshire, some at a place in Staffordshire called Polonhill, & others in other places, but whersoever it began, the doers repented it after.

But now per we proceed anie further, we will shew what rule the Danes kept here in this realme before they were thus murdered, as in some booke we find recorded. Whereas it is helued that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to til the ground & do all maner of labour and toile to be done about husbandrie: the Danes liued vpon the fruit and gaires that came thereof, and kept the husbandmens wiues, their daughters, maids and seruants, vsing and abusing them at their pleasures. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarce haue such sustenance of meates and drinckes as fell for seruants to haue: so that the Danes had all at their commandments, eating and drincking of the best, where the sillie man that was the owner, could hardly come to his fill of the worst. Besides this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euerie such house where anie of them sojourned, Lord Dane. And if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to meet at anie bidge or streight passage, the Englishman must staie till the Lord Dane were passed. But in processe of time, after the Danes were voided the land, this word Lord Dane was in derision and despight of the Danes turned by Englishmen into a name of reproch, as Lozdane, which till these our daies is

not forgotten. For when the people in manie parts of this realme will note and signifie anie great idle lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuing, they will call him Lozdane. Thus did the Danes vse the Englishmen in most vitz manner, and kept them in such seruile thraldome as cannot be sufficientlie bittered.

A fresh power of Danes inuade England to reuenge the slaughter of their countrymen that inhabited this Ile, the west parts betraied into their hands by the conspracie of a Norman that was in gouernement, earle Edrike seized himselfe sicke when king Egelred sent vnto him to leaue a power against the Danes, and betraied his people to the enimies; Sweine king of Denmarke arriued on the coast of Northfolke, and maketh pitifull spoile by fire and sword; the truce taken betwene him and Vikillus is violated, and what reuengement followeth; king Sweine forced by famine returned into his owne countrie, he arriued againe at Sandwich, why king Egelred was vnable to preuaile against him, the Danes ouerrun all places where they come and make cruell waste, king Egelred paied him great summes of monie for peace; the mischiefes that light vpon a land by placing a traitorous stranger in gouernement, how manie acres a hide of land conteineith, Egelreds order taken for ships and armour, why his great fleet did him little pleasure; a fresh host of Danes vnder three capteines arriue at Sandwich, the citizens of Canturburie for monie purchase safetie, the faithlesse dealing of Edrike against king Egelred for the enimies aduantage, what places the Danes ouerran and wasted.

The fourth Chapter.



Vpon knowledge giuen in to Denmarke of the cruell murder of the Danes here in England, truth it is, that the people of the countrie were greatlie kindled in malice, and set in such a furious rage against the Englishmen, that with all speed they made forth a nauie full fraught with men of warre, the which in the yeare following came swarming about the coasts of England, and landing in the west countrie, toke the citie of Excester, and gat there a rich spoile. One Hugh a Norman bozne, whome queene Emma had placed in those parties as gouernour of thirre there, conspired with the Danes, so that all the countrie was ouerrun and wasted.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and spoiled the west parts of the realme, he sent vnto Coricus to assemble a power to withstand the enimies. Herevpon the people of Hampshire and Wiltshire rose and got together: but when the armics should ioine, earle Coricus surnamed de Streona feigned himselfe sicke, and so betraied his people, of whom he had the conduct: for they perceiuing the want in their leader, were discouraged, and so fled. The Danes followed them vnto Wiltton, which towne they rifled and overcame. From thence they went to Salisburie, and so taking their pleasure there, returned to their ships, because (as some write) they were aduertised that the king was coming towards them with an huge armie. In the yeare next ensuing, that is to saie 1004, which was about the 24 yeare of Al. Egelreds reigne, Sweine or Swanus, king of Denmarke, with a mighty nauie of ships came on the coast of Northfolke, and there landing with his people, made toward Northwich, and coming thither toke that citie, and spoiled it. Then went he vnto Chelford, and when he had taken and rifled that towne, he burnt it, notwithstanding a truce taken by Vikillus or Wilt-

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
The Danes returne to us
vnto Eng-
land.
Excester
1003
Hugh a Norman
man conspires
with the
Danes.

The countie
first sickne
of duke E-
rike.

Wiltton
spoiled.

Simon Dun.
1004
Sweine king
of Denmarke.

Northwich
taken by the
Danes.
Chelford
burnt.

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Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
The Danes
returne to
made Eng-
land.
Exceller
ken.
1002
Hugh a
man conspi-
red with the
Danes.

The countie
sent sickness
of Duke E-
rike.

Wilton spo-
led.

Simon Dun.
1004
Swain king
of Denmarke.

Portwich
taken by the
Danes.
The town
burnt.

Alkillus of
Wilkeketell
gouernour of
Portfolke.

Hen. Hunt.

1005
Swaine re-
turned into
Denmarke.
Simon Dun.

1006
Hen. Hunt.
Swaine re-
turned into
England.

The Danes
winter in the
Isle of Wight.
They invade
Hampshire,
Berkeshire,
etc.

Winchester.

1007
36000 pound
saith Si. Dun.

Edrike de
Strons
made duke of
Mer-
cia.

Wil. Malin.

Henr. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

ketell gouernour of those parties with the same king Swaine after the taking of Portwich. In reuenge therfore of such breach of truce, the same Alkillus, or Wilkeketell, with such power as he could raise, assaulted the host of Danes as they returned to their ships, and slew a great number of them, but was not able to mainteine the fight, for his enemies overmatched him in number of men. And so he was constrained in the end to giue backe: and the enemies kept on their waies to their ships.

In the yeare following king Swaine returned into Denmarke with all his fleet, partly constrained so to do (as some write) by reason of the great famine & want of necessarie sustenance, which in that yeare sore oppressed this land. In the yeare of our Lord 1006, king Swaine returned againe into England with a mightie & huge nauie, arriuing at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countie nere vnto the sea side. King Egelred raised all his power against him, and all the haruest time laie abroad in the field to resist the Danes, which according to their wonted manner spared not to exercise their vnnatural crueltie, in wasting and spoiling the land with fire and sword, pilfering and taking of preies in euerie part where they came. Neither could king Egelred remedie the matter, because the enemies still conueied themselves with their ships into some contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, so that his trauell was in vaine.

About the beginning of winter they remained in the Isle of Wight, & in the time of Christmasse they landed in Hampshire, and passing through that countie into Berkeshire, they came to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Coleseie, and then appoaching to Ellington, came to Achkelmeslawe, and in euerie place wherefoeuer they came, they made cleane woike. For that which they could not carie with them, they consumed with fire, burning by their innes and stealing their boats. In returning backe, the people of the west countie gaue them battell, but preuailed not, so that they did but intrench their enemies with the spoile of their bodies. They came by the gates of Winchester as it were in manner of triumph, with bittels and spoiles which they had fetched fiftie miles from the sea side. In the meane time king Egelred lay about Shrewsburie sore troubled with the newes hereof, and in the yeare next ensuing, by the aduise of his counsell he gaue to king Swaine for the redeeming of peace 30000 pounds.

In the same yeare k. Egelred created the traitor Edrike earle of Mercia, who although he had married Edgitha the kings daughter, was yet noted to be one of those which disclosed the secrets of the realme, and the determinations of the counsell vnto the enemies. But he was such a craftie dissembler, so greatly provided of sleight to dissemble and cloake his falshood, that the king being too much abused by him, had him in singular fauour, whereas he vpon a malicious purpose studied daillie how to bring the realme into utter destruction, aduertising the enemies from time to time how the state of things stood, whereby they came to knowlege when they should giue place, and when they might safelie come forward. Moreover, being sent vnto them oftentimes as a commissioner to treat of peace, he perswaded them to warre. But such was the pleasure of God, to haue him and such other of like sort aduanced to honor in this fashion, when by his diuine providence he meant to punish the people of this realme for their wickednesse and sinnes, whereby they had justlie prouoked his wrath and high displeasure.

In the 30 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1008, he took order

that of euerie three hundred and ten hides of land within this realme, there should one ship be builded, and of euerie eight hides a complet armor furnished. In the yeare following, the kings whole fleet was brought together at Sandwich, and such soldiers came thither as were appointed to go to sea in the same fleet. There had not bene seene the like number of ships so trimlie rigged and furnished in all points, in anie kings daies before. But no great profitable pece of seruice was wrought by them: for the king had about that time banished a noble young man of Shutter called Wilnot, who getting together twentie sailles, laie vpon the coasts taking prizes where he could get them. Withlike the brother of earle Edoike, being desirous to win honor, took forth foure score of the said ships, and promised to bring in the enimie dead or alie. But as he was sailing forward on the seas, a sore tempest with an outrageous wind rose with such violence, that his ships were cast vpon the shoale: and Wilnot comming vpon them, set them on fire, and so burned them euerie one. The residue of the ships, when newes came to them of this mishap, returned backe to London; and then was the armie disperced, and so all the cost and trauell of the Englishmen proued in vaine.

After this, in the haruest time a new armie of Danes, vnder the conduct of three capteines, Turkill, Henning, and Aulake landed at Sandwich, and from thence passed forth to Canturburie, and had taken the cite but that the citizens gaue them a 1000 pounds to depart from thence, and to leaue the countie in peace. Then went the Danes to the Isle of Wight, and afterwards landed and spoiled the countie of Shutter and Hampshire. King Egelred assembled the whole power of all his subjects, and comming to giue them battell, had made an end of their cruell harleing the countie with the slaughter of them all, if earle Edoike with forged tales (devised onelie to put him in feare) had not dissuaded him from giuing battell. The Danes by that meanes returning in safetie, immediatlie after the feast of saint Martine, returned into Kent, and lodged with their nauie in the winter following in the Thames, and oftentimes assaulting the cite of London, were still beaten backe to their losse.

After the feast of Christmasse they passed through the countie and woods of Giltene vnto Driford, which towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to waisting of the countie on both sides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was assembled at London to giue them battell; that part of their host which kept on the northside of the river, passed the same river at Stanes, and so ioining with their fellowes marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to their ships in Kent, fell in hand to repare & amend their ships that were in anie wise decayed. Then after Easter, the Danes sailing about the coast, arriued at Cipswich in Suffolke, on the Ascension day of our Lord: and invading the countie, gaue battell at a place called Wigmere or Wigmere, vnto Alkillus or Wilkeketell leader of the English host in those parties, on the fifth of Maie. The men of Portfolke and Suffolke fled at the first onset giuen: but the Cambridgeshire men stucked to it valiantlie, winning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no murther made amongst them of running awaie, so that a great number of the nobilitie and other were beate downe and slaine; till at length one Tarketell sprouoked, that had a Dane to his father, first began to take his flight, and deserued thereby an everlasting reproch.

The Danes obtaining the upper hand, for the

An hundred
acres is an
hide of land.
1008
Provision for
ships and ar-
mour.

Matt. West.

Danes land
at Sandwich.
1009
3000 pound
saith Si. Dun.

Shutter and
Hampshire
spoiled.

The Danes
returne into
Kent.

1010
Driford burnt.

Stanes.

Cipswich in
Suffolke.
Simon Dun.

Caput formice.

Chetford.
Cambridge.
Hen. Hunt.

She Danes
arrive in the
Thames.
1011

Northamp-
ton burnt by
Danes.

How manie
shires the
Danes wa-
shed.

space of three moneths together went by and downe the countreies, & wasted those parties of the realme, that is to say, Northfolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnshire, Huntingtounshire, and Cambridgeshire where the fens are, gaining exceeding riches by the spoile of the great and wealthie abbies and churches which had their situation within the compasse of the same fens. They also destroyed Chetford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence passed through the pleasant mountaine countreie of Belsham, cruellie murdering the people without respect of age, degree or sex. After this also they entered into Essex, and so came backe to their ships, which were then arrived in the Thames. But they rested not anie long time in quiet, as people that minded nothing but the destruction of this realme. So as soon after, when they had somewhat refreshed them, they set forward againe into the countreie, passing through Buckinghamshire, & so into Bedfordshire. And about saint Andrewes tide they turned towards Northampton, & comming thither set fire on that towne. Then turning through the west countreie, with fire & sword they wasted and destroyed a great part thereof, & namelie Wiltshire, with other parties. And finallye about the feast of Whitsmas they came againe to their ships. Thus had the Danes wasted the most part of 16 or 17 shires within this realme, as Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, with a part of Huntingtounshire, and also a great portion of Northamptonshire. This was done in the countreies that lie on the northside of the river of Thames. On the southside of the same river, they spoiled and wasted Kent, Southerie, Suffex, Barke-thire, Hampshire, and (as is before said) a great part of Wiltshire.

King Egelfred offereth the Danes great summes of moneie to desist from destroying his countreie, their vnspcakable crueltie, blood-thirstinesse, and insatiable spoiling of Canturburie betrayed by a churchman; their merciles murdering of Elphegus archbishop of Canturburie, Turkillus the Dane chief lord of Northfolke and Suffolke, a peace concluded betweene the Danes and the English vpon hard conditions; Gunthildis a beautiful Danish ladie and hir husband slaine, hir courage to the death.

The fift Chapter.

The king sen-
beth to the
Danes.
Simon Den.

1011

Canturburie
sowne by
Danes.

The king and the peeres of the realme, understanding of the Danes dealing in such merciles maner (as is above mentioned) but not knowing how to redresse the matter, sent ambassadors unto the Danes, offering them great summes of moneie to leaue off such cruell wasting and spoiling of the land. The Danes were contented to retein the moneie, but yet could not abstaine from their cruell doings, neither was their greedie thirst of blood and spoile satisfied with the wasting and destroying of so manie countreies and places as they had passed through. Whereupon, in the yeere of our Lord 1011, about the feast of S. Mattheu in September, they laid siege to the citie of Canturburie, which of the citizens was valiantlie defended by the space of thientie daies. In the end of which tene it was taken by the enemies, through the treason of a deacon named Almaricus, whome the archbishop Elphegus had before that time preserved from death.

The Danes exercised passing great crueltie in the winning of that citie (as by sundrie authoers it doth and maie appere.) For they slue of men, women, and children, above the number of eight thousand. They took the archbishop Elphegus with an other bishop named Godwine; also abbat Leofwin and Alfeowod the kings bailie there. They spared no degree, in so much that they slue and took 900 priests, and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleasure of the citie, they set it on fire, and so returned to their ships. There be some which write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, slaying all by nines through the whole multitude, and reserved the tenth: so that of all the monks there were but foure saved, and of the laie people 4800, whereby it followeth that there died 43200 persons. Whereby is gathered that the citie of Canturburie, and the countreie thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) was at that time verie well inhabited, so as there haue not wanted (saith maister Lambert) which affirme that it had then more people than London it selfe.

But now to our purpose. In the yeere next ensuing, vpon the saturday in Easter weeke, after that the bishop Elphegus had bene kept prisoner within the space of six or seuen moneths, they cruellie in a rage led him forth into the fields, and dashed out his braines with stones, because he would not redeme his libertie with three thousand pounds, which they demanded to haue bene leuied of his farmers and tenants. This cruell murder was committed at Grænewich foure miles distant from London, the 19 of Aprill, where he lay a certeine time buried, but at length through miracles shewed (as they say, for miracles are all wrought now by dead men, and not by the liuing) the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, and there was it buried in the church of S. Paule, where it rested for the space of ten yeeres, till king Cnut or Knought had the gouernment of this land, by whose appointment it was removed to Canturburie.

Turkillus the leader of those Danes by whome the archbishop Elphegus was thus murdered, held Northfolke and Suffolke under his subiection, & so continued in those parties as chiefe lord and gouernor. But the residue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Englishmen for a tribute to be paid to them of eight thousand pounds, spread abroad in the countreie, sojourning in cities, towne and villages. Where, where they might find most conuenient harbour. Moreover, forte of their ships, or rather (as some write) 45 were retained to serue the king, promising to defend the realme; with condition, that the souldiers and mariners should haue provision of meate and drinke, with apparell found them at the kings charges. As one authoer hath gathered, Swaine king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being confirmed with solemne othes and sufficient hostages, he departed into Denmarke.

The same authoer bringeth the generall slaughter of Danes vpon S. Wices day, to haue chanced in the yeere after the conclusion of this agreement, that is to say, in the yeere 1012, at what time Gunthildis the sister of king Swaine was slaine, with hir husband & hir sonne, by the commandement of the false traitor Eadwig. But because all other authoers agree that the same murder of Danes was executed about ten yeeres before this supposed time: we haue made rehearse all thereof in that place. Howbeit, for the death of Gunthildis, it maie be, that she became hostage either in the yeere 1007, at what time king Egelfred paid thirtie thousand pounds unto king Swaine to haue peace (as before you haue heard) or

Fabian ex. Hen. Hunt.

The archbishop Elphegus taken. Hen. Hunt.

Antoninus, Vincencius.

Wil. Lamb. ex. Alf. Hunt.

1112 Hen. Hunt.

The archbishop Elphegus murdered.

Ap. traces.

Elphegus buried in London.

Translated to Canturburie. Wil. Malm. Turkillus held Northfolke and Suffolke.

48 thousand pound as saith Sim. Dun. and M. W. H. Hunt.

Marth. Well.

Gunthildis the sister of Swaine murdered.

10

St. Dun.

Wil. M.

Turkil discloses secrets realme Swain

Simon I

Swain parit me to Engle

Island Sande

10

St. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Simon Dun.

Swaine pre-
pareth an ar-
mie to invade
England.

Delandeth at
Sandwich.

1013

Gainsborough

else might she be deliuered in hostage, in the yere
1011, when the last agreement was made with the
Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when at
that time sooner she became hostage, this we find of
her, that she came hither into England with hir hus-
band Hastingus, a mightie earle, and receiued bap-
tisme here. Whereupon she earnestlie trauelled in
treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother and king E-
gelred: which being brought to passe chieflie by hir
sute, she was contented to become an hostage for
performance thereof (as before is recited.) And af-
ter by the commandement of earle Godike she was
put to death, pronouncing that the shedding of hir
bloud would cause all England one day fore to rue.
She was a verie beautifull ladie, and toke hir death
without all feare, not once changing countenance,
though she saw hir husband and hir onclie sonne (a
yong gentleman of much towardoness) first mur-
thered before hir face.

Turkillus the Danish capteine telleth
king Swaine the faults of the king, nobles,
& commons of this realme, he inuadeth Eng-
land, the Northumbers and others submit them-
selves to him, Danes receiued into seruice vnder E-
gelred, London assailed by Swaine, the citizens beaue them-
selves stoutlie, and giue the Danish host a shamefull repulse,
Ethelmere earle of Deuonshire and his people submit them-
selves to Swaine, he returneth into Denmarke, cometh back
againe into England with a fresh power, is incountered withall
of the Englishmen, whose king Egelred is discomfited, his o-
ration to his souldiers touching the present reliefe of their dis-
tressed land, their resolution and full purpose in this their
perplexitie, king Egelred is minded to giue place to Swaine,
he fendeth his wife and children ouer into Norman-
die, the Londoners yeeld vp their state to Swaine,
Egelred saileth ouer into Normandie,
leauing his land to the
enemie.

The sixth Chapter.

NOW had Turkillus in the
meane time aduertised king
Swaine in what state things
stood here within the realme:
how king Egelred was neg-
ligent, onlie attending to the
luffs & pleasures of the flesh:
how the noble men were bri-
faythfull, and the commons weake and feeble through
want of god and trustie leaders. Wherewith, some
while, that Turkillus as well as other of the Danes
which remained here in England, was in league
with king Egelred, in somuch that he was with him
in London, to helpe and defend the cite against
Swaine when he came to assault it (as after shall ap-
peare.) Which if it be true, a doubt may rise whether
Swaine receiued anie aduertisement from Turkil-
lus to moue him the rather to inuade the realme:
but such aduertisements might come from him be-
fore that he was accorded with Egelred.

Swaine therefore, as a ballant prince, desirous
both to reuenge his sisters death, and win hono-
re, prepared an huge armie, and a great number of ships,
with the which he made towards England, and first
comming to Sandwich, taried there a small while,
and taking estowage the sea, compassed about the
coasts of the East Angles, and arriving in the mouth
of Humber, sailed up the water, and entering into
the river of Trent, he landed at Gainsborough, pur-
posing to inuade the Northumbers. But as men
brought into great feare for that they had bene sub-
dued to the Danes in times past, and thinking there-
fore not to revolt to the enemie, but rather to their old
acquaintance, if they should submit themselves to

the Danes, freightwaikes offered to become subiect
vnto Swaine, together with their duke named
Wighthred. Also the people of Lindsey and all those
of the northside of Watlingstreet yielded them-
selves vnto him, and deliuered pledges. When he ap-
pointed his sonne Canutus to haue the keeping of
those pledges, and to remaine vpon the safegard of
his ships, whiles he himselfe passed forward into the
countrie. Then marched he forward to subdue them
of south Mercia: and so came to Driford: to Wini-
chester, making the countries subiect to him through
out wheresoeuer he came.

With this prosperous successe Swaine being
greatlie encouraged, prepared to go vnto London,
where king Egelred as then remained, hating with
him Turkillus the Dane, which was retained in
wages with other of the Danes (as by report of
some authours it may appeare) and were now readie
to defend the cite against their countreimen in sup-
port of king Egelred, together with the citizens.
Swaine, because he would not they so farre out of the
way as to go to the next bridge, lost a great number
of his men as he passed through the Thames. At his
comming to London, he began to assault the cite
verie fiercelie, in hope either to put his enemie in
such feare that he should despaire of all reliefe and
comfort, or at the least trie what he was able to doe.
The Londoners on the other part, although they
were brought in some feare by this sudden attempt
of the enemics, yet considering with themselves, that
the hazard of all the whole state of the realme was
annexed to theirs, with their cite was the chiefe and
metropolitaine of all the kingdome, they ballantlie
stood in defense of themselves, and of their king that
was present there with them, beating backe the eni-
mies, chasing them from the walles, and otherwise
doing their best to keepe them off. At length, al-
though the Danes did most ballantlie assault the ci-
tie, yet the Englishmen to defend their prince from
all iniurie of enemics, did not shrink, but boldlie
sallied forth at the gates in heapes together, and in-
countered with their aduersaries, and began to fight
with them verie fiercelie.

Swaine whilest he went about to keepe his men
in order, as one most desirous to reuene the victorie
now almost gotten, was compassed so about with
the Londoners on each side, that after he had lost a
great number of his men, he was constrained for
his safegard to brake out through the midst of his
enemies weapons, and was glad that he might so
escape: and so with the residue of his armie ceased
not to iourne day and night till he came to Bath,
where Ethelmere an earle of great power in those
west parts of the realme submitted himselfe with all
his people vnto him, who shortly after neuerthelessse
(as some write) was compelled through want of
wittels to release the tribute lately coucnanted to be
paied vnto him for a certeine summe of monie, which
when he had receiued, he returned into Denmarke,
meaning shortly to returne againe with a greater
power.

King Egelred supposed that by the payment of
that monie he should haue bene rid out of all trou-
bles, of warre with the Danes. But the nobles of
the realme thought otherwise, and therefore willed
him to prepare an armie with all speed that might be
made. Swaine taried not long (to proue the doubt
of the noble men to be groundless of foreknowledge)
but that with swift speed he returned againe into
England, and immediatlie vpon his arriual was
an armie of Englishmen assembled and led against
him into the field. Whereupon they ioined in battell,
which was sore foughten for a time, till at length by
reason of diuerse Englishmen that turned to the
enemies

The North-
chambers
paid to
Swaine.
The people of
Lindsey paid
themselves to
him.
Simon Dun.

South Mer-
cia.

Sim. Duncl.

Swaine as-
saileth
London.

Polydor.

Wil. Malm.
Earle of De-
uonshire as
saith Mar-
West.
Polydor.

Swaine re-
turneth into
Denmarke.

Swaine re-
turneth into
England to
make warre.

King Egel-
red discomfi-
ted in battell.

enemies side, the discomfiture fell with such slaughter upon the English host, that king Egelred well perceived the state of his regall government to be brought into bitter danger. Whereupon after the losse of this field, he assembled the rest of his people that were escaped, and spake unto them after this manner.

The oration of king Egelred to the remanent of his souldiers.

I should for ever be put to silence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherlie mind, in giuing good aduise & counsel for the well ordering and due administration of things in the common wealth, or if their lacked courage or might in our souldiers and men of warre to defend our countrie. Trueth to die in defense of the countrie where we are borne, I confesse it a worthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the midst of the enemies in defense of my kingdome. But here I see our countrie and the whole English nation to be at a point to fall into bitter ruine. We are overcome of the Danes, not with weapon or force of armes; but with treason wrought by our owne people: we did at the first prepare a nauie against the enemies, the which that false traitour Elfrike betrayed into their hands. Again, oftentimes haue we giuen battell with euill successe, and onelie through the fault of our owne people that haue bene false and disloyall: whereby we haue bin constrained to agree with the enemies vpon dishonorable conditions, euen as necessitie required, which to overcome, resteth onelie in God. Such kind of agreement hath bene made in deed to our destruction, sith the enemies haue not sticked to breake it (they being such a wicked kind of people as neither regard God nor man) contrarie to right and reason, and beside all our hope & expectation. So that the matter is come now to this passe, that we haue not cause onlie to feare the losse of our government, but least the name of the whole English nation be destroyed for euer. Therefore sithens the enemies are at hand, and as it were ouer our heads, you to whom my commandement hath euer bene had in good regard, prouide, take counsell, and see to succor the state of your countrie now readie to decay and to fall into irreuerable ruine.

Hereupon they fell in consultation, euerie one alledging and bringing forth his opinion as seemed to him best: but it appeared they had the wolfe by the eare, for they wold not which way to turne them. If they should giue battell, it was to be doubted least through treason among themselves, the armie should be betrayed into the enemies hands, the which would not faile to execute all kind of crueltie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they stood not ballantlie to shew themselves readie to defend their countrie, there was no shift but yield themselves. Which though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet should it be lesse euill, as they took the matter, for thereby might manie be preserved from death; and

in time to come, be able to recover the libertie of their countrie, when occasion should be offered. This point was allowed of them all, and so in the end they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to commit himselfe into the hands of his brother in law Richard duke of Normandie, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he had married. But because he would not do this vnadvisedlie, first he sent ouer his wife quene Emma, with his sonnes which he had begotten of hir, Alfrede and Edward, that by their intertainment he might vnderstand how he should be welcome. Duke Richard receiued his sister and his nephews verie ioyfullie, and promised to aid his brother king Egelred in defense of his kingdome. But in this meane while had Swaine conquered the more part of all England, and brought (by little and little) that which remained vnder his subiection. The people through feare submitting themselves on each hand, king Egelred in this meane time (for the Londoners had submitted themselves to Swaine) was first withdrawne vnto Greenwich, and there remained for a time with the name of the Danes, which was vnder the government of earle Turkill, and from thence sailed into the Ile of Wight, and there remained a great part of the winter, and finally after Christmas himselfe sailed into Normandie, and was of his brother in law ioyfullie receiued & greatly comforted in that his time of necessitie.

Swaine king of Denmarke is reputed king of this land, he oppresseth the English people cruellie, and spoileth religious houses, the strange and miraculous slaughter of Swaine vaunting of his victories; the Danish chronicles write partiallie of him and his end, Cnut succedeth his father Swaine in regiment, the Englishmen send king Egelred word of Swaines death, Edward king Egelreds eldest sonne cometh ouer into England to know the state of the countrie and people of certaintie; Egelred with his power returneth into England; what meanes Cnut made to establish himselfe king of this land, and to be well thought of among the English people, Egelred burneth vp Gainesbrough, and killeth the inhabitants thereof for their disloyaltie; Cnutes flight to Sandwich, his cruel decree against the English pledges, he returneth into Denmarke, why Turkillus the Danish capteine with his power compounded with the Englishmen to tarry in this land, his faithlesse seruice to Egelred, his drift to make the whole realme subiect to the Danish thraldome.

The seventh Chapter.

Swaine hauing now got the whole rule of the land, was reputed full king, and so commanded that his armie should be provided of wages and vittels to be taken by & lenied through the realme.

In like manner Turkill commanded that to his armie lodged at Greenwich, wages and vittels sufficient should be bestowed, for the finding, relieving, succouring, and sustaining thereof. Swaine vied the victorie verie cruellie against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand; to the intent that them being brought loo he might gouerne in more suretie. The yere in which he obtained the rule thus of this realme, and that king Egelred was constrained to flee into Normandie, was in the 35 yere of the same Egelreds reigne, and after the birth of our Lord 1014. Swaine being once established in the government, did not onelie vse much crueltie in oppressing the laitie, but also stretched forth his hand to the church, and to the ministers

King Egelred determined to giue place vnto Swaine.

He sendeth his wife and sonnes ouer into Normandie, Richard duke of Normandie.

Simon Dun, Hen. Hunt, Turkill.

1014
King Egelred passeth into Normandie.

Swaine handleth the Englishmen hardly.

ministers in the same, fleeing them and spoiling both churches and ministers, without any remorse of conscience, insomuch that having a quarrell against the inhabitants within the precinct of S. Edmunds land in Suffolke, he did not onely harrie the countrey, but also rised and spoiled the abbey of Burie, where the bodie of saint Edmund rested.

Whereupon shortly after, as he was at Caineſbrough or Thetford (as some say) and there in his solitarie talked with his Nobles of his good successe in conquering of this land, he was suddenlye stricken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculously, for no man wist how or by whom: and within three daies after, to wit, on the third of Februarie, he ended his life with grievous paine and torment in yelling and crying, by reason of his extreame anguish beyond all measure. There hath sprung a pleasant tale among the posteritie of that age, how he should be wounded with the same knife which king Edmund in his life time used to weare. Thus haue some of our writers reported, but the Danish chronicles report a farre more happie end which should chance to this Swaine, than is before mentioned out of our writers: for the said chronicles report, that after he had subdued Eng- land, he took order with king Eggered, whome they name amisse Adelfane, that he should not ordeine any other successor, but onely the said Swaine. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where using himselfe like a right godlie prince, at length he there ended his life, being a verie old man.

Notwithstanding all this, when or howsoever he died, immediatlie after his deceasse the Danes elected his sonne Cnute or Knought to succeed in his dominions. But the Englishmen of nothing more desirous than to shake off the yoke of Danish thraldome besides their necks & shoulders, straightwaies upon knowledge had of Swaines death, with all speed advertised king Eggered thereof, and that they were readie to receive and assist him, if he would make haff to come over to deliuer his countrey out of the hands of strangers. These newes were right ioisfull unto Eggered, who burning in desire to be reuenged on them that had expelled him out of his kingdome, made no longer tariance to set that enterprise forward. But yet doubting the inconstancie of the people, he sent his elder son (named Edmund) to trie the minds of them, and to understand whether they were constant or waivering in that which they had promised.

The young gentleman haffing ouer into Eng- land, and with diligent inquirie perceiuing how they were bent, returned with like speed as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in safetie if he would make haff. King Eggered then conceived an assured hope to recover his kingdome, aided with his brother in law power, and trusting vpon the assistance of the Englishmen, returned into England in the time of Lent. His re- turne was ioisfull and most acceptable to the Eng- lish people, as to those that abhorred the rule of the Danes, which was most sharpe and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifullnesse and courteous dealings to haue retained them vnder his obseance.

And of an intent to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for the administration in the common wealth, he sought first to appease his wrath, and also to make amends to saint Edmund for his fathers offence committed (as was thought) against him: insomuch that after he had obtained the king- dome, he caused a great ditch to be cast round about the land of saint Edmund, and granted manie free- doms to the inhabitants, acquitting them of certaine tasks and payments, vnto the which other of their

neighbours were contributarie. He also buildd a church on the place where saint Edmund was bu- ried, and ordeined an house of monks there, or ra- ther remoued the canons or secular priests that were there afore, and put monks in their romes. He offer- red vpon also his crowne vnto the same S. Edmund, and redeemed it againe with a great summe of mo- nie, which maner of doing grew into an vse vnto o- ther things that followed him. He adorned the church there with manie rich iewels, and indowd the mo- nasterie with great possessions.

But these things were not done now at the first, but after that he was established in the kingdome. For in the meane time, after that king Eggered was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then so- journig at Caineſbrough, remained there till the feast of Easter, and made agreement with them of Lindsey, so that finding him hostles, they should al- together go forth to spoile their neighbors. King E- ggered advertised thereof, sped him thither with a mightie host, and with great crueltie burned by the countrey, and due the more part of the inhabitants, because they had taken part with his enemies. Cnute as then was not of power able to resist Eggered, and therefore taking his ships which lay in Humber, fled from thence, & sailed about the coast, till he came to Sandwich, and there soze greued in his mind to remember that mischance was fallen and chanced to his friends and subiects of Lindsey, onely for his cause; he commanded that such pledges as had bene deliuered to his father by certaine noble men of this realme, for assurance of their fidelities, should haue their noses slit, and their eares stuffed, or (as some write) their hands and noses cut off.

When this cruell act according to his comman- dement was done, taking the sea, he sailed into Denmarke: but yet took not all the Danes with him which his father brought thither. For earle Tur- kill perceiuing the wealthinesse of the land, com- pounded with the Englishmen, and chose rather to remaine in a region replenished with all riches, than to returne home into his owne countrey that want- ed such commodities as were here to be had. And yet (as some thought) he did not forsake his soue- reigne lord Cnute for any euill meaning towards him, but rather to aid him (when time serued) to reco- uer the possession of England againe, as it after- wards well appeared. For notwithstanding that he was now retained by H. Eggered with fortie ships, and the flower of all the Danes that were men of warre, so that Cnute returned but with 60 ships in- to his countrey: yet shortly after, earle Turkill with 9 of those ships sailed into Denmarke, submitted him- selfe vnto Cnute, counselled him to returne into England, and promised him the assistance of the re- sidue of those Danish ships which yet remained in Eng- land, being to the number of thirtie, with all the souldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, he did so much by his earnest persuasions, that Cnute (through aid of his brother Harrold king of Denmarke) got together a naute of two hundred ships, so royally decked, furnished, and appointed, both for braue shew and necessarie furniture of all ma- ner of weapons, armor & munition, as it is strange to consider that which is written by them that liued in those daies, and toke in hand to register the do- ings of that time. Whobreit to let this pompe of Cnutes shewe passe, which (no doubt) was right roiall, consider a little and looke backe to Turkill, though a sworne seruant to king Eggered, how he did direct all his wit to the aduancement of Cnute, and his owne commoditie, cloking his purposed treacherie with pretended amitie, as shall appeare hereafter by his deadlie hostilitie.

Polydor. Fabian.

Cnute dyen to forsake the land. He was dis- uen thither by force of con- trarie winds as should appeare by Math. West. The cruell decree of Cnute against the English pledges. Will. Malm.

This Tur- kill was re- tained in ser- uice with Eggered, as I thinke.

Encowinm. Emma.

Fabian. S. Edmund signetly for the wealth, but not for the daughter of his people. Simon Dun. 1115

Albertus Crantz. Saxo Gram- maticus.

Will. Malm. H. Hunt. Cnute of Cnute.

Eggered sent for Cnute.

Edmund H. Eggered's eldest sonne.

King Eggered returneth into England

Cnute's ende- uor to elu- sion himselfe in the king- dome.

S. Edmunds ditch.

A great waste by an inundation or in-breaking of the sea, a tribute of 30000 pounds to the Danes, king Egelred holdeth a councill at Oxford, where he causeth two noble men of the Danes to be murdered by treason, Edmund the king's eldest sonne marrieth one of their wives, and sendeth upon his predecessors lands; Come the Danis king returneth into England, the Danish and English armies encounter both sides; Cnute maketh waste of certeine barres, Edmund preventeth Egelred's purposed treason, Egelred de Sierra turneth to the Danes, the Westernmen yeeld to Cnute; Mercia refuseth to be subiect vnto him, Warwickshire wasted by the Danes; Egelred assemblen an armie against them in vaine, Edmund & Wlred with ioined forces lay waste such countreies and people as became subiect to Cnute; his policie to prevent their purpose, through what countreies he passed, Wlred followeth himselfe to Cnute, and deliuereth Warwickshire out of death and his lands alienated; Cnute purpeth Edmund to London, and prepareth to besiege the ciue, the death and buriall of Egelred, his wives, what issue he had by them, his informantenesse, and to what afflictions and vices he was inclined, his too late and boundlesse seeking to releue his decayed kingdom.

The eight Chapter.

BUt now to returne to our purpose, and to shew what chanced in England after the departure of Cnute. In the same yeare to the forsaide accustomed mischiefs an brewed misadventure happened: for the sea rose with such high spring-tides, that overflowing the countreies next adjoining, diuers villages with the inhabitants were drowned and destroyed. Also to increase the peoples miserie, king Egelred commanded, that 30000 pounds should be leuied to paie the tribute due to the Danes which lay at Strænwich. This yeare also king Egelred held a councill at Oxford, at the which a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the king cause Sigeferd and Hozcad two noble personages of the Danes to be murdered within his owne chamber, by the traitorous practise of Eorlike de Streona, which accused them of some conspiracie. But the quarrell was onelie as men supposed, for that the king had a desire to their goods and possessions.

Their seruants toke in hand to haue reuenged the death of their masters, but were beaten backe, whereupon they fled into the steeple of saint Frithwids church, and kept the same, till fire was set vpon the place, and so they were burned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, & sent to Walmsburie, being a woman of high fame and great worthinesse, whereupon the kings eldest sonne named Edmund, toke occasion vpon pretense of other businesse to go thither, and there to see her, with whom he fell so far in loue, that he toke and married her. That done, he required to haue hir husbands lands and possessions, which were an earles living, and lay in Northumberland. And when the king refused to graunt his request, he went thither, and seized the same possessions and lands into his hands, without hauing anie commission so to do, finding the farmers and tenants there readie to rectiue him for their lord.

Whilest these things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his provision of ships and men, with all necessarie furniture (as before ye haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, either to recover the realme out of Egelreds hands, or to die in the quarrell. Whereupon he landed at Sandwich, and first earle Turkill obtained licence

to go against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Hroastan, he gaue them the overthrow: got a great botie, and returned therewith to the ships. After this, Eorlike gouernor of Northware made a rothe likewise into an other part of the countrie, & with a rich spoile, and manie prisoners, returned vnto the nauie. After this tourne aduised thus by Eorlike, Cnute commanded that they should not waste the countrie anie more, but gaue order to prepare all things readie to besiege London: but before he attempted that enterprise, as others wrote, he marched south into Kent, or rather sailing round about that countrie, toke his tourne westward, & came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, wasted Dorsetshire, Summerfetshire, & Wiltshire.

King Egelred in this meane time lay sick at Colham; and his sonne Edmund had got together a mightie host, howbeit yer he came to some battell with his enemies, he was aduertised, that earle Eorlike went about to betraie him, and therefore he withdrew with the armie into a place of suertie. But Eorlike to make his traitorous purpose manifest to the whole world, fled to the enemies with fortie of the kings ships, fraught with Danish souldiers. Hereupon, all the west countrie submitted it selfe vnto Cnute, who receiued pledges of the chiefe lords and nobles, and then set forward to subdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrie would not yeild, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of king Egelred, so long as they might haue anie capteine that would stand with them, and helpe to order them. In the yeare 1016, in Christmas, Cnute and earle Eorlike passed the Thames at Hirkelade, & entring into Mercia, cruellie began with fire and sword to waste and destroye the countrie, and namelie Warwichehire.

In the meane time was king Egelred recovered of his sicknesse, and sent summons forth to raise all his power, appointing euerie man to resort vnto him, that he might encounter the enemies and giue them battell. But yet when his people were assembled, he was warned to take heed vnto himselfe, and in anie wise to beware how he gaue battell, for his owne subiects were purposed to betraie him. Whereupon the armie brake vp, & king Egelred withdrew to London, there to abide his enemies within the walles, with whom in the field he doubted to trie the battell. His sonne Edmund got him to Wlred, an earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and perswading him to ioine his forces with his, for that they went to waste those countreies that were become subiect to Cnute, as Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Shropshire, not sparing to exercise great crueltie vpon the inhabitants, as a punishment for their reuolting, that others might take example thereby.

But Cnute perceiuing whereabouts they went, politikelie deuised to frustrate their purpose, and with doing of like hurt in all places where he came, passed through Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and so through the fens came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnshire, and from thence into Nottinghamshire, & so into Northshire, not sparing to do what mischiefe might be deuised in all places where he came: Wlred aduertised hereof, was constrained to depart home to saue his owne countrie from present destruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberland, & perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the puissant force of his enemies, was constrained to deliuer pledges, and submit himselfe vnto Cnute. But yet was he not hereby warranted from danger, for thortlie after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his

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The west
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The people
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Matth. West.
Hen. Hunt.

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Warwichehire
wasted by the
Danes.

King Egel
red recovered
of his sicknesse

He assembled
an armie in
baine.

Wil. Malin.
Edmund
king Egel
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Cnute, what
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his lands giuen unto one Fricke or Fricinus, whome afterward Cnute did banish out of the realme, because that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all points as Cnute himselfe had. After that Cnute had subdued the Northumbers, he pursued Edmund, till he heard that he had taken London for his refuge, and staied there with his father. Then did Cnute take his ships, and came about to the coasts of Kent, preparing to besiege the citie of London.

In the meane time, king Egelfred forewoone with long sicknesse, departed this life on the 23 of Aprill, being saint Georges day, or (as others say) on saint Gregories day, being the 12 of March, but I take this to be an error growen, by mistaking the feast-day of saint Gregorie for saint George. He reigned the tearme of 37 yeares, or little lesse. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Pauls, in the north Ile besides the quere, as by a memorieall there on the wall it maie appeare. He had two wiues (as before is mentioned.) By Elgina his first wife he had issue three sonnes, Edmund, Edwine, and Adelftane; besides one daughter named Egina. By his second wife Emma, daughter to Richard the first of that name, duke of Normandie, and sister to Richard the second, he had two sonnes, Alfrid and Edward.

This Egelfred (as you haue heard) had euill successe in his warres against the Danes, and besides the calamitie that fell thereby to his people, manie other miseries oppressed this land in his daies, not so much through his lacke of courage and stoutfull negligence, as by reason of his presumptuous pride, whereby he alienated the hearts of his people from him. His affections he could not rule, but was led by them without order of reason, for he did not onlie disherit diuerse of his owne English subiects without apparant cause of offense by plaine forged cauilations; and also caused all the Danes to be murdered through his realme in one day, by some light suspicion of their euill meanings; but also gaue himselfe to lecherous lusts, in abusing his bodie with naughtie strumpets, forsaking the bed of his owne lawfull wife, to the great infamie & shame of that high degree of maiestie, which by his kingly office he bare and sustained. To conclude, he was from his tender youth more apt to idle rest, than to the exercise of warres; more giuen to pleasures of the bodie, than to anie vertues of the mind: although that toward his latter end, being growen into age, and taught by long experience of woollie affaires, and proofe of passed miseries, he sought (though in vaine) to haue recovered the decayed state of his common wealth and countrie.

In this Egelfreds time, and (as it is recorded by a British chronographer) in the yere of our Lord 984, one Cadwalhon, the second sonne of Ieuaf took in hand the gouernance of Northwales, and first made warre with Konauall his cosen, the sonne of Depric, and right heire to the land, and slue him, but Edwall the yongest brother escaped awaie priuillie. The yere following, Heredith the sonne of Dwen king or prince of Southwales, with all his power entered into Northwales, and in fight slue Cadwalhon the sonne of Ieuaf, and Depric his brother, and conquered the land to himselfe. Wherein a man maie see how God punished the wrong, which Iago and Ieuaf the sonnes of Edwall had done to their eldest brother Depric, who was first disherited, and afterward his eyes put out, and one of his sonnes slaine. His first Ieuaf was imprisoned by Iago: then Iago with his sonne Constantine, by Howell the son of Ieuaf: and afterward the said Howell, with his brethren Cadwalhon and Depric, were slaine and spoiled of all their lands.

Edmund Ironside succederth his father in the kingdome, the spiritualtie fauouring Cnute would haue him to be king, the Londoners are his backe friends, they receiue Edmund their king honorable and iofullie, Cnute is proclaimed king at Southampton, manie of the states cleaue vnto him, he besiegeth London by water and land, the citizens giue him the foile, he incounreth with king Edmund and is discomfited, two battels fought betwene the Danes and English with equall fortune and like successe, the traitorous stratagem of Edrike the Dane, king Edmund aduisedlie defeaeth Edrikes trecherie, 20000 of both armies slaine, Cnute marching towards London is pursued of Edmund, the Danes are repelled, incountered, and vanquished; queene Emma provideth for the safetie of hir sonnes; the Danes seeke a pacification with Edmund, thereby more easilie to betray him; Cnute with his armie lieth neere Rochester, king Edmund pursueth them, both armies haue a long and sore conflict, the Danes discomfited, and manie of them slaine; Cnute with his power assemblat Essex and there make waste, king Edmund pursueth them, Edrike traitorously reuolteth from the English to succour the Danes, king Edmund is forced to get him out of the field, the Englishmen put to their hard shifts and slaine by heapes; what noble peronages were killed in this battell, of two dead bodies latelie found in the place where this hot and heauie skirmish was fought.

The ninth Chapter.

After that king Egelfred was dead, his eldest sonne Edmund surnamed Ironside was proclaimed king by the Londoners and others, hauing the assistance of some lords of the realme, although the more part, and speciallie those of the spiritualtie fauoured Cnute, because they had aforesaid sworn fealtie to his father. Some witte, that Cnute had planted his siege both by water and land verie stronglie about the citie of London, before Egelfred departed this life, and immediately upon his deceasse was receiued into the citie; but the armie that was within the citie, not consenting vnto the surrender made by the citizens, departed the night before the day on the which Cnute by appointment should enter, and in companie of Edmund Ironside (whome they had chosen to be their king and gouernour) they prepared to increase their numbers with new supplies, meaning effronies to trie the fortune of battell against the Danish power. Cnute perceiving the most part of all the realme to be thus against him, and hauing no great confidence in the localtie of the Londoners, took order to leaue no manie for the payment of his men of warre and marchers that belonged to his name, left the citie, and imbarcking himselfe, sailed to the Ile of Shepie, and there remained all the winter. In which meane while, Edmund Ironside came to London, where he was iofullie receiued of the citizens, and continuing there till the spring of the yere, made himselfe strong against the enemies.

This Edmund for his noble courage, strength of bodie, and notable patience to indure and suffer all such hardnesse and paines as is requisite in a man of warre, was surnamed Ironside, & began his reigne in the yere of our Lord 1016, in the first tenth part of the emperor Heilric the second surnamed Cladius, in the twentieth yere of the reigne of Robert king of France, & about the first yere of Malcolm the second king of the Scots. After that king Edmund had receiued the crowne of the citie of London by the hands of the archbishop of York, he assembled together such a power as he could make, and with the same marched southward towards the west parts, and made the countrie subiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaimed and ordeined king

Edmund Ironside.

The kingdom goeth where the spiritualtie fauoureth.

The author of the booke intituled Encomium Emme saith that it was reported that Edmund offered the crowne vnto Cnute at this his going from the citie, but Cnute refused it.

1016

Edmund Ironside was proclaimed king at Southampton.

Ran. Higd.

king at Southampton by the bishops and abbats, and diuerse lords also of the temporallie there togither assembled, vnto whome he swore to be their god and faithfull soueraigne, and that he would see iustice trulie and brightlie ministred.

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

After he had ended his businesse at Southampton, he drew with his people towards London, and comming thither, besieged the citie both by water and land, causing a great trench to be cast about it, so that no man might either get in or come forth. **10** **11** **12** **13** **14** **15** **16** **17** **18** **19** **20** **21** **22** **23** **24** **25** **26** **27** **28** **29** **30** **31** **32** **33** **34** **35** **36** **37** **38** **39** **40** **41** **42** **43** **44** **45** **46** **47** **48** **49** **50** **51** **52** **53** **54** **55** **56** **57** **58** **59** **60** **61** **62** **63** **64** **65** **66** **67** **68** **69** **70** **71** **72** **73** **74** **75** **76** **77** **78** **79** **80** **81** **82** **83** **84** **85** **86** **87** **88** **89** **90** **91** **92** **93** **94** **95** **96** **97** **98** **99** **100** **101** **102** **103** **104** **105** **106** **107** **108** **109** **110** **111** **112** **113** **114** 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Cnute at Salingham in Dorsetshire put to flight.

Polydor.

Salisbury besieged.

Simon Dun.
Matt. West.
Wil. Malm.
A battell with equal fortune.

In other battell with like successe.

Edrike de Hereford his treason.
Simon Dun.

Writers haue reported, that this second day, when duke Edrike perceived the Englishmen to be at point to haue got the upper hand, he withdrew aside, and hauing by chance slaine a common souldier called Dinear, which in visage much resembled king Edmund, whose head he cut off, held it vp, shaking his sword bloudie with the slaughter, cried to the Englishmen; **40** **41** **42** **43** **44** **45** **46** **47** **48** **49** **50** **51** **52** **53** **54** **55** **56** **57** **58** **59** **60** **61** **62** **63** **64** **65** **66** **67** **68** **69** **70** **71** **72** **73** **74** **75** **76** **77** **78** **79** **80** **81** **82** **83** **84** **85** **86** **87** **88** **89** **90** **91** **92** **93** **94** **95** **96** **97** **98** **99** **100** **101** **102** **103** **104** **105** **106** **107** **108** **109** **110** **111** **112** **113** **114** **115** **116** **117** **118** **119** **120** **121** **122** **123** **124** **125** **126** **127** **128** **129** **130** **131** **132** **133** **134** **135** **136** **137** **138** **139** **140** **141** **142** **143** **144** **145** **146** **147** **148** **149** **150** **151** **152** **153** **154** **155** **156** **157** **158** **159** **160** **161** **162** **163** **164** **165** **166** **167** **168** **169** **170** **171** **172** **173** **174** **175** **176** **177** **178** **179** **180** **181** **182** **183** **184** **185** **186** **187** **188** **189** **190** **191** **192** **193** **194** **195** **196** **197** **198** **199** **200** **201** **202** **203** **204** **205** **206** **207** **208** **209** **210** **211** **212** **213** **214** **215** **216** **217** **218** **219** **220** **221** **222** **223** **224** **225** **226** **227** **228** **229** **230** **231** **232** **233** **234** **235** **236** **237** **238** **239** **240** **241** **242** **243** **244** **245** **246** **247** **248** **249** **250** **251** **252** **253** **254** **255** **256** **257** **258** **259** **260** **261** **262** **263** **264** **265** **266** **267** **268** **269** **270** **271** **272** **273** **274** **275** **276** **277** **278** **279** **280** **281** **282** **283** **284** **285** **286** **287** **288** **289** **290** **291** **292** **293** **294** **295** **296** **297** **298** **299** **300** **301** **302** **303** **304** **305** **306** **307** **308** **309** **310** **311** **312** **313** **314** **315** **316** **317** **318** **319** **320** **321** **322** **323** **324** **325** **326** **327** **328** **329** **330** **331** **332** **333** **334** **335** **336** **337** **338** **339** **340** **341** **342** **343** **344** **345** **346** **347** **348** **349** **350** **351** **352** **353** **354** **355** **356** **357** **358** **359** **360**

advised thereof, rushed into the left wing where most danger was, and so relieved his people there, that finally the Englishmen, both wearied with long fight, and also discouraged with the running awaie of some of their companie, were constrained to give over, and by flight to seke their safegard, so that king Edmund might not by any means bring them againe into order. Whereupon all the waies and passages being forelaid and stopped by the enemies, the Englishmen wanting both carriage to make longer resistance, and perceiving no hope to rest in fleeing, were beaten downe and slaine in heapes, so that few escaped from that dreadfull and bloody battell.

Proble men
slaine at the
battell of Ath-
done.
Simon Dun.
Wil. Malm.

There died on king Edmunds side, duke Edmund, duke Alfricke, and duke Godwine, with earle Wilkettell or Urchell of Cassangle, and duke Aileward, that was sonne to Ardelwine late duke of Cassangle, and to be briefe, all the floure of the English nobilitie. There were also slaine at this battell manie renowned persons of the spiritualtie, as the bishop of Lincoln, and the abbat of Hamsey, with others: king Edmund escaping awaie, got him into Gloucestershire, and there began to raise a new armie. In the place where this field was fought, are yet seven or eight hils, wherein the carcases of them that were slaine at the same field were buried: and one being digged downe of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of stone, of which the one laie with his head towards the others feet, and manie chaines of iron, (like to the water-chains of the bits of horses) were found in the same hill. But now to the matter.

King Ed-
mund with-
draweth into
Gloucestershire

London & other great cities & townes submit themselves to Cnute, he hasteth after Edmund with his power, both their armies being readie to encounter by occasion are staied, the oration of a capteine in the hearing of both hostes; the title and right of the realme of England is put to the trial of combat betweene Cnute and Edmund, Cnute is overmatched, his words to king Edmund, both kings are pacified and their armies accorded, the realme divided betwixt Cnute and Edmund, king Edmund traitorously slaine, the dissonant report of writers touching the manners of his death and both the kings dealing about the partition of the realme, Cnute causeth Edrike to be slaine for procuring king Edmunds death, wherein the reward of treason is noted, how long king Edmund reigned, and where he was buried, the eclipsed state of England after his death, and in whole time it recovered some part of its brightness.

The tenth Chapter.

In the meane while that Edmund was busie to leaue a new armie in Gloucester, and other parties of Mercia, Cnute having got so great a victorie (as before is mentioned) received into his obedience, not onelie the citie of London, but also manie other cities and townes of great name, and shortly after hasteth forward to pursue his enimie king Edmund, who was readie with a mightie host to trie the bittermost chance of battell if they should encounter soine. Whereupon, both the armies being readie to give the onset, the one in sight of the other at a place called Deerehurst, nere to the river of Senerne, by the gift of duke Canike, who then at length began to shew some token of good meaning, the two kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as some have written, without any more ado. Others write, that when both the armies were at point to have joined, one of the capteins (but whether he were a Dane

Polydor.
Math. West.

Simon Dun.

or an Englishman, it is not certainly told) stood by in such a place, as he might be heard of both the parties, & boldly uttered his mind in forme following.

The oration of a capteine in the audience of the English and Danish armie.

Whaue, most worthy capteins, fought long inough one against another, there hath bene but too much blood shed betwene both the nations, and the balliance of the scales on both sides is sufficientlie sene by trial, neither of your manhoods likewise, and yet can you beare neither good nor evil fortune. If one of you win the battell, he pursueth him that is overcome; and if he chance to be banquished, he resteth not till he haue recovered new strength to fight effectually with him that is victor. What should you meane by this your invincible courage? At what marke sheweth your greedy desire to beare rule, and your excessive thirst to attaine honour? If you fight for a kingdome, divide it betwene you two, which sometime was sufficient for seven kings: but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowne, and for the same are driven to try the hazard whether ye shall command or obeie, deuide the waie whereby ye may without so great slaughter, and without such pittifull bloodshed of both your guiltlesse peoples, trie whether of you is most worthy to be preferred.

Thus made he an end, and the two princes allowed well of his last motion, and so order was taken, that they should fight together in a singular combat within a little Island inclosed with the river of Senerne called Idney, with condition, that whether of them chanced to be victor, should be king, and the other to resigne his title for ever into his hands. The two princes entering into the place, appointed in faire armour, began the battell in sight of both their armies ranged in goodlie order on either side the river, with doubtful minds, and nothing isfull, as they that waivered betwixt hope and feare. The two champions manfully assailed either other, without sparing. First, they went to it on horsebacke, and after on foot. Cnute was a man of a meane stature, but yet strong and hardie, so that receiving a great blow by the hand of his aduersarie, which caused him somewhat to stagger; yet recovered himselfe, and boldly kept forward to be reuenged. But perceiving he could not find advantage, and that he was rather too weak, and therefore overmatched; he spake to Edmund with a lowd voice on this wise: What needst thou (saith he) ought thus to moue vs, most balliant prince, that for the obtaining of a kingdome, we should thus put our liues in danger. Better were it that laing armour and malice aside, we should condescend to some reasonable agreement. Let vs be come sworn brethren, and part the kingdome betwixt vs: and let vs deale so friendly, that thou mayst enjoy things as thine owne, and I mine as though they were mine. King Edmund with those words of his aduersarie was so pacified, that immediately he cast awaie his sword, and coming to Cnute, joined hands with him. Both the armies by their example did the like, which looked for the same fortune to fall on their countries, which should happen to

Math. West.
saith this
was Canike.

The two
kings appoint
to try the mat-
ter by a com-
bat.
Idney.

Math. Westm.
Cnute of
what stature
he was.

Cnute over-
matched.
Cnutes
words to
Edmund.

H. Hunt.

They take by
the matter be-
twixt them
selues.

Wil. Malin.

Encomium
Emmae.This is alle-
ged touching
the partition
of the kingdome.

to their princes by the successe of that one battell. After this, there was an agreement deuised betwixt them, so that a partition of the realme was made, and that part that lieth fore against France, was assigned to Edmund, and the other fell to Cnute. There be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmund for the auoiding of more bloodshed, that the two princes should trie the matter thus together in a singular combat. But Cnute refused the combat, because (as he alledged) the match was not equall. For although he was able to match Edmund in boldnesse of stomach, yet was he farre too weake to deale with a man of such strength as Edmund was knowne to be. But sith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good direct meanes, he thought it most conuenient that the kingdome should be diuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of both the armies, so that king Edmund was of force constrained to be contented therewith.

Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I should not be thought presumptuous, in taking vpon me to reprove, or rather but to misse that which hath bene receiued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credit vnto that which the author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmae*, doth report in this behalfe. Which is that through perswasion of Edrike de Streona, king Edmund immediatelic after the battell fought at Ashbone, sent ambassadores vnto Cnute to offer vnto him peace, with halfe the realme of England, that is to say, the north parts, with condition that king Edmund might quietlie inioy the south parts, and thereupon haue pledges deliuered interchangeablie on either side.

Cnute hauing heard the effect of this message, staied to make answer till he heard what his counsell would aduise him to do in this behalfe: and vpon good deliberation taken in the matter, considering that he had lost no small number of people in the former battell, and that being farre out of his countrie, he could not well haue anie new supplie, where the Englishmen although they had likewise lost verie manie of their men of warre, yet being in their owne countrie, it should be an easie matter for them to restore their decald number, it was thought expedient by the whole consent of all the Danish capitaines, that the offer of king Edmund should be accepted.

Whereupon Cnute calling the ambassadores before him againe, declared vnto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace vpon such conditions as they had offered: but yet with this addition, that their king whatsoeuer he should be, should paie Cnutes souldiers their wages, with monie to be leuied of that part of the kingdome which the English king should possesse. For (this saith he) I haue undertaken to see them paid, and otherwise I will not grant to anie peace. The league and agreement therefore being concluded in this sort, pledges were deliuered and receiued on both parties, and the armies discharged. But God (saith mine author) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe cannot long stand, shortly after toke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pittie of the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should haue continued in life together, they should haue liued in danger. And incontinentlie hereupon was Cnute chosen and receiued for absolute king of all the whole realme of England. Thus hath he written that liued in those daies, whose credit thereby is much aduanced.

Howbeit the common report of writers touching the death of Edmund varlieth from this, who do affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made

friends, the serpent of enuie and false conspiracie burnt so in the hearts of some traitorous persons, that within a while after king Edmund was slaine at Oxford, as he sat on a paviue to doe the necessities of nature. The common report hath gone, that earle Edrike was the procurer of this villanous act, and that (as some write) his sonne did it. But the author that wrote *Encomium Emmae*, writing of the death of Edmund, hath these words (immediatelic after he had first declared in what sort the two princes were agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But God (saith he) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe can not long stand, shortly after toke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pittie vpon the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should haue continued in life together, they should both haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. With this agreeth also Simon Dunel. who saith, that king Edmund died of naturall sickness, by course of kind at London, about the feast of saint Andrew next insuing the late mentioned agreement.

And this should seeme true: for whereas these authors which report, that earle Edrike was the procurer of his death, do also write, that when he knew the act to be done, he hasted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto him what he had brought to passe for his aduancement to the gouernment of the whole realme. Whereupon Cnute, abhorring such a detestable fact, said vnto him: Because thou hast for my sake, made away the worthiest bodie of the world, I shall raise thy head about all the lords of England, and so caused him to be put to death. Thus haue some booke. Howbeit this report agreeth not with other writers, which declare how Cnute aduanced Edrike in the beginning of his reigrie vnto high honor, and made him gouernor of Mercia, and bled his counsell in manie things after the death of king Edmund, as in banishing Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, with his sonnes also, Edmund and Edward.

But for that there is such discordance and variable report amongst writers touching the death of king Edmund, and some fables inuented thereof (as the manner is) we will let the residue of their reports passe, sith certaine it is, that to his end he came, after he had reigned about the space of one yeere, and so much more as is betwene the moneth of June and the latter end of Nouember. His bodie was buried at Glasseburie, nere his vnckle Edgar. With this Edmund, surnamed Ironside, fell the glorious maiestie of the English kingdome, the which after ward as it had bene an aged bodie being fore decayed and weakened by the Danes, that now got possession of the whole, yet somewhat recovered after the space of 26 yeers vnder king Edward, surnamed the Confessor: and shortly thereupon as it had bene salne into a resiliuation, came to extreame ruine by the inuasion and conquest of the Normans: as after by Gods good helpe and fauorable assistance it shall appeare. So that it would make a diligent and markeing reader both mule and moone, to see how variable the state of this kingdome hath bene, & thereby to fall into a consideration of the frailtie and vncerteintie of this mortall life, which is no more free from securitie, than a ship on the sea in tempestuous weather. For as the casualties therewith our life is inclosed, and beset with round about, are manifold, so also are they miserable, so also are they sudden, so also are they inuoidable. And true it is, that the life of man is in the hands of God, and the state of kingdome doth also belong vnto him, either to continue or discontinue. But to the proceesse of the matter.

K. Cnute
traitor: call
slaine at Ox-
ford.Fabian.
Simon Dun.This is al-
leged againe by
the proce of
Edmunds
naturall death.

Fabian.

Ranul. Hig.

Hen. Hunt.

Cnute
Knows
or Cn

101

Some thinke
that he was
duke of Mer-
cia before, and
now had E-
dric abandoned
thereto.Discordant
reports of E-
dmonds death.
Ran. Higd.
Will. Malin.

Wil. Malin

Ran. Higd.

King of
churche.
WIL. Malin

Ran. Higd.

Polydor.
King Cnu
married to
quene Em
the widow
of Egelred, &
Julie, ann
1017.

Cnute

Cnute vndertaketh the totall regiment of this land, he assembleth a counsell at London, the nobles doo him homage, he diuideth the realme into foure parts to be gouerned by his assignes; Edwin and Edward the sonnes of Edmund are banished, their good fortune by honorable marriages, King Cnute marieth queene Emma the widow of Egclred, the wife and poliike conditions wherevpon this mariage was concluded, the English blood restored to the crowne and the Danes excluded, queene Emma praised for hir high wisdom in choosing an enimie to hir husband; Cnute dismisseth the Danish armie into Denmarke; Edrike de Streona bewraith his former trecherie, and procureth his owne death through rashnesse and folie, the discordant report of writers touching the maner & cause of his death, what noble men were executed with him, and banished out of England, Cnute a monarch.

The xj. Chapter.



Anute, or Cnute, whome the English chronicles do name Knought, after the death of king Edmund, toke vpon him the whole rule ouer all the realme of England, in the yere of our Lord 1017, in the fcutienth yere of the emperor Henrie the second, surnamed Claudas, in the twentieth yere of the reigne of Robert king of France, and about the 7 yere of Malcolme king of Scotland. Cnute shortly after the death of king Edmund, assembled a counsell at London, in the which he caused all the nobles of the realme to doo him homage, in receiuing an oath of lofall obediensce. He diuided the realme into foure parts, assigning Northumberland vnto the rule of Erke of Archieus, Mercia vnto Eozike, and Eastangle vnto Turkill, and reseruing the west part to his owne gouernance. He banished (as before is said) Edwin, the brother of king Edmund; but such as were suspected to be culpable of Edmunds death, he caused to be put to execution: whereby it should appere, that Eozike was not then in anie wise detected or once thought to be giltye.

The said Edwin afterwarde returned, and was then reconciled to the kings fauor (as some write) but shortly after traitorously slaine by his owne seruants. He was called the king of shirles. Others write, that he came secretly into the realme after he had bene banished, and keeping himselfe close out of sight, at length ended his life, and was buried at Tanefstocke. Moreover, Edwin and Edward the sonnes of king Edmund were banished the land, and sent first vnto Sweno king of Rozweie to haue bin made away: but Sweno vpon remorse of conscience sent them into Hungarie, where they found great fauor at the hands of king Salomon; inasmuch that Edwin married the daughter of the same Salomon, but had no issue by hir. Edward was aduanced to marie with Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henrie, and by hir had issue two sonnes, Edmund and Edgar surnamed Edeking, and as many daughters, Margaret and Cyssine, of the which in place conuenient moze shall be said.

When king Cnute had established things, as he thought stood most for his shertie, he called to his remembrance, that he had no issue but two bastard sonnes Harold and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Altwine. Wherefore he sent ouer to Richard duke of Normandie, requiring to haue queene Emma, the widow of king Egclred in mariage; and so obtained hir, not a little to the wonder of manie, which thought a great ouersight both in the woman

and in hir brother, that would satisfie the request of Cnute herein, considering he had bene such a mortall enimie to hir former husband. But duke Richard did not onelie consent, that his said sister should be married vnto Cnute, but also he himselfe toke to wife the ladie Hestricha, sister to the said Cnute.

¶ Here ye haue to vnderstand, that this mariage was not made without great consideration & large couenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obtaine queene Emma to his wife, it was fullie condescended & agreed, that after Cnuts decease, the crowne of England should remaine to the issue borne of this mariage betwixt hir & Cnute, which couenant although it was not performed immediately after the deceasse of king Cnute, yet in the end it toke place, so as the right seemed to be deferred, and not to be taken away nor abolished: for immediatlie vpon Harolds death that had usurped, Hardicnute succeeded as right heire to the crowne, by force of the agrement made at the time of the mariage solemnized betwixt his father and mother, and being once established in the kingdome, he ordeined his brother Edward to succed him, where by the Danes were viterlie excluded from all right that they had to pretend vnto the crowne of this land, and the English blood restored thereto, yfeste by that gracious conclusion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and queene Emma. For the which no small praise was thought to be due vnto the said queene, sith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir match so beneficiall to hir selfe and hir line, the crowne was thus recovered out of the hands of the Danes, and restored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatise which some haue intituled *Encomium Emmae*, and was written in those daies, it doth and may appere. Which booke although there be but few copies thereof abroad, giueth vndoubtedlie great light to the historie of that time.

¶ But now to our purpose. Cnute the same yere in which he was thus married, through perswasion of his wife queene Emma, sent awaie the Danish nation and armie home into Denmarke, giuing to them fourescore and two thousand pounds of siluer, which was leuied throughout this land for their wages. In the yere 1018, Eozike de Streona earle of Mercia was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called before the king into his priuie chamber, and there in reasoning the matter about some quarrell that was picked to him, he began verie presumptuously to vpbraid the king of such pleasures as he had before time done vnto him; I did (said he) for the loue which I bare towards you, forsake my soueraigne lord king Edmund, and at length for yow sake slue him. At which words Cnute began to change countenance, as one maruellouslie abashed, and straightwaies gaue sentence against Eozike in this wise; Thou art too thie (saith he) of death, and die thou shalt; which art giltye of treason both towards God and me, sith that thou hast slaine thine owne soueraigne lord, and my deere alied brother. Thy blood therefore be vpon thine owne head, sith thy tong hath vttered thy treason. And immediatlie he caused his throat to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber window into the riuer of Thames. ¶ But others say, that hands were laid vpon him in the very same chamber or closet where he murdered the king, & straightwaies to preuent all causes of tumults & hurleburles, he was put to death with terrible torments of fierbrands & links; which execution hauing passed vpon him, a second succeeded; for both his feet were bound together, and his bodie drawne through the streets of the citie, & in fine cast into a common ditch called Bouds ditch,

Polydor.

The couenants made at the mariage betwixt Cnute and Emma.

The english blood restored. The praise of queene Emma for hir wife dome.

Encomium Emmae.

March. West.

Wil. Malm. 1018.

Eozike put to death.

Polydor. King Cnute married to queene Emma the widow of Egclred, in 1017.

time

Edmund was slain at Ex.

n. Dun.

is alleged for wife of and at death.

Hig. unt.

thinks was after he and Eozike

and me of Eozike death.

Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

King of chorice. Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

death; for that the citizens threw their dead dogs and stinking carrion with other filth into it, accounting him worthy of a worse rather than of a better buriall. In such hatred was treason had, being a vice which the berie infidels and grosse pagans abhorred, else would they not have said, *Prodigious omis, prodigious idis*: Treason I love, but a traitor I hate. This was the end of Codsike, surnamed de Stratten or Streona, a man of great infamie for his craftie dissimulation, falshood and treason, used by him to the overthrow of the English estate, as parties before is touched.

Simon Dun.

Exordium
Eunice.

But there be that concerning the cause of this Codsike's death, some parties to disagree from that which before is recited, declaring that Cnute standing in some doubt to be betrayed through the treason of Codsike, sought occasion how to rid him and others (whome he mistrusted) out of the way. And therefore on a day when Codsike craved some preferment at Cnute's hands, & said that he had deserved to be well thought of, both by his flight from the battell at Ashendon, the victory thereby inclined to Cnute's part: Cnute hearing him speake these words, made this answer: And canst thou quoth he be true to me, that through fraudulent means dost deceiue thy sovereign lord and master? But I will reward thee according to thy deserts, so as from henceforth thou shalt not deceiue anie other, and so forthwith commanded Cnute one of his chiefe capteignes to dispatch him, who incontinentlie cut off his head with his axe or halbert. *Aetelie* Simon Dunelmensis saith, that *h.* Cnute understanding in what sort both king Egelred, and his sonne king Edmund Ironside had bene betrayed by the said Codsike, stood in great doubt to be likewise deceiued by him, and therefore was glad to haue some pretended quarrell, to dispatch both him and others, whome he likewise mistrusted, as it well appeared. For at the same time there were put to death with Codsike earle Royman the sonne of earle Leofwin, and brother to earle Leofricke: also Adelward the sonne of earle Aegelmare and Brightrike the sonne of Aelfegus governor of Devonshire, without all guilt or cause (as some write.) And in place of Royman, his brother Leofricke was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had a great fauour. His Leofricke is commonlie also by writers named earle of Chester. After this, Cnute likewise banished Iric and Turkill, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) governor of Northumberland, and the other of Northfolke and Suffolke or Cantsangle.

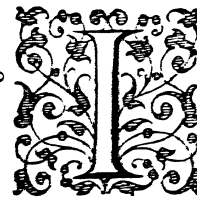
Hen. Hunt.
Lords put to
death.

A taxe raised.

Then rested the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, whereupon he studied to preserve the people in peace, and ordeined lawes, according to the which both Danes and Englishmen should be governed in equall state and degree. Dunct's great lords whome he found unfaithfull or rather suspected, he put to death (as before ye haue heard) beside such as he banished out of the realme. He raised a tax or tribute of the people, amounting to the summe of fourescore & two thousand pounds, besides 11000 pounds, which the Londoners paid towards the maintenance of the Danish armie. But whereas these things chaunced not all at one time, but in sundrie seasons, we will retorne somewhat backe to declare what other exploits were achieved in the meane time by Cnute, not onely in England, but also in Denmarke, and elsewhere: admonishing the reader in the proceffe of the discourse following, that much excellent matter is comprehended, wherewith (if the same be studiously read and diligently considered) no small profit is to be reaped, both for the augmentation of his owne knowledge and others that be studious.

Cnute saileth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals, earle Goodwins good service with the English against the said Vandals, and what benefit accrued unto the Englishmen by the said good service, he returneth into England after the discomfure of the enemies, he saileth over againe into Denmarke and incountrith with the Swedes, the occasion of this warre or incounter taken by Olafus, his hard hap, vnluckie fortune, and wooll death wrought by the hands of his owne vnnaturall subjects; Cnute's confidence in the Englishmen, his deuout voyage to Rome, his retorne into England, his subduing of the Scots, his death and interment.

The twelfth Chapter.



In the third yeare of his reigne Cnute sailed with an armie of Englishmen and Danes into Denmarke, to subdue the Vandals there, which then long annied and warred against his subjects of Denmarke. Earle Godwine, which had the soueraigne conduct of the Englishmen, the night before the day appointed for the battell got him forth of the campe with his people, and suddenlie assailing the Vandals in their lodgings, easilie distressed them, sleaing a great number of them, and chasing the residue. In the morning earlie, when as Cnute heard that the Englishmen were gone forth of their lodgings, he supposed that they were either fled awaie, or else turned to take part with the enemies. But as he approached to the enemies campe he vnderstood how the matter went; for he found nothing there but blood, dead booties, and the spoile. For which good service, Cnute had the Englishmen in more estimation ever after, and highlie rewarded their leader the same earle Godwine. When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behoofull, he returned againe into England: and within a few daies after, he was advertised that the Swedes made warre against his subjects of Denmarke, vnder the leading of two great princes, Alfe and Olaf. Wherefore to defend his dominions in those parts, he passed againe with an armie into Denmarke, incountried with his enemies, and receiued a sore overthrow, losing a great number both of Danes and Englishmen. But gathering together a new force of men, he set againe upon his enemies, and overcame them, constraining the two foresaid princes to agree vpon reasonable conditions of peace. Marth West recounteth, that at this time earle Godwine and the Englishmen brought the enterprise aboue mentioned, of assailing the enemies campe in the night season, after Cnute had first lost in the day before no small number of his people: and that then the foresaid princes or kings, as he nameth them Alfus and Aulafus, which latter he calleth Eglaf, were constrained to agree vpon a peace. The Danish chronicles alledge, that the occasion of this warre rose hercof. This Olafus aided Cnute (as the same writers report) against king Edmund and the Englishmen. But when the peace should be made betwix Cnute and Edmund, there was no consideration had of Olafus: wherupon through him the Danes chieflie obtained the victory. Hereupon Olafus was sore offended in his mind against Cnute, and now vpon consideration thought to be reuenged. But what sooner the cause was of this warre betwixt these two princes, the end was this: that Olafus was expelled out of his kingdome, and constrained to

1019
King Cnute
saileth into
Denmarke.Earle God
wine his
conduite in
Denmarke.Cnute hath
Englishmen
in Denmarke
for their
service.1018
Cnute saileth
againe into
Denmarke.

Will. Nels.

Marth West.

Alfus and
Cnute.

viii

Haf
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flie to Gorthallaus a duke in the parties of Eastland. and afterward returning into Norwaie, was slaine by such of his subiects as tooke part with Cnute, in manner as in the historie of Norwaie, appeareth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writings of them which haue recozged the histories of those north regions.

Magnus D.
laus.

Fabian.
Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.

Other say,
that he went
forth of Den-
marke to
Rome.
Simon Dun.
Anno 1031.

1032
Wil. Malm.
Matth. West.

1033
Scots sub-
dued.
Hen. Hunt.
Anno 1035.
The death of
king Cnute.

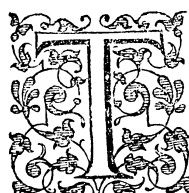
Hen. Hunt.
Alb. Crantz.

But here is to be remembred, that the fame and glorie of the English nation was greatlie advanced in these warres, as well against the Swedeners as the Norwegians, so that Cnute began to loue and trust the Englishmen much better than it was to be thought he would euer haue done. Shortly after that Cnute was returned into England, that is to say (as some haue) in the 15 yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his voto which he had made to visit the places where the apostles Peter and Paule had their buriall, where he was hono- rable receiued of pope John the 20 that then held the see. When he had done his deuotion there, he return- ed into England. In the yeare following, he made a iourne against the Scots, which as then had rebel- led; but by the princelie power of Cnute they were subdued and brought againe to obedience; so that not onelie king Malcolme, but also two other kings Melbeath and Trochmare became his subiects. Fi- nallie after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of 20 yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, he died at Shaftsburie, as the English writers affirme, on the 12 of Nouember, and was buried at Winchester. But the Danish chronicles record that he died in Normandie, and was buried at Rome (as in the same chronicles ye may reade more at large.)

The trespassance of Cnute, the am- pleness of his dominions, the good and cha- ritable fruits of his voiage to Rome redoun- ding to the common benefit of all trauellers from England thither, with what great personages he had conference, and the honour that was doone him there, his in- tollerable pride in commanding the waters of the fouds not to rise, he humbleth himselfe and confesseth Christ Iesus to be king of kings, he refuseth to weare the crowne during his life, he reproveth a gentleman flatterer, his issue legiti- mate and illegitimate, his inclination in his latter yeares, what religious places he erected, repaired, and enriched; what notable men he fauoured and reuerenced, his lawes; and that in causes as well ecclesiasticall as tempo- porall he had cheefe and sole gouernement in this land, whereby the popes vsurped title of vniuersall supremacie is impeached.

The xiiij. Chapter.

The large do-
minion of K.
Cnute.
Hen. Hunt.
Alb. Crantz.



His Cnute was the mighty prince that euer reigned ouer the English people: for he had the souereigne rule ouer all Denmark, England, Norwaie, Scotland, and part of Sweiden. Amongest other of his roiall acts, he caused such tolls and tallages as were demanded of way-goers at bridges and streets in the high way betwixt England and Rome to be diminished to the halfe, and againe got also a moderation to be had in the payment of the archbishops fees of his realme, which was leuied of them in the court of Rome when they should receiue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himselfe being at Rome, directed to the bishops and other of the nobles of England. In the which it also appeareth, that besides the roiall intertenuement, which he had at Rome of pope John, he had conference there with the emperor Conrad,

with Kase the king of Bergongne, and manie other great princes and noble men, which were present there at that time: all which at his request, in fauour of those Englishmen that should trauell vnto Rome, granted (as we haue said) to diminish such duties as were gathered of passinggers.

He receiued there manie great gifts of the emperor, and was highlie honored of him, and likewise of the pope, and of all other the high princes at that time present at Rome: so that when he came home (as some write) he did grow greatlie into pride, inso much that being nere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vpon the sea strand, nere to South- hampton, and perceiving the water to rise by reason of the tide, he cast off his gowne, and wrapping it round together, threw it on the sands berie nere the increasing water, and sat him downe vpon it, speaking these or the like words to the sea: Thou art (saith he) within the compasse of my dominion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, and thou knowest that no wight dare disobey my commandements; I therefore do now command thee not to rise vpon my ground, nor to presume to wet any part of thy soueraigne lord and gouernour. But the sea keeping his course, rose still higher and higher, and ouerflowed not onelie the kings feet, but also flased by vnto his legs and knees. Wherevnto the king started suddenly by, and withdrew from it, sitting withall to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you call me king, which can not so much as staie by my commandement this small portion of water. But know ye for certeine, that there is no king but the father onelie of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whom he reigneth, & at whose becke all things are gouerned. Let vs therefore honor him, let vs confesse and professe him to be the ruler of heauen, earth, and sea, and besides him none other.

From thence he went to Winchester, and there with his owne hands set his crowne vpon the head of the image of the crucifix, which stood there in the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, and from thenceforth he would neuer weare that crowne nor any other. Some write that he spake not the former words to the sea vpon any presumptuousnesse of mind, but onelie vpon occasion of the vaine title, which in his commendation one of his gentlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightlie tooke it) for he called him the most mightiest king of all kings, which ruled most at large both men, sea, and land. Therefore to reprove the fond flatterie of such vaine persons, he deuised and practised the deed before mentioned, thereby both to reprove such flatterers, and also that men might be admonished to consider the omnipotencie of almighty God. He had issue by his wife quene Emma, a sonne named by the English chronicles Harthknought, but by the Danish writers Canute or Knute: also a daughter named Gonilda, that was after married to Henrie the sonne of Conrad, which also was afterwards emperor, and named Henrie the third. By his concubine Alwine that was daughter to Alfelme, whome some name earle of Hampton, he had two bastard sonnes, Harold and Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter daies to vertue, as he that considered how perfect felicitie rested onelie in godlines and true deuotion to serue the heauenlie king and gouernour of all things.

He repaired in his time manie churches, abbeies, and houses of religion, which by occasion of warres had bene sore defaced by him and his father, but speciallie he did great cost vpon the abbey of Saint Edmund, in the towne of Burie, as partlie before is mentioned. He also built two abbeies from the foundation, as saint Benets in Norffolke, seuen miles

Grants
made to the
benefit of
Englishmen,
at the instance
of king
Cnute.

Fabian.

Polydor.
Matth. West.

He caused his
chaire to be
set there, as
Matth. West.
saith.
Hen. Hunt.

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posed to be
Berclow: for
it is borne it
seife is halfe a
mile from
thence.

1020
Simon Dun.

miles distant from Dorwich, and an other in Dor-
wate. He did also build a church at Ashdone in Essex,
where he obtained the victorie of king Edmund, and
was present at the hallowing or consecration thereof
with a great multitude of the lords and nobles of the
realme, both English and Danes. He also holpe with
his owne hands to remoue the bodie of the holie
archbishop Elthegus, when the same was translated
from London to Canturburie. The roiall and most
rich iewels which he & his wife queene Emma gaue
vnto the church of Winchester, might make the be-
holders to wonder at such their exceeding and boun-
tifulfull munificence.

Thus did Cnute strine to reforme all such things
as he and his ancestors had done amisse, and to
wipe awaie the spot of euill doing, as suerlie to the
outward sight of the world he did in deed; he had the
archbishop of Canturburie Aethelnoth in singular
reputation, and vsed his counsell in matters of im-
portance. He also highlie fauoured Leofrike earle
of Chester, so that the same Leofrike bare great re-
siding of things touching the state of the com-
mon wealthe vnder him as one of his chiefe council-
lors. Diuerse lawes and statutes he made for the go-
uernment of the common wealthe, partlie agreeable
with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kings
that were his predecessors, and partlie tempered ac-
cording to his owne liking, and as was thought to
him most expedient: among the which there be di-
uerse that concerne causes as well ecclesiasticall as
temporall. Whereby (as maister Fox hath noted) it
maie be gathered, that the government of spirituall
matters did depend then not vpon the bishop of
Rome, but rather appertained vnto the lawfull au-
thoritie of the temporall prince, no lesse than matters
and causes temporall. But of these lawes & statutes
enacted by king Cnute, ye may read moze as ye find
them set forth in the before remembred booke of mai-
ster William Lambert, which for brieuenesse we here
omit.

Variance amongst the peeres of the
realme about the roiall succession, the king-
dome is diuided betwixt Harold the ballard
sonne and Hardicnute the lawfull begotten son
of king Cnute late deceased, Harold hath the totall
regiment, the authoritie of earle Goodwine gardian to the
queenes sonnes, Harold is proclaimed king, why Elnothus did
stoutlie refuse to consecrate him, why Harold was surnamed
Harefoot, he is supposed to be a thomakers sonne, and how it
came to passe that he was counted king Cnutes ballard; Al-
fred challenge the crowne from Harold, Goodwine (vnder
colour of friendlie intertainment) procureth his retinues v-
ter vndoing, a rising of the Normans by the poll, whether
Alfred was interessed in the crowne, the trecherous letter of
Harold written in the name of queene Emma to hir two sons
in Normandie, wherevpon Alfred commeth ouer into Eng-
land, the vnfaithfull dealing of Goodwine with Alfred and his
people, teaching that in trust is treason, a reueration of euerie
tenth Norman, the remanent slaine, the lamentable end of Al-
fred, and with what torments he was put to death; Harold
banisheth queene Emma out of England, he dege-
nerateth from his father, the short time
of his reigne, his death and
buriall.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Harold.
Matth. West.
Wil. Malm.

After that Cnute was de-
parted this life, there arose
much variance amongst the
peeres and great lords of the
realme about the succession.
The Danes and Londoners
(which through continuall fa-
miliaritie with the Danes,
were become like vnto them) elected Harold the bale

sonne of king Cnute, to succede in his fathers reigne,
hauing earle Leofrike, and diuerse other of the no-
ble men of the north parts on their side. But other of
the Englishmen, and namelie earle Godwine earle
of Kent, with the chiefe lords of the west parts, co-
ueted rather to haue one of king Egelsredes sonnes,
which were in Normandie, or else Hardicnute the
sonne of king Cnute by his wife queene Emma,
which remained in Denmarke, aduanced to the
place. This controuersie held in such wise, that the
realme was diuided (as some write) by lot betwixt
the two brethren Harold and Hardicnute. The north
part, as Mercia and Northumberland fell to Harold,
and the south part vnto Hardicnute: but at length
the whole remained vnto Harold, because his bro-
ther Hardicnute refused to come out of Denmarke
to take the government vpon him.

But yet the authoritie of earle Godwine, who had
the queene and the treasure of the realme in his ke-
ping, staied the matter a certeine time, (proffessing
himselfe as it were gardian to the yong men, the
sonnes of the queene, till at length he was con-
strained to giue ouer his hold, and conforme himselfe to
the stronger part and greater number.) And so at
Oxford, where the assemble was holden about the e-
lection, Harold was proclaimed king, and consecra-
ted according to the manner (as some write). But it
should appere by other, that Elnothus the archi-
shop of Canturburie, a man indued with all vertue
and wisdom refused to crowne him: for when king
Harold being elected of the nobles and peeres, requi-
red the said archbishop that he might be of him conse-
crated, and receiue at his hands the regall scepter
with the crowne, which the archbishop had in his cu-
stodie, and to whome it onelie did appertene to in-
uest him therewith, the archbishop flatlie refused, and
with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate
anie other for king, so long as the queenes children li-
ued: for (saith he) Cnute committed them to my
trust and assurance, and to them will I keepe my
faith and loiall obedience. The scepter and crowne
I here lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I
denie nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the
apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of
them presume to take the same awaie, and deliuer
them to you, or consecrate you for king. As for your
selfe, if you dare, you maie vsurpe that which I haue
committed vnto God and his table.

But whether afterwards the king by one meane
or other, caused the archbishop to crowne him king,
or that he was consecrated of some other, he was ad-
mitted king of all the English people, beginning his
reigne in the yere of our Lord a thousand thirtie and
six, in the fouretenth yere of the emperor Conrad
the second, in the first yere of Henrie the first, king
of France, and about the seuen and twentieth yere of
Malcolme the second, king of Scots. This Harold
for his great swiftnesse, was surnamed Harefoot, of
whome little is written touching his doings, sauing
that he is noted to haue bene an oppressor of his peo-
ple, and spotted with manie notable vices. It was
spoken of diuerse in those daies, that this Harold
was not the sonne of Cnute, but of a thomaker,
and that his supposed mother Elgina, king Cnutes
concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir,
feined that she was with child: and about the time
that she should be brought to bed (as she made hir ac-
count) caused the said thomakers son to be secretlie
brought into hir chamber, and then vntreue caused it
to be reported that she was deliuered, and the child so
reputed to be the kings sonne.

Immediatlie vpon advertisement had of Cnutes
death, Alfred the sonne of king Egelsred, with fiftie
saile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the
crowne,

Controuersie
betwixt the
Englishmen

Simon Dun.

The realme
diuided be-
twixt Harold
and Hardi-
cnute.

The autho-
ritie of earle
Goodwine,
H. Hunt.

Matth.

Ran.

See
Fox i
mon
pag. 1
Sime

The refusal
of the archi-
shop Elnothus
to conse-
crate king
Harold.

1036

Harold wh
he is surna-
med Harefoot.

Harold enill
spoken of.

Ran. Higd.
ex Mariano.

Matth. West.

crowne, and to obtaine it by lawfull claime with quietnesse, if he might; if not, then to use force by aid of his friends, and to assaile that waie forth to win it, if he might not otherwise obtaine it. From Sandwich he came to Canturburie: and shortly after, earle Godwine feining to receiue him as a friend, came to meet him, and at Gilsford in the night season appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were asleepe, and so took them together with Alfred, & slue the Normans by the poll, in such wise that nine were slaine, & the tenth reserved. But yet when those that were rescued, seemed to him a greater number than he wished to escape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eyes put out, and was conueied to the Ile of Elie, where shortly after he died.

How Alfred should claime the crowne to himselfe I see not: for verelie I can not be perswaded that he was the elder brother, though diuers authors haue so written, sith Gemeticensis, & the author of the booke called *Encomium Emma*, plainlie affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might be, that Alfred being a man of a stouter stomach than his brother Edward, made this attempt, either for himselfe, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then absent, and gone into Hungarie, as some write: but other say, that as well Edward as Alfred came ouer at this time with a number of Norman knights, and men of warre imbarcked in a few ships, onelie to speake with their mother, who as then lay at Winchester, whether to take aduise with hir how to recover their right here in this land, or to aduance their brother Hardicnute, or for some other purpose, our authors do not declare.

But the lords of the realme that bare their good wills vnto Harold, and (though contrarie to right) ment to mainteine him in the estate, seemed to be much offended with the comming of these two brethren in such order: for earle Godwine perswaded them, that it was great danger to suffer so manie strangers to enter the realme, as they had brought with them. Wherevpon earle Godwine with the assent of the other lords, or rather by commandement of Harold, went forth, and at Gilsford met with Alfred that was comming towards king Harold to speake with him, accordinglie as he was of Harold required to doe. But now being taken, and his companie miserablie murdered (as before ye haue heard) to the number of six hundred Normans, Alfred himselfe was sent into the Ile of Elie, there to remaine in the abbey in custodie of the monks, having his eyes put out as sone as he entered first into the same Ile. William Malmesburie saith, that Alfred came ouer, and was thus handled betwixt the time of Harold's death, & the comming in of Hardicnute. Others write, that this chanced in his brother Hardicnute's daies, which seemeth not to be true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue his brethren by his mothers side too dearelie to haue suffered any such iniurie to be brought against either of them in his time.

Thus ye see how writers dissent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truth touching the time, I haue thought good to shew also, what the author of the said booke intituled *Encomium Emma* writeth hereof, which is as followeth. When Harold was once established king, he sought meanes how to rid queene Emma out of the way, and that secretlie, so that openlie as yet he durst not attempt any thing against hir. She in silence kept hir selfe quiet, looking for the end of these things. But Harold rememb'ring himselfe, of a malicious purpose, by wicked aduise took counsell how he might get into his hands and make away the sons of queene Emma: for he was

of danger of all annoiance that by them might be procured against him. Wherefore he caused a letter to be written in the name of their mother Emma, which he sent by certeine messengers suborned for the same purpose into Normandie, where Edward and Alfred as then remained. The tenour of which letter here insueth.

A counterfet letter.

The tenour of a letter forged and sent in queene Emmas name to hir two sonnes.

Emmatantum nomine regina filijs Edwardo & Alfredo materna imperit salutamina. Du domini nostri regis obitum separatim plangimus (sily charissimi) dumq. diem magis magisque regno hereditatis vestre priuamini, miror quid capietis consilij, dum sciatis intermissionis vestrae dilatione inuasoris vestri imperij fieri quotidie sollicitate. Is enim incessanter vicis & vrbes circuit, & sibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: sed vnum e vobis super se mallent regnare quam istius (qui nunc ys imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnum vestrum ad me velociter & priuate veniat, ut salubre a me consilium accipiat, & sciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per presentem quoque internuncium quid super his facturi estis remanate. Valde cordis mei viscera.

The same in English

Emma in name onelie queene to hir sons Edward and Alfred sendeth motherlie greeting. Whilest we separatelie bewaile the death of our soueraigne lord the king (most deare sonnes) and whilest you are euerie day more and more depriued from the kingdom of your inheritance, I marvel what you doo determine, sith you know by the delay of your ceassing to make some enterprise, the grounded force of the vsurper of your kingdom is daile made the stronger. For incessantlie he goeth from towne to towne, from cite to cite, and maketh the lords his friends by rewards, threats, and praiers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kept vnder the rule of this man that now gouerneth them. Wherefore my request is, that one of you doo come with speed, and that he write ouer to me, that he may vnderstand my wholesome aduise, and know in what sort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to go forward, and see that ye send mee word by this present messenger what you meane to doo herein. Fare ye well euen the bowels of my heart.

These letters were deliuered vnto such as were made priuie to the purposed treason, who being fullie instructed how to handle, went ouer into Normandie, and presenting the letters vnto the young gentle men, used the matter so, that they thought verelie that this message had bene sent from their mother, and wrote ahand by them that brought the letters, that one of them should not faile but come ouer vnto hir according to that she had requested, and with all appointed the day and time. The messengers returning to king Harold, informed him how they had

tainie
intercourse
the crowne

non Dun.

he realme
should be
ext Harold
ext Har-
ite.

he autho-
of earle
obtaine,
lune

Ran. sigd.

See matter
Faxas and
monuments,
pag. 112.
Simon Dun.

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archbie.
Elio-
to conse-
king
ad.

36

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rest

had sped. The younger brother Alfred, with his brothers consent, took with him a certaine number of gentlemen and men of warre, and first came into Flanders, where after he had remained a while with earle Baldwine, he increased his retinue with a few soldiers, and passed over into England, but approaching to the shore, he was straightwaies descried by his enemies, who hastied forth to set upon him; but perceiving their dust, he had the ships cast about, and make againe to the sea; then landing at an other place, he went to go the next way to his mother.

Godwin was suspected to do this under a colour to betray him as by writers it seemeth.

But earle Godwine hearing of his arrival, met him, received him into his assurance, and binding his credit with a copposall oath, became his man, and then leading him out of the high way that leadeth to London, he brought him to Gilsford, where he lodged all the strangers, by a score, a dozen, and halfe a score together in innes, so as but a few remained about the young gentleman Alfred to attend upon him. There was plenty of meat and drinke prepared in euerie lodging, for the refreshing of all the companie. And Godwine taking his leave for that night, departed to his lodging, promising the next morning to come againe to giue his dutifull attendance on Alfred.

Not onlie Godwine but other such as king Harold appointed, took Alfred with his Normans

But behold, after they had filled themselves with meats and drinks, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the night came such as king Harold had appointed, and entering into euerie inne, first seized upon the armor and weapons that belonged to the strangers: which done, they took them, and chained them fast with fetters and manacles, so keeping them sure till the next morning. Which being come, they were brought forth with their hands bound behind their backs, and deliuered to most cruell tormentors, who were commanded to spare none but euerie tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and so they slew nine and left the tenth aliuie. Of those that were left aliuie, some they kept to serue as bondmen, other for courtesies sake they sold, and some they put in prison, of whom yet diuerse after wards escaped. This with more hath the foresaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alfred being conuicted into the fire of Cke, had not onlie his eyes put out in most cruell wise, but was also presentlie there murdered. But he speaketh not further of the manner how he was made away, saying that he saith he forbeareth to make long recital of this matter, because he will not reneue the mothers griefe in hearing it, sith there can be no greater sorrow to the mother than to heare of her sonnes death.

I remember in Caxton we read, that his cruell tormentors should carue his bellie to be opened, & taking out one end of his bowels or guts, tied the same to a stake which they had set fast in the ground; then with needels of iron picking his bodie, they caused him to run about the stake, till he had wound out all his intrailles, & so ended he his innocent life, to the great shame & obloquie of his cruel aduersaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather died (as I thinke) of the anguish by putting out his eyes, no doubt but his death was reuenged by Gods hand in those that procured it. But whether earle Godwine was cheefe causer thereof, in betraying him under a cloaked colour of pretended friendship, I cannot say: but that he took him and slew his companie, as some haue written, I cannot thinke to be true, both as well for that which ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote *Encomium Eadmundi* as also for that it should seeme he might neuer be so vngodlie charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuse. But now to other affaires of Harold.

Simon Dun. Quene Emma banished.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alfred, he spoiled his mother in law quene Emma of the most part of her riches, and therewith banished

him quite out of the realme: so that she sailed over to Flanders, where she was honourable received of earle Baldwine, and hauing of him honourable provision assigned her, she continued there for the space of three yeeres, till that after the death of Harold, she was sent for by her sonne Hardiknought, that succeeded Harold in the kingdom. For euer, Harold made small account of his subiecs, degenerating from the noble vertues of his father, following him in few things (except in exacting of tributes and payments.) he caused indeed eight markes of silver to be leuied of euerie port or haue in England, to the retraining of 16 ships furnished with men of warre, which continued euer in a readinesse to defend the coasts from pirats. To conclude with this Harold, his speedie death provided well for his fame, because (as it was thought) if his life had bene of long continuance, his infamie had been the greater. But after he had reigned foure yeeres, or (as other gathered) three yeeres and three moneths, he departed out of this world at Oxford, & was buried at Wintonchester (as some say.) Other say he died at Hereford in the moneth of Aprill, and was buried at Wintonchester, which should appeare to be true by that which after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughts cruell dealing, and great spite shewed toward his dead bodie, as after shall be specified.

Polidon. Harold began reuengeth his father, Hen. Hunt.

I name in a readinesse.

Godwin men longer they live, the more they grow into malice.

Will. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Will. Malm.

Hardicnute is sent for into England to be made king; alteration in the state of Norwaie and Denmarke by the death of king Canute, Hardicnute is crowned, he sendeth for his mother quene Emma, Normandie ruled by the French king, Hardicnute reuengeth his mothers exile upon the dead bodie of his stepbrother Harold, quene Emma and earle Godwine haue the government of things in their hands, Hardicnute leuieith a fore tribute vpon his subiecs, contempt of officers & deniall of a prince his tribute shapeliie punished; prince Edward cometh into England; the bishop of Worcester accused and put from his see for being accessarie to the murdering of Alfred, his restitution procured by contribution; Earle Godwine being accused for the same trespass ex-cuseth himselfe, and iustifieth his cause by swearing, but specially by presenting the king with an inestimable gift; the cause why Godwine purposed Alfreds death; the English peoples care about the succession to the crowne, monke Brightwalds dreame and vision touching that matter; Hardicnute poisoned at a bridall, his conditions, specially his hospitalitie, of him the Englishmen learned to eate and drinke immoderatie, the necessitie of sobrietie, the end of the Danish regiment in this land, and when they began first to inuade the English coasts.

The xv. Chapter.



After that Harold was dead, all the nobles of the realme, both Danes & Englishmen agreed to send for Hardiknought, the sonne of Canute by his wife quene Emma, and to make him king. Here is to be noted, that by the death of king Canute the state of things was much altered in those countries of beyond the seas wherein he had the rule and dominion. For the Swedegians elected one Magnus, the sonne of Olaus to be their king, and the Danes chose this Hardiknought, whom their writers name Canute the third, to be their gouernor. This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertised of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the lords of England had chosen him to their king, with all conuenient speed prepared a naue, and imbarking a certaine number of men of warre, took the sea, and had the wind so fauorable for his purpose, that he arrived upon the coast of Kent the first day after he set out of Denmarke, and

Hardicnute, or Hardiknought.

Alteration in the state of things.

Simon Dun. Matt. West. say, that he was at Winton when his mother taken he was thus sent for, being come thither to bid him.

1041

and so comming to London, was soothlie received, and proclaimed king, and crowned of Æthelnotus archbishop of Cantuarburie, in the yere of our Lord 1041, in the first yere of the emperour Henrie the third, in the 9 yere of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and in the first yere of Dagobold, alio Dagabeda king of Scotland. Incontinente after his establishment in the rule of this realme, he sent into Flanders for his motherqueene Emma, who during the time of hir banishment, had remained there. For Normandie in that season was governed by the French king, by reason of the minority of duke William, surnamed the bastard.

Howeover, in revenge of the wrong offered to queene Emma by hir sonne in law Harold, king Hardicnute did cause Alfricke archbishop of Yorke and earle Godwine, with other noble men to go to Westminster, and there to take by the bodie of the same Harold, and withall appointed, that the head thereof should be striken off, and the trunk of it cast into the river of Thames. Which afterwards being found by fishers, was taken up and buried in the churchyard of St. Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouvernement of things to the hands of his mother Emma, and of Godwine that was erle of Kent. He leined a foze tribute of his subjects here in England to pay the souldiers and mariners of his navie, as first 21 thousand pounds, & 99 pounds, and after ward unto 32 ships there was a payment made of a 11 thousand and 48 pounds. To everie mariner of his navie he caused a payment of 8 marks to be made, and to everie maffer 12 marks. About the payment of this monie great grudge grew amongst the people, insomuch that two of his servants, which were appointed collectors in the citie of Worcester, the one named Jfeader, and the other Turstane, were there slaine. In revenge of which contempt a great part of the countrie with the citie was burnt, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoile by such power of lords and men of warre as the king had sent against them.

Shortlie after, Edward king Hardicnutes brother came south of Normandie to visit him and his mother queene Emma, of whome he was most soothlie and honorable welcomed and intertained, and shortlie after made retourne backe againe. It should appeare by some wylters, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remained still in the realme, so that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardicnute died, but here in England: although other make other report, as after shall be shewed. Also (as before ye have heard) some wylters seeme to meane, that the elder brother Alfred came ouer at the same time. But suerlie they are therein deceived: for it was knowne well enough how tenderlie king Hardicnute loved his brethren by the mothers side, so that there was not anie of the lords in his daies, that durst attempt anie such iniurie against them. True it is, that as well earle Godwine, as the bishop of Worcester (that was also put in blame and suspected for the apprehending and making away of Alfred, as before ye have heard) were charged by Hardicnute as culpable in that matter, insomuch that the said bishop was expelled out of his see by Hardicnute: and after twelue moneths space was restored, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue by waite of amends.

Earle Godwine was also put to his purgation, by taking an oth that he was not guiltie. Which oth was the better allowed, by reason of such a present as he gaue to the king for the redeming of his favour and good will, that is to say, a ship with a sterne of gold, containing therein 80 souldiers, wearing on

each of their armes two bracelets of gold of 16 ounces weight, a triple habergeon gilt on their bodies, with gilt buttenets on their heads; a sword with gilt hilts girded to their waistes; a battell: and after the manner of the Danes on their left shoulder, a target with bolles and mails gilt in their left hand, a dart in their right hand: and thus to conclude, they were furnished at all points with armes and weapon accordinglie. It hath bene said, that earle Godwine minded to marie his daughter to one of these brethren, and perceiving that the elder brother Alfred would disdaine to haue hir, thought good to dispatch him, that the other taking hir to wife, he might be next heire to the crowne, and so at length inioy it, as afterwards came to passe.

Also about that time, when the linage of the kings of England was in maner exting, the English people were much carefull (as hath bene said) about the succession of those that should inioie the crowne. Whereupon as one Wightwold a monke of Clactenburie, that was afterward bishop of Winchester, or (as some haue written) of Worcester, studied oftentimes thereon: it chanced that he dreamed one night as he slept in his bed, that he saw saint Peter consecrate & annoint Edward the sonne of Egbert (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of England. And as he thought he did demand of saint Peter, who should succeed the said Edward: Whereunto answer was made by the apostle; I haue thou no care for such matters, for the kingdome of England is Gods kingdome. Which suerlie in god earnest may appeare by manie great arguments to be full true unto such as shall well consider the state of this realme from time to time, how there hath bene ever gouernours raised up to mainteine the maiestie of the kingdome, and to reduce the same to the former dignitie, when by anie unfortunate mishap it hath bene brought in danger.

But to retourne now to king Hardicnute, after he had reigned two yeres lacking 10 daies, as he sat at the table in a great feast holden at Lambeth, he fell downe suddentlie with the pot in his hand, and so died not without some suspicion of poison. This chanced on the 8 of June at Lambeth aforesaid, where, on the same day a marriage was solemnized betwene the ladie Citha, the daughter of a noble man called Olgot Clappa, and a Danish lord also called Canute Prudan. His bodie was buried at Winchester besides his fathers. He was of nature verie courteous, gentle and liberall, speciallie in keeping god chere in his house, so that he would haue his table covered foure times a day, & furnished with great plentie of meates and drincks, wishing that his servants and all strangers that came to his palace, might rather leaue than want. It hath bene commonlie told, that Englishmen learned of him their excessive gourmandizing & vnmeasurable filling of their panches with meates and drincks, whereby they forgot the vertuous vse of sobrietie, so much necessarie to all estates and degrees, so profitable for all commonwealthes, and so commendable both in the sight of God, and all good men.

In this Hardicnute ceased the rule of the Danes within this land, with the persecution which they had erected against the English nation, for the space of 250 yeres & more, that is to say, ever since the tenth yere of Wiltshire the king of West Saxons, at what time they first began to inuade the English coasts. Howbeit (after others) they should seeme to haue ruled here but 207, reckoning from their bringing in by the Westmen in despite of the Saxons, at which time they first began to inhabit here, which was 835 of Christ, 387 after the comming of the Saxons, and 35 yere complet of the reigne of Egbert.

¶ It.

¶ But

Polydor.

The death of R. Hardicnute
Sim. Dunc.
Match. West.
1042

R. Hardicnute
his conditions
and liberalltie
in housekeep-
ing.

Hen. Hunt.

Of whom the
Englishmen
learned exces-
sive eating.

The end of
the Danish
rulers.

Polydor.
Harold dege-
nerateth from
his father,
Hen. Hunt.

A name in a
reasoness.

Quill men, the
longer they
live, the more
they grow
into miserie.

Wil. Malm.
Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Malm.

Queene Emma
sent for.

The bodie of
king Harold
taken up, and
thrust into
Thames.

St. Clement
Danes.

Tribute
raised.
Hen. Hunt.

Sim. Dun.
Wil. Malm.
Match. West.
Sim. Dun.

Match. West.
Ran. Higd.
Marianus.

Polydor.

The bishop
of worcester
accused for
making away
of Alfred.

Earle God-
win receiveth
himselfe.

The gift
which earle
Godwin
gaue to the
king.

Hardi-
nute, or
Hardi-
nought.

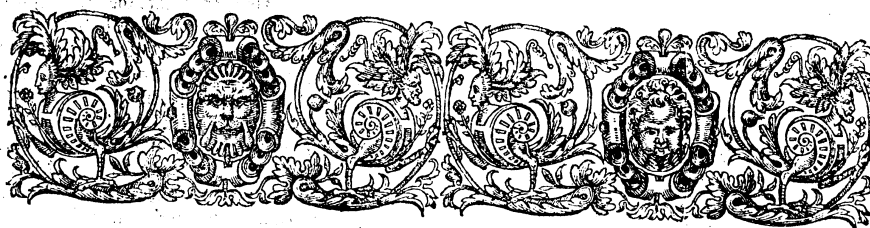
Iteration in
the state of
things.

mon Dva. &
act. West.
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was thus
it for, being
ne thither
bisit hir.

But to let this peece of curiositie passe, this land felt that they had a time of arrivall, a time of invading, a time of overrunning, and a time of overruling the inhabitants of this maine continent. Whereof manifest proofes are at this day remaining in sundrie places, sundrie ruines I meane and waikes committed by them; upon the which whosoever a man of a relenting spirit casteth his eie, he can not but enter into a dolefull consideration of former miseries, and lamenting the defacements of this Ile by

shall bew them in peces as wood for the forname.

Thus furre the tumultuous and tyrannicall regiment of the Danes, inferring fulnesse of afflictions to the English people, wherewith likewise the seuenth booke is shut vp.



THE EIGHT BOOKE

of the Historie of England.

Edward the third of that name is chosen king of England by a generall consent, ambassadours are sent to attend him homewards to his kingdome, and to informe him of his election, William duke of Normandie accompanieth him, Edward is crowned king, the subtil ambition or ambitious subtiltie of earle Goodwine in preferring Edward to the crowne and betraying Alfred, the Danes expelled and rid out of this land by decree; whether earle Goodwine was guilty of Alfreds death, king Edward marieth the said earles daughter, he forbeareth to haue carnall knowledge with hir, and why he vseth his mother queene Emma verie hardlie, accusations brought against hir, she is dispossessed of hir goods, and imprisoned for suffering bishop Alwine to haue the vse of hir bodie, she purgeth and cleareth hir selfe after a strange sort, hir couetousnesse: mothers are taught (by hir example) to loue their children with equalitie: hir liberall deuotion to Winchester church cleared hir from infamie of couetousnesse, king Edward loued hir after hir purgation, why Robert archbishop of Canturburie fled out of England into Normandie.

The first Chapter.

Edward.
Hen. Hunt.

Polydor.



Upon the deth of Hardknought, and before his corps was committed to buriall, his halfe brother Edward, sonne of king Egelred begotten of queene Emma, was chosen to be King of England, by the generall consent of all the nobles and commons of the realme. Thereupon were ambassadours sent with all speed into Normandie, to signifie vnto him

his election, and to bring him from thence into England in deliuering pledges for more assurance, that no fraud nor deceit was ment of the Englishmen, but that upon his coming thither, he should receiue the crowne without all contradiction. Edward then aided by his cosine William duke of Normandie, toke the sea, & with a small companie of Normans came into England, where he was receiued with great ioy as king of the realme, & immediatly after was crowned at Winc hester by Edinus then archbishop of Canturburie, on Easter day in the yeare of our Lord 1043, which fell also about the fourth yeare of the emperor Henrie the third, surnamed Piger, in the 12 yeare of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and about the third yeare of Macbeth king of Scotland.

This Edward the third of that name before the conquest, was of nature more meke and simple than apt for the government of the realme, & therefore did earle Godwine not onelie seeke the destruction of his elder brother Alfred, but holpe all that he might to aduance this Edward to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome he knew to be soft, gentle, and easie to be perswaded. But whatsoeuer writers doe report hereof, sure it is, that Edward was the elder brother, and not Alfred: so that if earle Godwine did shew his furtherance by his pretended cloake of offering his friendship vnto Alfred to betraye him, he did it by king Harolds commandement, and yet it may be that he meant to haue vsurped the crowne to him selfe, if each point had answered his expectation in the sequels of things, as he hoped they would; and therefore had not passed if both the brethren had bene in heauen. But yet when the world framed contrarie (peradventure) to his purpose, he did his best to aduance Edward, trusting to beare no small rule vnder him, being knowen to be a man more apt to be gouerned by other than to trust to his owne wit: and so chieflie by the assistance of earle Godwine

Ran. Hig.
ex Maria
Alb. Crai

Polydor.
Danes
led.

Simon D.

Gen'l In
to R. Shu

Polydor.

R. Edward
marieth the
daughter
earle God
wine.

Henr. Hunt.
Wil. Malm.
The third of
April.
1043

Polydor.

R. Edward
abstaineth
from the
company of his
wife.

R. Edward
dealeth str
lie with his
mother qu
Emma.

Queene Emma
despoil
of her goods
she is accus
ed of dissi
luting.

Ran. Higd.

She purg
her selfe by
law of Oda
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wine (whose authoritie, as appeareth, was not small within the realme of England in those daies) Edward came to attaine the crowne: whereunto the earle of Chester Leofrike also shewed all the furtherance that in him laie.

Some write (which seemeth also to be confirmed by the Danish chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his life time had receiued this Edward into his court, and reteined him still in the same in most notable wise. But for that it may appeare in the abstract of this matter recorded, we do here passe over, referring those that be desirous to know the diuersities of our writers and theirs, vnto the same chronicles, where they may find it more at large expressed.

This in no wise is to be left vnmembred, that immediately after the death of Hardiknought, it was not onelie decreed & agreed vpon by the great lords a nobles of the realme, that no Dane from thenceforth should reigne ouer them, but also all men of warre and souldiers of the Danes, which laie within any citie or castell in garrison within the realme of England, were then expelled and put out or rather slaine (as the Danish writers do rehearse.) Amongst other that were banished, the ladie Gonild next to king Swaine by his sister, was one, being as then a widow, and with hir two of hir sonnes, which she had then living; Heming and Turkill were also caused to auoid. Some write that Alfred the brother of king Edward, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he did helpe to expell the Danes, which being done, he was slaine by earle Godwine and other of his complices. But how this may stand, considering the circumstances of the time, with such things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted.

Nevertheless, whether earle Godwine was guiltie to the death of Alfred, either at this time, or before, certaine it is, that he so cleared himselfe of that crime vnto king Edward the brother of Alfred, that there was none so highlie in fauour with him as earle Godwine was, insomuch that king Edward married the ladie Editha, the daughter of earle Godwine, begotten of his wife Thira that was sister to king Hardiknought, and not of his second wife, as some haue written. Howbeit, king Edward neuer had to do with hir in fleshly wise. But whether he abstained because he had happilie solued chastitie, either of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that he bare to hir kin, men doubted. For it was thought, that he esteemed not earle Godwine so greatlie in his heart, as he outwardlie made shew to do, but rather for feare of his puissance dissembled with him, leaſt he should otherwise put him selfe in danger both of losse of life and kingdome.

Howsoever it was, he vsed his counsell in ordering of things concerning the state of the common wealth, and namelie in the hard handling of his mother queene Emma, against whome diuers accusations were brought and alledged: as first, for that she consented to marie with k. Cnute, the publike enemy of the realme: againe, for that she did nothing aid or succour hir sons while they liued in exile, but that waye was contriued to make them away; for which cause she was despoiled of all hir goods. And because she was defamed to be naught of hir bodie with Alwine or Adwine bishop of Winchester, both she and the same bishop were committed to prison within the citie of Winchester (as some write.) Howbeit others affirme, that she was straitlie kept in the abbie of Warimell, till by way of purging hir selfe, after a marvellous manner, in passing barefooted ouer certaine hot shares or plough-irons, according to the law *ordalium*, she cleared hir

selfe (as the world toke it) and was restored to hir first estate and dignitie.

Hir excessive couetousnesse, without regard had to the poore, caused hir also to be euill reported of. Againe, for that she euer shewed hir selfe to be more naturall to the issue which she had by hir second husband Cnute, than to hir children which she had by hir first husband king Egfred (as it were declaring how she was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) she lost a great peece of good will at the hands of hir sonnes Alfred and Edward: so that now the said Edward intolseng the realme, was easilie induced to thinke euill of hir, and therevpon vsed hir the more vncourteouslie. But hir great liberalitie imploied on the church of Winchester, which she furnished with marvellous rich iewels and ornaments, wan hir great commendation in the world, and excused hir partlie in the sight of manie, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate siling of hir coffers by all waies and meanes she could deuise. How when she had purged hir selfe, as before is mentioned, hir sonne king Edward had hir euer after in great honoz and reuerence. And where as Robert archbishop of Canturburie had bene soe against hir, he was so much abashed now at the matter, that he fled into Normandie, where he was borne. But it should seeme by that which after shal be said in the next chapter, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but because he counseled the king to banish earle Godwine, and also to vse the Englishmen more straitlie than reason was he should.

Why Robert archbishop of Canturburie (*queene Emmas heauie friend*) fled out of England, the Normans first entrance into this countrie, deareth by tempests, earle Goodwines sonne banished out of this land, he returneth in hope of the kings fauour, killeth his cosen earle Beorne for his good will and forwardnes to set him in credit againe, his flight into Flanders, his returne into England, the king is pacified with him; certaine Danish rousers arrive at Sandwich, spoile the coast, enrich themselves with the spoiles, make sale of their gettings, and returne to their countrie; the Welshmen with their princes rebelling are subdued, king Edward keepeth the seas on Sandwich side in aid of Baldwin earle of Flanders, a bloudie fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen, earle Goodwine fauoureth the Kentishmen against the Bullongners, why he refuseth to punish the Canturburie men at the kings commandement for breaking the kings peace; he setteth the king in a furie, his suborned excuse to shift off his coming to the assemblie of lords conuened about the foresaid broile; earle Goodwine bandeth himselfe against the king, he would haue the strangers deliuered into his hands, his request is denied; a battell readie to haue bene fought betweene him and the king, the tumult is pacified and put to a parlement, earle Goodwines retiaue forsake him; he, his sonnes, and their wiues take their flight beyond the seas.

The second Chapter.

Ye must vnderstand, that k. Edward brought diuerse Normans ouer with him, which in time of his banishment had shewed him great friendship, wherefore he now sought to recompense them. Amongst other, the foresaied Robert of Canturburie was one, who before his coming ouer was a monke in the abbie of Cemetitum in Normandie, and being by the king first aduanced to gouerne the see of London, was after made archbishop of Canturburie, and bare great rule vnder the king, so that he could not auoid the enuie

Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

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43

Ran. Higd.
ex Meriano.
Alb. Crantz.

Polydor.
Danes expelled

Simon Dun.

Genl. nace
to k. Swaine

Polydor.

k. Edward
marrieth the
daughter of
earle God-
wine.

Polydor.

k. Edward
abstinent
from the com-
paigne of his
wife.

k. Edward
dealeth stric-
tly with his
mother queene
Emma.

Queene Em-
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She purgeth
her selfe by the
law *ordalium*.

Robert arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie.
Frenchmen
or Normans
first entered
into England

use of diverse noble men, and speciallie of earle Godwine, as shall appere. About the third yere of king Edwards reigne, Sigat Clappa was banished the realme. And in the yere following, that is to say, in the yere 1047, there fell a marvellous great frost, covering the ground from the beginning of January until the 17 day of March. Besides this, there hapned the same yere such tempest and lightnings, that the coase upon the earth was burnt up and blasted: by reason whereof, there followed a great dearth in England, and also death of men and cattell.

About this time Swaine the sonne of earle Godwine was banished the land, and fled into Flanders. This Swaine kept Cogina, the abbess of the monastery of Leoffe, and for taking his wife, went to have married the foresaid abbess. Within a certaine time after his banishment, he returned into England, in hope to purchase the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his friends. But upon some malicious pesterie, he shue his colen earle Beorne, who was about to labour to the king for his pardon, and so then fled againe into Flanders, till at length Altered the archbishop of Yorke obtained his pardon, and found meanes to reconcile him to the kings favour.

In the meane time, about the first yere of king Edwards reigne, certaine pirates of the Danes arrived in Sandwich haven, and entering the land, wasted and spoiled all about the coast. There be that write, that the Danes had at that time to their leaders two captaines, the one named Lother, and the other Irling. After they had bene at Sandwich, and brought from thence great riches of gold and silver, they coasted about unto the side of Essex, and there spoiling the countrey, went backe to the sea, and sailing into Flanders, made sale of their spoiles and booties there, and so returned to their countries. After this, during the reigne of king Edwards, there chanced no warres, neither foreyn nor civill, but that the same was either with small slaughter luckilie ended, or else without any notable adventure changed into peace. The Welshmen in deed with their princes Rife and Griffin wrought some trouble, but still they were subdued, and in the end both the said Rife and Griffin were brought unto confusion: although in the meane time they did much hurt, and namelie Griffin, who with aid of some Irishmen, with whom he was allied, about this time entred into the Severne sea, and toke prizes about the river of Wile: and after returned without any battell to him offered.

About the same time, to wit, in the yere 1049, the emperor Henrie the third made warres against Baldwine earle of Flanders, and for that he wished to have the sea stopped, that the said earle should not escape by flight that waie forth, he sent to king Edward, willing him to keepe the sea with some number of ships. King Edward furnishing a navie, lay with the same at Sandwich, and so kept the seas on that side, till the emperor had his will of the earle. At the same time, Swaine, sonne of earle Godwine came into the realme, and traitorously shue his colen Beorne (as before is said) the which travelled to agree him with the king. Also Gospat Clappa, who had left his wife at Binges in Flanders, coming amongst other of the Danish pirates, which had robbed in the coasts of Kent & Essex, as before ye have heard, received his wife, and departed backe into Denmarke with six ships, leaving the residue, being 23 behind him.

About the tenth yere of king Edwards reigne, Eustace earle of Bullongne, that was father unto the ballant Godfrey of Bullongne, & Baldwin, both

afterwards kings of Hierusalem, came over into England in the moneth of September, to visit his brother in law king Edward, whose sister named Goda, he had married, the then being the wedded of Gualter de Mount. He found the king at Gloucestre, and being there moste reverend, after he had once dispatched such matters for the which he came, he took leave, and returned homeward. But at Canturburie one of his herbingers, dealing roughly with one of the citizens about a logging, which he sought to have rather by force than by intreatance, occasioned his stone death. Whereof when the erle was advertised, he haled thither to revenge the slaughter of his servant, and shue both that citizen which had killed his man, and eightene others.

The citizens here with in a great furie, got them to armes, and set upon the erle and his retinue, of whom they shue twentie persons out of hand, & wounded a great number of the residue, so that the erle scarce might escape with one or two of his men from the fraie, & with all speed returned backe to the king, presenting grievous information against them of Canturburie, for their cruel bling of him, not onlie in sleaking of his servants, but also in putting him in danger of his life. The king crediting the erle, was highly offended against the citizens, and with all speed sending for earle Godwine, declared unto him in grievous tole, the rebellious act of them of Canturburie, which were under his jurisdiction.

The erle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke wit, did perceiue that the matter was made a great deale worse at the first in the beginning, than of likelihood it would prove in the end, thought it reason therefore that first the answer of the knights should be heard, before any sentence were given against them. Whereupon, although the king commanded him forthwith to go with an armie into Kent, and to punish them of Canturburie in most rigorous manner, yet he would not be so hasty, but refused to execute the kings commandement, both for that he bare a peece of grudge in his mind, that the king should favour strangers so highly as he did; and againe, because hereby he should seeme to do pleasure to his countreymen, in taking upon him to defend their cause against the rough accusations of such as had accused them. Wherefore he declared to the king that it should be convenient to have the supposed offenders first called afore him, and if they were able to excuse themselves, then to be suffered to depart without further beration: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, both as well in satisfieng the king, whose peace they had broken, as also the erle, whom they had in damaged.

Earle Godwine departed thus from the king, leaving him in a great furie: howbeit he passed litle thereof, supposing it would not long continue. But the king called a great assemblie of his lords together at Glocester, that the matter might be more deeply considered. Edward earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike earle of Chester, with Rafe earle of Hereford, the kings nephue by his sister Goda, and all other the noble men of the realme, onlie earle Godwine and his sonnes went not to come there, except they might bring with them a great power of armed men, and so remained at Weverstane, with such bands as they had leaved, under a colour to resist the Welshmen, whom they bured abroad to be readie to invade the marches about Hereford. But the Welshmen presenting that slander, signified to the king that no such matter was ment on their parties, but that earle Godwine and his sonnes with their complices went about to moue a commotion against him. Whereupon a rumor was raised in the court, that the kings power should shortly march forth

1047
A great frost
falling.

Swaine Godwine
sonne of earle
Godwine
fled into
Flanders.

Earle Beorne
sonne of earle
Godwine
was banished
the land
by his
father.

Hen. Hunt.

The Danes
spoile Sandwich.

Rife & Griffin
princes of
Wales.

1049
Simon Dun.

Hermanus,
Conractus,
la. Meir.

Simon Dun.

Fabian.
1051
Math. West.

Earle Godwine
meant
to defend
himselfe
against
the king.

Swaine
sonne of
earle Godwine
fled into
Flanders.

Simon Dun.

Earle Beorne
sonne of
earle Godwine
was banished
the land
by his
father.

The erle
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servant.

Earle Godwine
meant
to defend
himselfe
against
the king.

Simon Dun.

Wil. Mal
Swaine
sonne of
earle Godwine
fled into
Flanders.

Earle Godwine
meant
to defend
himselfe
against
the king.

Goodwine and his sonnes are proclaimed outlawes, their lands are giuen from

them, king Edward putteth awaie the queene his wife who was earle Goodwines daughter, she cleareth hir selfe at the houre of hir death from suspicion of incontinencie and lechewesse of life, why king Edward forbore to haue fleshlie pleasure with hir; earle Goodwine and his sonnes take preies on the coasts of Kent and Suffex; Griffin king of Wales destroith a great part of Herefordshire, and giueth his encounterers the ouerthrow; Harold and Leofwine two brethren inuade Dorset and Summerfetshires, they are resisted, but yet preuaile, they coast about the point of Cornwall and ioine with their father Goodwine, king Edward maketh our threecore armed ships against them, a thicke mist separateth both sides being readie to grapple and fight, a pacification betwene the king and earle Goodwine, he is restored to his lands and libertie, he was well friended, counterpledges of agreement interchangable deliuered; Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine a notable rebell and pirat, his troubled conscience, his wicked life and wretched death.

The third Chapter.

The king hauing perfect knowledge, that earle Goodwine had refused to come to the court in such order as he had prescribed him, and that he was departed the realme with his sonnes: he proclaimed them outlawes, and gaue the lands of Harold vnto Algar, the sonne of earle Leofrike, who guided the same verie woorthilie, and resigned them againe without grudging vnto the same Harold when he was returned out of exile. Also vnto earle Oddo were giuen the countie of Devonshire and Summerfetshire.

Moreover, about the same time the king put his wife queene Editha from him, and appointed hir to stiepe keeping in the abbeye of Marwell. This Editha was a noble gentlewoman, well learned, and expert in all sciences, yet hir good name was stained somewhat, as though she had not liued so continentlie as was to be wished, both in hir husbands life time, and after his deccasse. But yet at the houre of hir death (which chanced in the daies of William Conqueror) she cleared hir selfe, in taking it vpon the charge of hir soule, that she had euer liued in perfect chastitie: for king Edward (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in anye aduall manner. By this stiepe dealing with the queene that was daughter to earle Goodwine, now in time of hir fathers exile, it hath seemed to manie, that king Edward forbore to deale with hir in carnall wise, more for hatred of hir kin, than for anye other respect. But to proceed.

In the second yere of Goodwines banishment, both he and his sonnes hauing provided themselves of ships and men of warre conuenient for the purpose, came vpon the coasts of England, and after the manner of rousers, tooke preies where as they espied aduantage, namelie on the coasts of Kent and Suffex. In the meane time also Griffin the 13. of Wales destroied a great part of Herefordshire, against whom the power of that countie, & also manie Normans that lay in garrison within the castell of Hereford, comming to giue battell, were ouerthrowne on the same day, in the which about two and twentie yeres before, or (as some copies haue) thirtene yeres, the Welshmen had slaine Edwine, the brother of earle Leofrike. Shortly after, earle Harold and his brother Leofwine returning out of Ireland, entered into the Seuerne sea, landing on the coasts of Summerfetshire and Dorsetshire, where falling to spoile, they were incountred by a power assembled out of the

with to assaile earle Goodwine in that place where he was lodged. Whereupon the same earle prepared himselfe, and sent to his friends, willing to sticke to this quarrell, and if the king should go about to force them, then to withstand him, rather than to yeld and suffer themselves to be troden under foot by strangers. Goodwine in this meane time had got together a great power of his countie of Kent, Southerie, and other of the west parts. Swaine likewise had assembled much people out of his countie of Barkeshire, Dorsetshire, Summerfetshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire. And Harold was also come to them with a great multitude, which he had lentied in Essex, Norfolk, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, & Huntingdonshire.

On the other part, the earles that were with the king, Leofrike, Siward, and Kase, raised all the power which they might make, and the same approaching to Gloucester, the king thought himselfe in more suertie than before, in so much that whereas earle Goodwine (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Gloucestershire) had sent vnto the king, requiring that the earle of Bullongne, with the other Frenchmen and also the Normans which held the castell of Dover, might be deliuered vnto him. The king, though at the first he stood in great doubt what to doe, yet hearing now that an armie of his friends was comming, made answer to the messengers which Goodwine had sent, that he would not deliuer a man of those whome Goodwine required, and herewith the said messengers being departed, the kings armie entered into Gloucester, and such readie good will appeared in them all to fight with the aduersaries, that if the king would haue permitted, they would forthwith haue gone out and giuen battell to the enimies.

Thus the matter was at point to haue put the realme in hazard not onelie of a field, but of bitter ruine that might thereof haue ensued: for what on the one part and the other, there were assembled the chiefest lords and most able personages of the land. But by the wisdom and good aduise of earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a time, and order taken, that they should come to a parlement or communication at London, vpon pledges giuen and receiued as well on the one part as the other. The king with a mightie armie of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and earle Goodwine with his sonnes, and a great power of the Wellsharons, came into Southwarke, but perceiving that manie of his compaignie stalle awaie and slip from him, he durst not abide anye longer to enter talke with the king, as it was conuenanted, but in the night next ensuing fled awaie with all speed possible.

Some write, how an order was prescribed that Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine should depart the land as a banished man to qualifie the kings wrath, and that Goodwine and one other of his sons, that is to say, Harold should come to an other assembly to be holden at London, accompanied with 12 seruants onelie, & to resigne all his force of knights, gentlemen and souldiers vnto the kings guiding and government. But when this last article pleased nothing earle Goodwine, and that he perceived how his force began to decline, so as he should not be able to match the kings power, he fled the realme, and so likewise did his sonnes. He himselfe with his sonnes Swinno, Tostie, and Girth, sailed into Flanders: and Harold with his brother Leofwine gat ships at Bristow, and passed into Ireland. Witha the wife of Goodwine, and Judith the wife of Tostie, the daughter of Waluine earle of Flanders went ouer also with their husbands.

Goodwine and his sonnes proclaimed outlawes.

The king put awaie his wife Editha.

1052 Hen. Hunt.

Griffin king of Wales destroied Herefordshire.

Harold tooketh the shires of Dorset and Summerfet.

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Earle Good-
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Swaine.
Rand Higd.
Marth. West.
Simon Dun.
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Earle Good-
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the counties of Devonshire and Summerfetshire: but Harold put his aduerfaries to flight, and fwee thirtie gentlemen of honoz, or thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others. Then Harold and his brethren, returning with their preie and botie to their fhips, and coafting about the point of Cornwall, came and ioined with their father & their other brethren, then foioining in the Ile of Wight.

Simon Dun.

King Edward to withftand their malice, had rigged and furnifhed forth firtie fhips of warre, with the which he himfelfe went to the water, not fticking to lie abroad at that feafon, although he had appointed for capteines and admerals two earles that were his cofins, Edo and Kafe, who had charge of the whole armie. Kafe was his nephue, as fonne to his fifter Goda by hir firft husband Qualter de Maunt. But although they were knotone to be fufficient men for the ordering of fuch bufineffe, yet he thought the neceffitie to be fuch, as his perfon could not be prefentlie fpared. Therefore he was diligent in forefeeing of things by good aduife, although age would not giue him leaue to execute the fame by his owne hand and force of bodie. But as the nauies on both parts were readie to haue ioined, they were feuered by reafon of a thicke mift that then rofe, wherby their furious rage was reftrained for that time: and immediatlie thereupon, Godwine and his complices were forced by a contrarie wind, to returne to the places from whence they came. Shortly after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and earle Godwine reflozed home, and obtained againe both the kings fauour, and all his former liuings: for he was fuch an eloquent & wife man, that he clered and purged himfelfe of all fuch crimes and accufations, as in anie fozt had bene laid againft him. Thus haue fome witten concerning this agrement betwixt king Edward and erle Godwine, where other make fometwhat larger report thereof, as thus.

At the fame time that the two fonnes of erle Godwine Harold and Leofwine came forth of Ireland, and inuaded the weft countrie, king Edward rigged forth fortie fhips, the which throughlie furnifhed with men, munition, and vittels, he fent vnto Sandwich, commanding the capteines there to wait for the comming of erle Godwine, whom he vnderftood to be in a readineffe to returne into England: but not withftanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, erle Godwine fecretlie with a few fhips which he had got together, arlied in Kent, and fending forth his letters and meffengers abroad to the citizens of Canturburie, to them of Suffex, Southerie, & others, requited aid of them, who with one confent promifed to liue and die with him.

The capteines of the nauie at Sandwich aduertifed herEOF, made towards the place where they thought to haue found earle Godwine: but he being warned of their comming, efaped by flight, and got him out of their danger, whereupon they withdrew to Sandwich, and after returned to London. Earle Godwine aduertifed thereof, failed to the Ile of Wight, and waited vpon and drowne thofe feaf, till his fonnes Harold and Leofwine came and ioined their nauie with his, and ceaffing from fpoile, onlie fought to recouer vittels to ferue their turne. And increffing their poluer by fuch aid as they might any where procure, at length they came to Sandwich, wherof king Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, he fent abroad to raife all the poluer he might make. But they that were appointed to come vnto him, limgred time, in which meane while earle Godwine comming into the Thames, & fo by the riuier, arrived in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the croffe in September, being monday, and their ftateng for the tide, follicited the Londoners, fo that he

It feemeth
that earle
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was well
friended.

obtained of them what he could defire.

Afterwards, without difturbance, he paffed by the riuier with the tide through the fouth arch of the bidge, & at the fame instant, a mightie armie which he had by land, muftered in the fields on that fouth fide the fame riuier, and herewith his nauie made towards the north fide of the riuier, as if they ment to inclofe the kings nauie, for the king had alfo a nauie & an armie by land: but yet fith there were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to do anie great feat except Englifhmen, they were both to fight one againft another, whereupon the toifer fozt on both fides fought meanes to make an atonement: and fo at length by their diligent trauell, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being difmiffed on both parts, earle Godwine was reflozed to his former dignitie. Hereupon were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to fay, Willmotus one of his fonnes, and Hacun the fonne of Swanus the eldest fonne of Godwine. Thefe two pledges were fent vnto William duke of Normandie, to be kept with him for more affurance of Godwines loialtie.

Some write that Swanus the eldest fonne of Godwine was not reconciled to the kings fauour at this time; but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a truth, that after he had attempted furdzie rebellions againft king Edward, he laffie alfo rebelled againft his father Godwine, and his brother Harold, and became a pirate, difhonouring with fuch manifold robberies as he made on the feaf, the noble progenie whereof he was descended. Finallie vpon remoz of confcience (as hath bene thought) for murdering of his cofine (or as fome fay his brother) erle Bearne, he went on pilgrimage to Hierufalem, and died by the way of cold which he caught in returning homeward (as fome write) in Licia: but others affirine, that he fell into the hands of Saracens that were robbers by the high waies, and fo was murdered of them.

At what time William duke of Normandie came ouer into England, king Edward promifeth to make him his heire to the kingdom and crowne, the death of queene Emma, earle Godwine being growne in fauour againe feeketh new reuenges of old grudges, caufing archbifhop Robert and certeine noble Normans his aduerfaries to be banifhed; Sigand intrudeth himfelfe into archbifhop Roberts fee, his fimonie and lacke of learning; what maner of men were thought meet to be made bifhops in thofe daies, king Edward beginneth to provide for the good and prosperous ftate of his kingdom, his confideration of lawes made in his predeceffours times and abufed; the lawes of S. Edward vifualie called the common lawes, how, whereof, and wherevpon inftituted; the death of earle Godwine being fudden (as fome fay) or natural (as others report) his vertues and vices, his behaviour and his fonnes vpon prefumption and will in the time of their authorities; his two wiues and children; the fudden and dreadfull death of his mother; hir felling of the beautifull youth male and female of this land to the Daniif people.

The fourth Chapter.



The forefaide William duke of Normandie (that after conquered this land) during the time of Godwines outlawrie, came forer into this land with a fmall retinue of men, and lookeing for great thare. Now after he had fared a feafon, he turned into his countrie, not without great gifts of tewels and other things, which the king moll liberallie

william duke
of Norman-
die commeth
ouer into
England.

Polydor.
R. Edwards
promife to
duke William.

The archbis-
hop of Can-
turburie
banifhed.

Normans
banifhed the
reft.

Godand
archbifhop of
Canturburie.

Ranul. Hig.
Fabian.
Sigand in-
famed of fi-
monie.

what maner
of men meet
to be bifhops
in thofe daies.

Polydor.

re
fr
g
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te
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e
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Polydor.
In Edwards
promise to
duke William

callie bestowed vpon him. And (as some write) the king promised him at that time, to make him his heire to the realme of England, if he chanced to die without issue. Shortly after, or rather somewhat before, queene Emma the kings mother died, and was buried at Winchester.

The arch-
bishp of Can-
turburie
banished.

After that earle Godwine was restored to the kings fauour, because he knew that Robert the arch-
bishp of Canturburie had bene the chiefe procurer of the kings euill will towards him, he found means to weare him out of credit, and diuers other specially of the Normans, bearing the world in hand, that they had sought to trouble the state of the realme, & to set variance betwixt the king and the lords of the English nation: whereas the Normans againe alleged, that earle Godwine and his sonnes abused the kings soft and gentle nature, & would not sticke to teast and mocke at his curteous and mild proceedings. But howsoeuer the matter went, archbishp Robert was glad to depart out of the realme, and going to Rome, made complaint in the court there, of the injuries that were offered him: but in returning through Normandie, he died in the abbey of Gemmeticum, where he had bene monke before his coming into England.

in Higd.
arch. Welf.
mon Dun.
L Malm.

Normans
banished the
realme.

Diuers other were compelled to forsake the realme at the same time, both spirituall men and temporall, as William bishop of London, and Wille bishop of Lincolne. Osberne named Pentecost, and his companion Hugh, were constrained to surrender their castles, and by licence of earle Aethelric withdrew thorough his countrie into Scotland, where, of king Macbeth they were honorable received. These were Normans: for (as partly ye haue heard) king Edward brought with him no small number of that nation, when he came from thence to receiue the crowne, and by them he was altogether ruled, to the great offending of his owne naturall subjects the Englishmen, namely earle Godwine and his sonnes, who in those daies for their great possessions and large reuenues, were had in no small reputation with the English people.

Higd.
L Malm.

Stigand
archbishp of
Canturburie.

After that Robert the archbishp of Canturburie was departed the realme, as before ye haue heard, Stigand was made archbishp of Canturburie, or rather thrust himselfe into that dignitie, not being lawfullie called, in like manner as he had done at Winchester: for whereas he was first bishop of Exeter, he left that church, and toke vpon him the bishopricke of Winchester by force, and now attaining to be archbishp of Canturburie, he kept both Winchester and Canturburie in his hand at one instant. This Stigand was greatly inflamed for his couetous practises in sale of possessions appertaining to the church. He was nothing learned: but that want was a common fault amongst the bishops of that age, for it was openlie spoken in those daies, that he was meet onelie to be a bishop, which could vse the pompe of the world, voluptuous pleasures, rich raiment, and set himselfe forth with a iollie retinue of gentlemen and seruants on horsebacke, for therein stood the countenance of a bishop, as the world then went; and not in studie how to haue the people fed with the word of life, to the sauing of their soules.

Ranul. Hig.
Fabian.
Stigand in-
famed of his
couise.

what manner
of men meet
to be bishops
in those daies.

Polydor.

King Edward now in the twelfth yeare of his reigne, hauing brought the state of the realme quite from troubles of warre both by sea and land, began to foresee as well for the welth of his subjects, as for himselfe, being naturallie inclined to wish well to all men. He therefore considered, how by the manifold lawes which had bene made by Brittaines, Englishmen and Danes within this land, occasion was ministred to manie, which measured all things

by respect of their owne private gaine and profit, to peruert iustice, and to vse wrongfull dealing in stead of right, clouding the same under some branch of the lawe nauyghilie misconstrued. Wherevpon to auoid that mischief, he picked out a summe of that huge and vnumerable masse and heape of lawes, such as were thought most indifferent and necessarie, & therewith ordeined a few, & those most wholesome, to be from thenceforth vied, according to whose prescript, men might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. These lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and also saint Edward his lawes; so much esteemed of the Englishmen, that after the conquest, when the Normans oftentimes went about to abrogate the same, there chanced no small mutinies and rebellions for retaining of those lawes. But here is to be noted, that although they were called saint Edwards lawes, they were for the more part made by king Edgar; but now by king Edward restored, after they had but abrogated for a time by the Danes.

The lawes of
S. Edward,
instituted.

1053
or 1054

Hector Boet.
Polydor.
Will. Malm.
Marth. Welf.

Ran. Higd.
ex Mariano.

Simon Dun.
This is the
likeliest tale.

About this time, earle Godwine died suddenly (as some haue receiued) as he sat at table with the king: and vpon talkie ministred of the death of Alfred the kings brother, to excuse himselfe, he toke a peece of bread, and did eate it, saying; God let me neuer swallow this bread downe into my chest, but that I may presentlie be choked therewith, if euer I was consenting or consenting vnto Alfreds death! and immediately therewith he fell downe stark dead. Other say, that he ended his life at Winchester, where being suddenly surprised with sicknesse, as he sat at the table with the king vpon an Easter monday; yet he liued till the Thursday following, and then died. His earledome was giuen vnto his sonne Harold; and Harolds earledome, which was Oxford, was giuen vnto Algar the sonne of Aethelric.

40

This Godwine, as he was a man of great power, wise, hardie, and politike; so was he ambitious, desirous to beate rule, and loth that anie other person should passe him in authoritie. But yet, whether all be true that writers report of his malicious practises to bring himselfe and his sonnes to the chiefe seat of gouernement in the kingdome, or that of hatred such slanders were raised of him, it may of some perhaps be doubted; because that in the daies of king Edward (which was a soft and gentle prince) he bare great rule and authoritie, and so might procure to himselfe euill report for euerie thing that chanced amiss: as oftentimes it cometh to passe in such cases, where those that haue great dowings in the gouernement of the common wealth, are commonly euill spoken of, and that now and then without their guilt. But truth it is, that Godwine being in authoritie both in the daies of king Edward and his predecessors, did manie things (as should appeare by writers) more by will than by law, and so likewise did his sonnes: vpon presumption of the great puissance that they and their father were of within the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

60

He had to wife Editha, the sister of king Cnut, of whome he begat three sonnes (as some write) that is to say, Harold, Biorn, & Eosie: also his daughter Editha, whome he found means to bestow in marriage vpon R. Edward, as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one son by Cnutes sister, the which in riding of a rough horse was throwen into the riuer of Thames, and so drowned. His mother also was stricken with a thunderbolt, & so perished worthilie (as is reported) for hir nauyghilie dowings. She vied to buy great numbers of yong persons, and namelie maides that were of anie excellent beautie and personage, whome she sent ouer into Denmarke, and there sold them to hir most advantage.

Polydor.

Will. Malm.

1 Duke
man-
merit
o
id.

vantage. After his deceasse (as the same authors record) Godwine married another woman, by whom he had issue six sonnes, Swanus or Swaine, Harold, Tostie or Tosto, Alnot, Girth, and Leofrike; of whom further mention is & shall be made, as places convenient shall serue thereto.

Edward earle of Northumberland discomfitteth Mackbeth the vsurper of the Scottish kingdome and placeth Malcolm in the same, a controuersie whether Siward were at this discomfiture or no; his stout words when he heard that one of his sonnes was slaine in the field, bishop Aldred is sent to fetch home Edward the sonne of K. Edmund Ironside into England; earle Algar being banished ioineeth with the Welshmen against the English and Normans, and getteth the victorie; Harold the son of earle Godwine putteth earle Algar & his retinue to their shifts by pursute, pacification betweene the generals of both armies, their hosts, Siward earle of Northumberland dieth; his giantlike stature, his couragious heart at the time of his deceasse, why Tostie one of Godwins sonnes succeeded him in the earldome.

The fift Chapter.

Marth. West.
1054
Hector Boec.



Simon Dun.
M. West.

About the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as some wryte) or rather about the nineteenth or twentieth yeare, as should appeare by the Scottish wryters, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horsemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had vsurped the crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolm surnamed Camoie, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Mackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. Some of our English wryters say, that this Malcolm was king of Cumberland, but other report him to be sonne to the king of Cumberland. But here is to be noted, that if Mackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then slaine by Malcolm, earle Siward was not at that battell; for as our wryters do testifie, he died in the yeare 1055, which was in the yeare next after (as the same wryters affirme) that he banquished Mackbeth in fight, and slue manie thousands of Scots, and all those Normans which (as ye haue heard) were withdrawen into Scotland, when they were driuen out of England.

It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward banquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorrowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie in the forefront of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioiced thereat, to heare that he died so manfully. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt. saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquire the land, whose hap was there to be slaine: and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forefront of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the forefront; I reioise (saith he) euen with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death.

Shortlie after, Aldred the bishop of Worcester

was sent vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to see, meaning to ordeine him helpe apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare after he came into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Winchester, or as an other saith, in the church of S. Pauls in London.

About the same time is, Edward by euill counsell (I wot not vpon what occasion, but as it is thought without cause) banished Algar the sonne of earle Leofrike: whereupon he got him into Ireland, and there providing 18 ships of rowers, returned, & landing in Wales, ioined himselfe with Griffin the king or prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders about Hereford, of which place Kase was then earle, that was sonne vnto Geda the sister of K. Edward by his first husband Gualter de Maunt. This earle assembling an armie, came forth to giue battell to the enimies, appointing the Englishmen contrarie to their manner to fight on horsebacke, but being readie (on the two & twentieth of October) to giue the onset in a place not past two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and so the rest were discomfited, whome the aduersaries pursued, and slue to the number of 500, beside such as were hurt and escaped with life. Griffin and Algar hauing obtained this victorie, entered into the towne of Hereford, set the minster on fire, slue seven of the canons that stood to defend the doores or gates of the principall church, and finally spoiled and burned the towne miserable.

The king aduertised hereof, gathered an armie, ouer the which Harold the sonne of earle Godwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, & staid not, till hauing passed through Strateloud, he came to the mountaines of Snoddon, where he pitched his field. The enimies durst not abide him, but got them into Southwales, whereof Harold being aduertised, left the more part of his armie in Northwales to resist the enimies there, & with the residue of his people came backe vnto Hereford, recovered the towne, and caused a great and mightie trench to be cast round about it, with an high rampire, and fenced it with gates and other fortifications. After this, he did so much, that coming to a communication with Griffin and Algar at a place called Bilsghelghe, a peace was concluded, and so the name of earle Algar failed about, and came to Chester, there to remaine, till the men of warre and mariners had their wages, while he went to the king, who pardoned his offense, & restored him to his earledome.

After this, in the verie same yeare, being the 15 of king Edwards reigne, as some wryters affirme, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland died of the flux, of whom it is said, that when he perceiued the houre of death to be nere, he caused him selfe to be put in armour, & set vp in his chaire, affirming that a knight and a man of honour ought to die in that sort, rather than lieng on a couch like a feeble and fainthearted creature: and sitting so vpriight in his chaire armed at all points, he ended his life, and was buried at Poike. A stout harted man, not unlike to that famous Romaine remembred by Tullie in his Tusculane questions, who suffered the sawing of his leg from his bodie without shrinking, looking vpon the surgeon all the while, & hauing no part of his bodie bound for shrinking! The said Siward earle of Northumberland was a man of a giantlike stature, & thereto of a verie stout and hardie courage, & because his sonne Matkelf was but an infant, and as yet not out of his gradell, the earledome was giuen vnto earle Tostie one of Godwins sonnes.

Marth. West.
1055

Henr. Hunt.
1055

Marth. West.
Simon Dun.

The wryters obtaine the victorie against Englishmen and Normans.

Strateloud.
Snoddon.

The citie of Hereford fortified by Harold.

The deceasse of Siward earle of Northumberland.
Ran. Higd.

under the

Edward the outlaw departed this life.

1057
Leofrike earl of Chester departed this life.
Ran. Higd.
Mat. West.

Conestrie made free of toll and customs.

Churches in Chester built

Henr. Hunt.
Algar earl of Chester expired.
1058

Simon Dun.

1063
Simon Dun.
Mat. West.

Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside is sent for to be made heire apparant to crowne, his death; the decessaile of Leofrike earle of Chester, the vertues and good deeds of him and his wife Gudwina, Couentrie free from custome and toll, churches and religious places builded and repaired, Algar succedeth his father Leofrike in the earledome, he is accused of treason and banished, he recouereth his earledome by force of armes; Harold is sent with a power against Griffen king of Wales; the countrie wasted, and the people forced to yeeld, they renounce Griffen their king, kill him, and send his head to Harold, Griffins brethren rule Wales after him by grant of king Edward, Harold's infortunate going ouer into Normandie, the earle of Ponthieu taketh him prisoner, and releaseth him at the request of William duke of Normandie, for whose vse Harold sweareth to keepe possession of the realme of England, the duke promisseth him his daughter in mariage.

The sixt Chapter.

Not long after, in the yeare 1057, Aldred bishop of Worcester, was sent ouer unto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to see, meaning to ordeine him

heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare, after that he was returned into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Westminster, or (as others say) in the church of S. Paule within London. The same yeare, that is to say, in the seuenteenth yeare or in the sixteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne (as some write) Leofrike the noble earle of Chester, or Mercia, that was sonne to duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne towne of Bromelie on the last day of August, and was buried at Couentrie in the abbey there which he had builded. This earle Leofrike was a man of great honor, wise and discret in all his doings. His high wisdom and policie stood the realme in great stead whilste he liued.

He had a noble ladie to his wife named Gudwina, at whose earnest sute he made the citie of Couentrie free of all manner of toll, except horses: and to haue that toll laid downe also, his foresaid wife rode naked through the middelt of the towne without other couerture, saue onlie hir haire. Moreover, partie moued by his owne deuotion, and partie by the perswasion of his wife, he builded or beneficiallie augmented and repaired manie abbeies & churches, as the said abbey or priorie at Couentrie, the abbeies of Wenlocke, Worcester, Stone, Evesham, and Leof besides Hereford. Also he builded two churches within the citie of Chester, the one called S. Johns, and the other S. Werburgh. The value of the tewels & ornaments which he bestowed on the abbey church of Couentrie, was inestimable.

After Leofrikes death, his sonne Algar was made earle, and intituled in all his lands and seignories. In the yeare following, to wit, 1058 the same Algar was accused againe (through malice of some enuious persons) of treason, so that he was exiled the land, whereupon he repaired againe vnto his old friend Griffen prince of Northwales, of whome he was iustillie receiued, & shortly after by his aid, & also by the power of a number of ships that by chance arrived in those parts at that selfe same season vnto looked for out of Northwale, the said Algar recouered his earledome by force, as some haue writtten. King Edward about the twentieth yeare of his reigne, as

then remaining at Gloucester, appointed earle Harold to inuade the dominions of Griffen king of Wales. Harold taking with him a power of hostemen, made speed, and came to Rutland, and there burned Griffins palace, and also his ships, and then about Midlent returned againe into England.

After this, about the Rogation weeke, Harold establisht by the kings commandement went against the Welshmen, and taking the sea, sailed by Bristol, round about the coast, compassing in maner all Wales. His brother Tostie that was earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an host of hostemen, and so ioining together, they destroyed the countrie of Wales in such sort, that the Welshmen were compelled to submit themselves, to deliuer hostages, and conditioned to paie the ancient tribute which before time they had paid. And moreover, they renounced their prince the foresaid Griffen, so that he remained as a banished person: and finally, about the fifth day of August, they slue him, and sent his head to earle Harold. Afterwards king Edward granted the rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, & finally, Griffins two brethren, which did homage vnto him for the same, and had serued vnder Harold against their brother the foresaid Griffen. There be which write, that not onelie Griffen, but also another of his brethren called Rice, was brought to his death by the manifold meanes and politike order of earle Harold, & all the sauage people of Wales reduced into the forme of good order vnder the subiection of king Edward.

Shortly after, earle Harold chanced to passe ouer into Normandie, whether of hap or of purpose it is hard to define, writers do varie so much in report thereof. Some write that he made earnest sute to king Edward, to haue licence to go ouer to see his brother Willnot, and his neyghue Hacune, which (as ye haue heard) were deliuered as pledges to king Edward, & sent into Normandie to remaine there with duke William, and at length with much adoe, got leaue: but yet he was told aforehand of the king, that he would repent his iourne, and do the thing that should be prejudiciall to the realme. Other write that Harold lieng at his manor of Bosham, went aboard one day into his fithers boat or craier, and caused the same to lanch forth to the sea for his pleasure: but by misfortune at the same time, a contrarie wind suddenlie came about, and droue the vessel on land into France vpon the coast of Ponthieu, where he was taken by the countrie people, & presented to the earle of Ponthieu named Guie or Guido, who kept him as prisoner, meaning to put him to a grieuous ranfome. But Harold remembering himselfe of a while, dispatched a messenger forth withall speed vnto William duke of Normandie, signifieng vnto him, that he being sent from king Edward to confirme such articles, as other meane men that had bene sent vnto him afore had talked of, by chance he was fallen into the hands of the earle of Ponthieu, and kept as prisoner against all order of law, reason, or humanitie. Duke William thus informed by the messenger, sent to the earle of Ponthieu, requiring him to set earle Harold at libertie, that he might repaire to him according to his commission. The earle of Ponthieu at the dukes request, did not onelie restore Harold to his libertie, but also brought him into Normandie, and presented him there to the duke, of whome he was most iustillie receiued.

There be that agree partie with this report, and partie vnto the other: for they write, that earle Harold toke the sea vpon purpose to haue sailed into Flanders, and that by force of wind he was driuen to the coast of Ponthieu, and so after came into Normandie in manner

Wales destroyed and harried by the Englishmen. The Welshmen agree to pay their accustomed tribute.

1064
Wil. Malm.
Simon. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Harold goeth ouer into Normandie.
Polydor.

Edmerus.

Mat. West.
Wil. Malm.

Harold is presented to William duke of Normandie.
Hen. Hunt.

taine
lath. West.
1057

Hen. Hunt.
1055

arth. West.
mon. Dun.

he Welshmen obtaine victory against Englishmen and Germans.

ratclaid.
London.

Edward the outlaw departed this life.

1057
Leofrike earle of Chester departed this life.
Ran. Higd.
Mat. West.

Couentrie made free of toll and custome.

Churches in Chester built.

Hen. Hunt.
Algar earle of Chester exiled.

1058

Simon Dun.

1063
Simon Dun.
Mat. West.

decessaile of Harold Northumberland.
Higd.

Harold was
highly fel-
lowed of duke
William.

March. West.
Duke William
promised
to Harold his
daughter in
marriage.

maner as before is mentioned. But by that means
on occasion fouer he came thither, certaine it is, that
he was foolishly deceived, and had great chere made
him by the said duke William, who at that time
was ready to make a tourney against the Britains,
and took earle Harold with him to haue his compa-
nie in armes in that tourney, that he might haue the
better trial of his valiance. Earle Harold behaued
himselfe so, that he shewed good proofe both of his
wisdom and policie, and also of his forwardnesse to
execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuised,
so that duke William had him in high fauour, and
(as it hath bene said) earle Harold (to procure him
more friendship at the dukes hands) declared vnto
him, that king Edward had ordeined him his heire
if he died without issue, and that he would not faile
to keepe the realme of England to the dukes vse, ac-
cording to that ordinance, if k. Edward died with-
out issue. And to performe this promise, he receiued
a copozall oth, whether willinglie to win the more
credit, or forced thereto by duke William, writers
report it diuerslie. At the same time, duke William
promised vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom
Harold couenanted in like maner to take to wife.

Harold at his returne into England re-
porteth to K. Edward what he had doone
beyond the seas, and what the king said vnto
him in that behalfe, who foresaw the coming of

the Normans into this land to conquer it; when and
why king Edward promised to make duke William his heire,
(wherein note his subtiltie) diffention berixt Harold and To-
stie two brethren the sonnes of earle Godwine, their vnnatu-
rall and cruell dealing one with another, speciallie of the ab-
ominable and merces murders committed by Tostie, a-
gainst whome the Northumbers rebell vpon diuerse occasi-
ons, and reward him with answerable reuengement; Harold is
sent against them, but preuaileth not; they offer to returne
home if they might haue a new gouernor; they renounce To-
stie and require Marchar in his roome, Tostie displeased ge-
teth him into Flanders; king Edward dieth, his manners and
disposition note-worthy, his charitie and deuotion, the ver-
tue of curing the maladie called the kings cuill deniued from
him to the succeeding kings of this land, he was warned of his
death by a ring, he is canonized for a saint, the last words that
he spake on his death-bed, wherein he vntered to the standers
by a vision, prophesying that England should be inhabited
with strangers, a description of the kings person, of a blasing
starre fore-telling his death, the progenie of the West-
saxon kings, how long they continued, the names
of their predecessors and successors; whence
the first kings of seven kingdomes of
Germanie had their pede-
gree, &c.

The seventh Chapter.

Now when Harold should
returne into England, duke
William deliuered him his
nephew Bacune, but kept his
brother Wilnote with him
still as a pledge. Then went
earle Harold into England,

and declared vnto king Ed-
ward what he had done, who
said vnto him; Did not I tell thee that thou wouldest
do the thing whereof thou shouldest repent thee, and
procure a mischief to follow vnto thy countrie? But
God of his mercie turne that euill hap from this
realme, or at the least, if it be his pleasure, that it must
needs come to passe, yet to state it till after my daies!
Some by Harolds purposed going ouer into For-
mandie, do gather, that king Edward foresaw the
coming of the Normans; and that he meant no-
thing lesse, than to performe the promise made vnto
duke William, as to adopt him his heire, which pro-
mise should seeme to be made in time of his banish-

when the pro-
mise was
made by king
Edward to

ment, when he stood in need of his friendship; as the
maner of men in such cases is, to promise much, hold
so euer they intend to fulfill. But rather it maie be
thought, that king Edward had made no such pro-
mise at all, but perceiued the ambitious desire of
duke William, and therefore would not that anie oc-
casion should be ministred vnto him to take hold of.
Wherefore, he was loth that Harold should go o-
uer vnto him, least that might happen, which hap-
ned in deed.

In the foure and thientie and last yere of king
Edward his reigne, or therabout, there fell variance
betwixt the two brethren, earle Harold and earle
Tostie at Winleso, where the court then lay, in so
much that earle Harold caught Tostie by the haire
of the head in the kings presence, and stroke him.
Whereupon, Tostie departing from the court in great
anger, came to Hereford in the marches of Wales,
where Harolds seruants were preparing for the
kings coming to their masters house, which ser-
uants he took and slue, chopping them in peeces, and
threw into this hogthead of wine a leg, into that bar-
rell of sider an arme, into this becell of ale an head:
and so into the lomes of meth and tubs of bzine and
other liquor he bestowed the parts of the dead carcasses
of his brothers seruants, sending the king word
that he had prouided at his brothers manor, against
his coming, good plentie of sotole & polwzed meat,
whatsoeuer he should find beside.

The rumor of this cruell deed spang ouer all the
realme, whereupon the Northumbers, whome he had
gouerned for the space of ten yeres verie cruellie,
tooke occasion to rebell against him, and slue his ser-
uants both Englishmen and Danes, spoiled his houses,
and toke awaie his hostles, his armour, and all
other his goods and household stuffe. The chiefest cause
(as is remembred by some writers) that moued the
Northumbers thus to rise and rebell against Tostie,
was for the detestable murder of certeine gentle-
men of their countrie, seruants vnto Colspatrike,
whom the queene in behalfe of hir brother had caused
to be slaine in the court by treason, in the fourth night
of Christmas last past, and also in reuenge of other
noble men, which in the last yere Tostie himselfe had
commanded to be murdered in his owne chamber
at Forke, whither he had allured them to come vnder
colour of concluding a peace with them. Also the
gracious paliments, wherewith he charged the people
of that countrie, set them in a great rage against
him.

But the king aduertised hereof, liked not their
doings, for that they had done it without comman-
dement or commission, and therefore sent earle Ha-
rold with an armie to chastise them, but they were
strong enough to withstand him, as those which were
assembled in armour together with the people of
Lincolneshire, Nottinghamshire, and Darbishire,
and hauing with them Marcharus or Malcharus, the
sonne of earle Algar, were come as farre as North-
ampton, doing much hurt in the parts therabouts.
Holobett to haue the kings peace, they offered to re-
turne home, so that they might haue an other earle
appointed them, for that they plainlie protested, that
they being freemen, bozne and byed out of bondage,
might not suffer anie cruell gouernor to rule ouer
them, being taught by their ancestors, either to liue
in libertie, or to die in defense thereof. If therefore it
might please the king to assigne Marcharus the son
of earle Algar to be their ruler, he should see how obe-
dient subiects they would prove & shew themselves
to be, when they should be bled after a reasonable
and courteous manner. All things considered, their
request seemed reasonable, or at least it was thought
necessarie that it should be granted. And so was
Marcharus

make out
William be-
heire.

Hen. Hunt.
March. West.
Fabian.
Felling out
betwixt the
thye.

The cruell
dealing of
earle Tostie.

The North-
umbers re-
bell against
Tostie their
earle.

Will. Malin.

vn-
rebar
made earle
Northum-
land.

K. Edward
departed
1170.
Simon Du

K. Edward
his maner
and disposi-
on of mini-
scribed.

A diuell
ching gan-
bols.

A tale of
ring.

King Ed-
ward came
for a la

Will. Malin
March. West

By richard
in the earle of
Northumbria
land.

It Edward
departed this
life.
Simon Dun.

It Edward
his manners
and dispositi-
on of mind de-
scribed.

A diuell fet-
ching gam-
bols.

A tale of a
king.

King Ed-
ward canoniz-
ed for a saint.

W. M. M.
M. Westm.

Harthgarus or Harthgarus made earle of Northum-
berland. Cottie in great displeasure with his wife
and children sailed ouer into flanders, and there re-
mained till after the decease of king Edward.

Finallie, after that this courteous prince king
Edward had reigned thye and twentie yeres, seven
moneths, and od daies, he departed this life at Lon-
don the fourth of Januarie, and was buried in the
church of Westminster, which he had in his life time
rotallie repaired, after such a statelie sort as few chur-
ches in those daies were like thereto within this
realme, so that afterwards the same was a paterne
for other to be built after the same forme. This Ed-
ward was a prince of such a vertuous disposition of
mind, that his fame of holinesse sprang ouer all. He
abhorred warres and shedding of blood, in so much
that when he liued as a banished man in Norman-
die, he had this saying oftentimes in his mouth, that
he had rather liue a priuate life for ever, than to ob-
teine the kingdome by the slaughter and death of a
nie man. He could not abide to haue the people op-
pressed with tributes or exactions, in so much that he
caused the payment called Danegilt (which had con-
tinued for the space almost of fortie yeres) to cease.
It hath bene said, that when the collectors of this
monie, or some other subbidie, had got an huge quan-
tity of treasure together, they brought it vnto him,
and laid it altogether vpon an heape, so to delight his
eyes: but he declaring that he saw a diuell plaieng
and fetching gambols about that heape of monie,
commanded that it should be had awaie, and restored
again to them of whom it was leauied.

In diet and apparell he was spare and nothing
sumptuous: and although on high feasts he ware
rich apparell, as became the maiestie of his rotall
personage: yet he shewed no pond nor lostie coun-
tenance, rather praising God for his bountifull god-
nesse towards him extended, than esteeming herein
the vaine pompe of the world. The pleasure that he
tooke chiefe in this world for refreshing of his wits,
consisted onlie in halloking and hunting, which exer-
cises he daily vsed, after he had first bene in the
church at diuine seruice. In other things he seemed
wholie giuen to a deuout trade of life, charitable to
the poore, and verie liberall, namelie to hospitals and
houses of religion in the parties of beyond the sea,
wishing ever that the monks and religious persons
of his realme would haue folloined the vertue and
holinesse of life vsed amongst them of foren parties.
As hath bene thought he was inspired with the gift
of prophesie, and also to haue had the gift of healing
infirmities and diseases. He vsed to helpe those that
were bered with the disease, commonlie called the
kings euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion
of inheritance vnto his successors the kings of this
realme.

He was warned (as hath bene reported) of his
death certeine daies before he died, by a ring that
was brought him by certeine pilgrims comming
from Hierusalem, which ring he had secretlie giuen
to a poore man that asked his charitie in the name of
God and saint John the Euangelist. But to con-
clude, such was the opinion conceiued of his holi-
nesse of life, that shortly after his decease, he was
canonized amongst the number of saints, and nam-
med Edward the Confessor. Whilest he lay sicke of
that sicknesse, wherof at length he died, after he had
remained for two daies speechlesse, the third day af-
ter when he had laine for a time in a slumber or soft
sleepe, at the time of his waking, he fetched a deepe
sigh, and thus said; Oh Lord God almightie, if this
be not a vaine fantastical illusion, but a true vision
which I haue bene, grant me space to vtter the same
vnto these that sit and here present, or else not. And

herewith hauing his speech perfect, he declared how
he had bene two monks stand by him as he thought,
whome in his youth he knew in Normandie to
haue liued goodlie, and died christianlie. These monks
(said he) protesting to me that they were the messen-
gers of God, spake these words; Bicause the chiefe
gouernors of England, the bishops and abbats, are
not the ministers of God, but the diuels, the almightie
God hath deliuered this kingdome for one yere
and a day into the hands of the enmie, and wicked
spirits shall walke abroad through the whole land.
And when I made answer that I would declare
these things to the people, and promised on their be-
halfe, that they should doe penance in following the
example of the penitentes: they said againe, that it
would not be, for neither should the people repent,
nor God take anie pitie vpon them. And when it
there hope to haue an end of these miseries said he
Then said they; When a grene tree is cut in sunder
in the middle, and the part cut off is caried thre acres
breadth from the stocke, and returning againe to the
stoale, shall ioine therewith, and begin to bud a beate
fruit after the former maner, by reason of the sap re-
newing the accustomed nourishment; then (I say)
may there be hope that such evils shall cease and di-
minish. With which words of the king, though
some other that stood by were brought in feare, yet
archbishop Stigand made but a least thereof, saying,
that the old man rauid now in his sicknesse, as
men of great yeres be to doe. Heuentelesse the
truth of this prophesie afterwards to plainlie appea-
red, when England became the habitation of new
strangers, in such wise, that there was neither go-
uernor, bishop, nor abbat remaining therein of the
English nation. But now to make an end with
king Edward, he was of person comelie, of an in-
different stature, of white haire, both head and beard,
of face ruddie, and in all parts of his bodie faire skin-
ned, with due state and proportion of lims as was
thereto conuenient. In the yere before the death of
king Edward, a blasing starre appeared, the which
when a monke of Malinesburie named Elmer be-
held, he vttered these words (as it were by way of
prophesying) Thou art come (saith he) thou art come,
much to be lamented of manie a mother: it is long
agone sith I saw thee, but now I doe behold thee the
more terrible, threatening destruction to this coun-
trie by thy deadfull appearance. In the person of
king Edward ceased by his death the noble progenie
of the Westsaxon kings, which had continued from
the first yere of the reigne of Cerolke or Cerdicus,
the space of 547 yeres complet. And from Eg-
bert 266 yeres.

Howeuer, sith the progenie of the Saxon kings
seemeth wholie to take end with this Edward sur-
named the Confessor, or the third of that name be-
fore the conquest, we haue thought god for the bet-
ter helpe of memorie to referre the reader to a cata-
log of the names as well of those that reigned a-
mong the Westsaxons (who at length, as ye haue
heard, obtained the whole monarchie) as also of them
which ruled in the other seven kingdomes before the
same were vnted vnto the said kingdome of the
Westsaxons, which catalog you shall find in the de-
scription of Britaine, pag. 17, 18, 19.

Here is to be remembred, that as partlie before
is exprest, we find in some old writers, how the
first kings of seven kingdomes of the Germane na-
tion that bare rule in this Ile, fetched their pedegrees
from one Moden, who begat of Frea his wife seven
sonnes, that is to say, 1 Metta, of whome came the
kings of Kent, 2 Fethelgeta, or Fretthegeath, from
whome the kings of Mercia descended, 3 Baldad, of
whose race the kings of the Westsaxons had their
Ry. originall,

Matt. West.

Simon Dun.
Io. Textor.

originall, 4 Welbagius, ancestoꝝ to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers, 5 Megodach oꝝ Megadagus, from whome came the kings of Deira, 6 Caser, from whome proceeded the kings of the East Angles, 7 Pascað alias Sarruad, of whome the kings of the East Saxons had their beginning. And here you must note, that although the kings of the eight kingdome, that is, of the South Saxons oꝝ Suffer, were descended of the same people, yet were they not of the same line. By other it should seeme, that Woden had but five sonnes: as Necta, great grandfather to Hengist; Wepedeg, ancestoꝝ to the kings of the East Angles; Mielac, from whome proceeded the kings of Mercia; Sarruad, from whom the kings of Essex came; and Welbag, of whose generation proceeded the kings of the South Saxons, West Saxons, and the Northumbers. Moreover, there be that bring the genealogie from Noe oꝝ Noah, the sonne of Lamech, which Noe was the 9 in descent from Adam, and Woden the 15 from Noe, as you shall find in the historie of England, lib. 6. pag. 141. col. 2. Noe was the father to Sem the father of Bedot, the father of Miala, the father of Patria oꝝ Patria, the father of Itermod, the father of Hatria oꝝ Hatria, the father of Sear oꝝ Sear, the father of Seldoa oꝝ Seldua, the father of Beatu oꝝ Beau, the father of Theathwy alias Tadhwa oꝝ Tathwy, the father of Ceta, reputed for a god among the gentiles, the father of Frithgodulph otherwise Godulph, the father of Frithwolfe otherwise Frithwin, the father of Frolaf alias Frolater, the father of Frithwald oꝝ Friderwald, the father of the aforesaid Woden oꝝ Woden.

The peeres are in doubt to whome the rule of the land should be committed, why they durst not that Edgar Edeling should undertake it though he was interested to the same, how William duke of Normandie pretended a right to the crowne, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine crowned, proclaimed, and consecrated king; his subtil and adulatorie meanes to win the peoples fauour, duke William sendeth ambassadors to Harold to put him in mind of a promise passed to the said duke for his furtherance to obtaine the crowne; Harold's negatiue answer to the said ambassage, as also to the marriage of the dukes daughter which was Harold's owne voluntarie motion; he provideth against the inuasions of the enimie as one doubting after-claps, a blasing starre of feuen daies continuance.

The eight Chapter.

Harold.
R. Edward departed this life An Christi 1065, after the account of the church of England.
Marth. West.
Polydor.

Edeling, that is, a noble man, and such one as is come of the kings blood.

King Edward being thus departed this life, the peeres of the land were in great doubt & perplexitie to whome they might best commit the roiall gouernement of the realme. For there was not anie among them that had iust title thereto, oꝝ able and apt to take the charge upon him. For although Edgar surnamed Edeling, the sonne of Edward the outlaw, that was sonne of Edmund Ironside, was at the same time lately come into England, with his mother and sisters out of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that he was but a child, & not of sufficient age to beare rule, they durst not as then commit the gouernement of the realme vnto him, least (as some haue thought) his tendernes of age might first breed a contempt of his person, and therewith minister occasion to ciuill discord, whereby a shipwacke of the estate might ensue, to the great annoie and present overthrow of such as then liued in the same. But what consideration soener they had in this behalfe, they ought not

to haue defrauded the yong gentleman of his lawfull right to the crowne. For as we haue heard and sene, God, whose prouidence and mightie power is shewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned states and kingdomes oftentimes in as good quiet and princelie policie by a child, as by men of age and great discretion.

But to the purpose, beside the doubt which rested among the lords, how to bestow the crowne, the manifold and strange wonders, which were sene and heard in those daies, betokening (as men thought) some change to be at hand in the state of the realme, made the lords afraid, and namelie because they stood in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawfull heire appointed by king Edward, for that he was kin to him in the second and third degree. For Richard the first of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the second, and Emma; which Emma bare Edward by hir husband Ethelred. Richard the second had also issue Richard the third, and Robert, which Robert by a concubine had issue William, surnamed the bassard, that was now duke of Normandie, and after the death of his cosin king Edward, made claime (as is said) to the crowne of England.

Whil实现 the lords were thus standing and consulting what should be best for them to doe in these doubts, Harold, the son of Godwine earle of Kent, proclaimed himselfe king of England: the people being not much offended therewith, because of the great confidence and opinion which they had latelie conceiued of his valliance. Some write (among whom Edmerus is one) how king Edward ordeined before his death, that Harold should succede him as heire to the crowne, and that thereupon the lords immediately after the said Edwards deceasse, crowned Harold for their king, and so he was consecrated by Aldred archbishop of York, according to the custom and maner of the former kings, oꝝ (as other affirme) he set the crowne on his owne head without anie the accustomed ceremonies, in the yere after the birth of our saulour 1066, oꝝ in the yere of Christ 1065, after the account of the church of England (as before is noted.)

But how and whensoever he came to the seat roiall of this kingdome, certeine it is, that this Harold in the beginning of his reigne, considering with himselfe how and in what sort he had taken vpon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intrusion than by anie lawfull right, studied by all meanes which way to win the peoples fauour, and omitted no occasion whereby he might shew anie token of bounteous liberalitie, gentlenesse and courteous behaviour towards them. The gracious customes also and taxes which his predecessoꝝ had raised, he either abolished oꝝ diminished: the ordinarie wages of his seruants and men of warre he increased, and further shewed himselfe verie well bent to all vertue and goodnesse, whereby he purchased no small fauour among such as were his subjects.

Whil实现 Harold went about thus to scale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlooked for sundrie ambassadors from William the bassard duke of Normandie, with commission to require him to remember his oth sometime made to the said William in the time of his extremitie, which was, that he the said Harold should aid him in the obtaining of the crowne of England, if king Edward should happen to die without issue. This covenant he made (as it is supposed) in king Edwards daies, when (by licence of the same Edward, oꝝ rather (as Edmerus writeth) against his will) he went ouer into Normandie to visit his brethren, which laie there

R. Harold's answer.

Edmerus.

Marth. West.

Dukes of Normandie.

Harold proclaimed king of England.

Edmerus.

Marth. West.

Duke william earle of Kent sendeth to king Harold.

Gemeitensis.

Wil. Malm.

Polydor.

Harold laith to win the peoples hearts.
Sim. Duncl.

An ambassage from Normandie.

Rog. Houed.
Simon Dun.

as pledges.
 In Harolds
 answer.

Edmerus.

March West.

as of
 hande.

as of
 hande.

as of
 hande.

as of
 hande.

Duke William
 ane of the
 king Harold.

Gemetienus.

Will. Malm.

Polydor.

as of
 hande.

as of
 hande.

Reg. Houed.
 Simon Dun.

as pledges. Howbeit at this present, Harolds answer to the said ambassadoys was, that he would be ready to gratifie the duke in all that he could demand, so that he would not aske the realme, which already he had in his full possession. And further he declared vnto them (as some write) that as for the oth which he had made in times past vnto duke William, the same was but a constrained & no voluntarie oth, which in law is nothing; since thereby he took vpon him to grant that which was not in his power to giue, he being but a subiect whilest king Edward was liuing. For if a promised both oth which a maid maketh concerning the bestowing of his bodie in his fathers house, without his consent, is made void; much more an oth by him made that was a subiect, and vnder the rule of a king, without his soueraignes consent, ought to be void and of no value. He alleged moreover, that as for him to take an oth to deliuer the inheritance of anie realme without the generall consent of the estates of the same, could not be other than a great peece of presumption, yea although he might haue iust title therevnto; so it was an unreasonable request of the duke at this present to will him to renounce the kingdome; the gouernance whereof he had already taken vpon him, with so great fauor and good liking of all men.

Duke William hauing receiued this answer, and nothing liking thereof, sent once againe to Harold, requiring him then at the least-wile, that he would take his daughter to wife, according to his former promise; in refusing whereof he could make no sound allegation, because it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his absolute power, both to grant and to perforce. But Harold being of a stout courage, with proud countenance frowned vpon the Norman ambassadoys, and declared to them that his mind was nothing bent as then to yeeld therevnto in any manner of wise. And so with other talke tending to the like effect he sent them away without anie further answer. The daughter of duke William whome Harold should haue married, was named Adeliza, as Gemeticensis saith, and with hir (as the same author writeth) it was covenanted by duke William, that Harold should inoy halfe the realme in name of hir daughter. Howbeit some write that this daughter of duke William was departed this life before the coming of these ambassadoys, and that Harold therevpon thought himselfe discharged of the oth and covenants made to duke William, and therefore sent them away with such an vntoward answer.

But howsoever it was, after the departure of these ambassadoys, king Harold (doubting what would ensue) caused his ships to be netolie rigged, his men of warre to be mustered, and speedilie put in a readinesse, to the end that if anie sudden inuasion should be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to resist them. About the same time also, and vpon the 24 of Aprill (whilest Harold was making prouision to withstand the Norman force) there appeared a blasing starre, which was seene not onelie here in England, but also in other parts of the world, and continued the space of seuen daies. This blasing starre might be a prediction of mischæfe imminent; hanging ouer Harolds head; for they neuer appear but as prognosticats of afterclaps. To be resolute in instructed herein, do but peruse a treatise intituled; A doctrine generall of comets or blasing starres published by a bishop of Meins in Latine, and set forth in English by Abraham Fleming vpon the apparition of a blasing starre seene in the south-west, on the 10 of Nouember 1577, and dedicated to the right worshipfull Sir William Cordell knight, then maister of his maiesties rolles, &c.

Earle Tostie afflicteth his brother Harold on sea and land, he taketh the repulse, and persuadeth Harfager king of Norweie to attempt the conquest of England against Harold. Harfager & Tostie with their powers arrive at Humber, they fight with the Northumbers vnder the conduct of Edwine and Murchar, and discomfit them; Harold leuieth an armie against them, the rare valiantes of a Norwegian souldior; Harfager and Tostie slaine in battell; the Norwegians are foiled and fle; Harolds vncquall and parciall diuiding of the spoile, he goeth to Yorke to reforme things amisse.

The ninth Chapter.

Whilest Harold desirous to retaine, and berie loth to let go his usurped roialtie, had crackt his credit with the duke of Normandie, and by his lewd reuolting from voluntarie promises ratified with solemne othes, had also kindled the fire of the dukes furie against him; it came to passe, that the proud and presumptuous man was (to begin withall) biced in his owne flesh, I meane his owne kinned. For Tostie the brother of king Harold (who in the daies of king Edward for his crueltie had bene chased out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders, assembled a nauie of ships from diuers parts to the number of 60, with the which he arrived in the Ile of Wight, & there spoiled the countrie, and afterward sailing about by the coasts of Kent, he took sundrie priues their also, and came at the last to Sandwich: so that Harold was now constrained to appoint the nauie which he had prepared against the Normans, to go against his brother earle Tostie. Whereof the said Tostie being aduertised, drew towards Lindsey in Lincolnshire, and there taking land did much hurt in the countrie, both with sword and fire, till at length Edwine earle of Mercia, and Murchar earle of Northumberland, aided with the kings nauie, chased him from thence, and caused him to die into Scotland, not without some losse both of his men and ships.

This trouble was scarce quieted, but streightwaies another came in the necke thereof, farre more dangerous than the first. For Tostie, perceiving that he could get no aid in Scotland to make anie account of, sailed forth into Norweie, and there persuaded Harold Harfager king of that realme, to saile with an armie into England, persuading him that by meanes of ciuill dissention latelie kindled betwixt the king and his lords (which was not so) it should be an easie matter for him to make a conquest of the whole realme, and reigne ouer them as his predecessors had done before. Some authors ascribe, that Harold king of Norweie took this enterprise in hand of his owne mind, and not by procurement of Tostie, sauing, that Tostie meeting with him in Scotland, did persuade him to go forward in his purposed business, and that the said Harold Harfager with all convenient speed passed forth, & with a nauie of 300 saile entered into the riuer of Tyne, where after he had rested a few daies to refresh his people, earle Tostie came also with his power (according to an appointment which should be made betwene them). They ad furthermore, that they sailed forth alongst the coast, till they arrived in the mouth of the riuer of Tyne, they landed at length at a place called Richhall, from whence they set forthward to

Tostie seeks to disquiet his brother. Matt West. saith but 40.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Tostie repelled. Polydor. Ran. Higd.

Harold Harfager king of Norweie.

Matt West. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun. saith 500.

The Norwegians arrive in Humber.

Richhall. Hen. Hunt.

The English
men discomfited.

This battell
was fought
on the cūen of
S. Mattheew
the apostle, as
saith St. Dun.

Wil. Malm.
Hen. Hunt.
Matt. West.

The Norwe-
gians discom-
fited.

The king of
Norwaie and
Lothie slaine.

This battell
was fought on
the 25 of Sep-
tember as
saith St. Dun.

Marth. West.

Simon Dun.

M. West.
Unequall dis-
cūding of the
spoule.

Wil. Malm.

made the countie, & nere vnto Poike on the north-
side of the citie, they fought with the power of the
Northumbers, which was led by the earls Edwin
and Marchar (two brethren) and there discomfited
and chased them into the citie; with great slaughter
and bloodshed.

Harold king of England being aduertised of this
chance, made the more hast forward (for he was al-
readie in the field with his armie, intending also to
come towarde his enemies; so that vpon the fift day
after he came to Stamford bidge, finding there the
said king Harfager and Lothie readie imbattelled,
he first assailed those that kept the bidge, where (as
some writers asseigne) a Norwegian souldier with
his are defended the passage, mauer the whole host
of the Englishmen, and slue fortie of them; more
with his are, & might not be ouercome, till an Eng-
lishman went with a boat vnder the said bidge, and
through an hole thereof thrust him by into the bodie
with his speare; yet Matt. West. saith that he was
slaine with a dart which one of king Harold his ser-
uants threw at him, & so ended his life. Which bidge
being wone, the whole host of the Englishmen pas-
sed ouer, and ioined with their enemies, and after a
verie great and fere battell put them all to flight.

In this conflict Harold Harfager king of the
Norwegians was slaine, & so was Lothie the king
of England his brother, besides a great number of
other, as well in the battell as in the chase: neither
did the Englishmen escape all free, for the Norwe-
gians fought it out a long time verie frontlie, bea-
ting downe and killing great numbers of such as
assailed them with great courage and assurance. The
residue of the Norwegians that were left to kepe
their ships vnder the guiding of Olave sonne to the
king of Norwaie, and Haule earle of Dikneie, af-
ter they vnderstood by their fellows that escaped
from the field, how the mater went with Harfager
and Lothie, they hoised by their sailes and directed
their course home wards, bearing sorrowfull newes
with them into their countie, of the losse of their
king and ouerthrow of all his people. Some write,
that the king of England permitted them franklie
to depart with 20 ships, hauing first caused them to
deliuer such hostages as they had receiued of the ci-
tizens of Poike. Harold reioicing in that he had
attained so glorious a victorie, and being now sur-
pased with pride and couetousnesse together, he di-
uided the spoile of the field nothing equallie, but to
such as he fauored he distributed liberallie, and to
other (though they had much better deserued) he gaue
nothing at all, retaining still the best part of all to
himselfe, by reason whereof he lost the fauor of ma-
nie of his men, who for this his discourtesie, did not
a little alienate their good willes from him. This
done, he repaired to Poike, and there staid for a
time to reforme the disordered state of the countie,
which by reason of these warres was greatlie out of
frame.

¶ But Harold being more presumptuous and sole-
hardie, than prouident and wise in his enterprize;
bending all his force to redresse enuities in those
quarters of Poikeshire (much like vnto him, whom
the Comedigrapher marketh for a foole, *Ea tantum
quis ad pedes iacent contemplant, non autem ventura preui-
dens*) neglected the kinglie care which he should haue
had of other parts of his realme, from the which he
had withdrawn himselfe, and (as it is likelie) had
not left sufficientlie provided of a conuenient vice-
gerent to gouerne the same by his warranted autho-
ritie, and such fortifications as might expell and with-
stand the enimie. Which want of foresight gaue oc-
casion to the enimie to attempt an inuasion of the
English coasts, as in the next chapt. shall be shewed.

William duke of Normandie prepa-
reth to inuade England and to conquer it,
the earle of Flanders and the French king assist
him, the number of his ships, his arrival at Peuen-
ley in Suffex, vpon what occasions he entred this
realme; the popeliked well duke Williams attempt, why king
Harold was hated of the whole court of Rome; why duke Wil-
liam would not suffer his souldiers to wast the countie where
they came, Harold goeth towards his enemies, why his vn-
skillfull espials tooke the Normans (being old beaten souldi-
ers) for priests; Girth dissuadeth his brother Harold
from present encountering with the duke; where
note the conscience that is to be had of an
oth, and that perurie can not scape
vnpunished.

The tenth Chapter.

William duke of Norman-
die hauing knowledge after
that maner H. Harold was
busied in the north parts of
his realme, and understan-
ding that the south parts
thereof remained destitute
of due provision for necesse-
rie defense, hastned with all diligence to make his
pursuance of men and ships, that he might vpon
such a conuenient occasion set forward to inuade his
enimie. And amongst other of his friends, vnto
whome he laboured for aid, his father in law Wal-
twine earle of Flanders was one of the chiefest,
who vpon promise of great summes of monie and
other large offers made, did aid him with men, mu-
nition, ships, and victuals, verie freelie. The French
king also did as much for his part as laie in him to
helpe forwards this so high an enterprize. Where-
fore when all things were now in a readinesse, he
came to the towne of S. Valerie, where he had as-
sembled together an huge nantie of ships (to the num-
ber (as some authors asseigne) of three hundred saile;
and when he had taried there a long time for a con-
uenient wind, at length it came about euen as he
himselfe desired. Then shipping his armie which con-
sisted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and
Britains, with all expedition he toke the sea, and di-
recting his course towards England, he finally lan-
ded at a place in Suffex, ancientlie called Peuen-
ley, on the 28 day of September, where he did set his
men on land, & prouided all things necessarie to in-
courage and refresh them.

At his going out of his ship vnto the shore, one of
his feet slipped as he stepped forward, but the other
stuck fast in the sand: the which so sone as one of
his knights had espied, and seeing his hand where-
vpon he staid full of earth, when he rose, he spake
aloud and said: Now sir duke, thou hast the soile of
England fast in thy hand, & shalt of a duke per long
become a king. The duke hearing this tale, laughed
mercilie thereat, and comming on land, by and by he
made his proclamation, declaring vpon what occa-
sions he had thus entered the realme.

The first and principall cause which he alleged, was
for to chalenge his right, meaning the dominion of
the land that to him was giuen and assigned (as he
said) by his nephe king Edward late ruler of the
same land.

The second was, to reuenge the death of his ne-
phe Alured or Alfred the brother of the same king
Edward, whome Godwine earle of Kent and his
adherents had most cruelly murdered.

The third was to be reuenged of the wrong done
vnto Robert archbishop of Cantuarbie, who (as he
was informed) was exiled by the means and labo-
r of

under

Will. Lamb.
The pope
nosed duke
Williams
scripture.

Math. We

Gometicen

Wil. Mala

Math. Wel

Normans
berds than
Wil. Malm.
Hen. Marle

Girth was
not haue hi
brother but
Harold sig-
nified.
Gemeticen

Tibull lib. 1.

Will. Lamb.
The pope fa-
uored duke
William's en-
terprife.

Math. West.

Gemeuensis.

Will. Malm.

Math. West.

Normans
beres Hauent.
Will. Malm.
Hen. Marle.

Birth would
not haue his
brother king
Harold fight
himselfe.
Gemeuensis.

Tibull. lib. i.

of Harold in the daies of King Edward. Wherein we haue to note, that whether it were for displeasure that the pope had for the same conceited for the wrong done to the archbishop, or at the desire of duke William, certaine it is that the pope then named Alexander the second, fauored this enterprife of the duke, and in token thereof sent him a white banner, which he willed him to set vp in the decke of the ship, wherein he himselfe should saile. In deed (as writers report) the pope with his cardinals, and all the whole court of Rome had King Harold euer in great hatred and disdaine, because he had taken vpon him the crowne without their consent, or anie ecclesiasticall solemnitie or agreement of the bishops. And although the pope and his brethren the said cardinals dissembled the matter for the time, yet now beholding that end his both presumption was like to come, with frowning for time they shewed themselves open aduersaries, inclining straightwaies to the stronger part, after the manner of couetous persons, or rather of the reed shaken with a sudden puffe of wind.

Duke William at his first landing at Peuensey or Pemsey (whether you will) fortified a peece of ground with strong trenches, and leauing therein a competent number of men of warre to keepe the same, he sped him toward Hastings, and comming thither, he built an other fortresse there with all speed possible, without suffering his souldiers to rob or harrie the countrie adioining, saing that it should be great follie for him to spoile that people, which yet manie daies to come were like to be his subiects. As Harold being as yet in the north parts, and hearing that duke William was thus landed in England, sped him southward, and gathering his people together out of the countries as he went forwards, at length came nere his enimies: and sending espials into their campe to vnderstand of what strength they were; the busifull messengers regarding smallie their charge, brought word againe of nothing else, but that all duke Williams souldiers were priests. For the Normans had at that time their vpper lips and cheekes shauen, whereas the Englishmen vsed to suffer the haire of their vpper lips to grow at length. But Harold answered, that they were not priests, but wetter-beaten and hardie souldiers, and such as were like to abide well by their capteine.

In the meane season, Sirth one of Harolds younger brethren (considering that periuurie is neuer left unpunished) aduised his brother not to aduerture himselfe at this present in the battell, for so much as he had bene sometime swoene to duke William, but rather to suffer him and other of the nobilitie to encounter with the said duke, that were not bound to him by former oth, or otherwise: but Harold answered that he was free from anie such oth, and that in defense of his countrie he would fight boldly with him as with his greatest enimie. Where (by the waie) would be noted the conscience which Sirth a younger brother made of an oth, not concerning himselfe directlie, but his elder brother Harold, who had swoene the same; meaning nothing lesse than the performance thereof, as the sequence of his doings to his discredit and vndoing euidentlie declared, which euents might seeme countable to him as due punishments and deferred plagues inflicted vpon him and others, for his sake; sith he made no reckoning of violating a vow ratified with an oth to a prince of no small puissance, who afterwards became a whip vnto him for his periuurie; a sinne detested of the heathen, and whereof the poet notable speaketh, saing:

*Al miser & si quis primo periuuria celat,
Seri tamen tunc pœna venit pedibus.*

After peace offered & refused on each side, both armies meete in the field, the order of the Englishmen attire & armes, the manner how the Normans were placed in the battell, tell; the discourse and chieftain behauior of the Englishmen the night before the battell, the discourse the Normans deuout demerits; duke Williams stratagem on occasion of wrong putting on his armour, the battell between him and king Harold is valiantly tried, the English by duke Williams pollicie stratagem are deceived, king Harold slaine, his armie put to flight and made of them slaine after a long and bloodie encounter, manie of the Normans pursuing the English overhastilie procure their owne death, the spoile of the English, the dead bodies of both armies are seen need to be buried; the differing reports of writers touching the manner of Harolds death, a description of his person, his ambition did him much hurt and hinderance, the number that were slaine on both sides, his bodie buried at Waltham, speaking dispraise-worthy in him but his ambitious mind, a view of his valiantesse in a conflict against the VVeshmen, his rigorous or rather pitifull handling of them, his seuer law or decree touching their bounds, they are vterlie subdued; and (by the kings leaue) the VVeshwomen marrie with the Englishmen, the Saxon line ceaseth, how long it lasted, and how long it was discontinued by the inuasion of the Danes.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Now it fortuned that both armies, as well the kings as the earles, being prepared to battell, diuerse offers were made on each side (before they fell to the conflict) for an vnitie to haue bene had betwixt the two princes: but when no conditions of agreement could take place, they forthwith prepared themselves to trie the matter by dint of sword. And so on the 14 day of October, being saturday, both hostes met in the field, at a place in Souther not farre from Hastings, whereas the abbeye of Battell was afterward builded. The Englishmen were all brought into one entire maine battell on foot, with huge ares in their hands, and paled a front with pauises, in such wise that it was thought impossible for the enimie to breake their arrate. On the other side, the Normans were diuided into seuerall battells, as first the footmen that were archers, and also those that bare gleiues and ares were placed in the forefront, and the horsemen diuided into wings stood on the sides in verie good order.

All the night before the battell, the Englishmen made great noise and slept not, but sang and fell to drinking and making of reuell & pastime, as though there had bene no account to be made of the next daies trauell. But the Normans behaued themselves warlike and soberlie, spending all that night in prayer and confessing their sinnes vnto God; and in the morning earelie they receiued the communion before they went forth to the battell. Some wise, that when duke William should put on his armour to go to the field, the backe haile of his curatles by chance was set on before by such as holpe to arme him: at which chance he take occasion of laughter, saing merrilie to them that stood by; No force, this is good lucke, for the estate of my dukedome shall be per night changed into a kingdome. Beside this, he spake manie comfortable words vnto his men, to encourage them to the battell. Neither was Harold forgetfull in that point on his part. And so at conuenient time when both armies were readie, they made forward each to encounter with other, on the foureteenth day of October, with great force and assurance.

In the beginning of the battell, the arrows due

Will. Malm.

The order of
the English-
men.

Math. West.

The arrate of
the Normans

Hen. Hunt.
Will. Malm.

Polydor.
abpoad

The battell
between king
Harold and
duke William
is begun.

abroad freshlie on both sides, till they came to loine at hand strokes, and then pressed each side upon his counterpart with swords, axes, and other hand weapons: *Floric. Simon Dun.* Duke William commanded his horsemen to give the charge on the breasts of his enemies battels: but the Englishmen keeping themselves close together without scattering, received their enemies upon the points of their weapons with such sterrenesse and in such strite order, that manie of the Normans horsemen were querthwone without recoverie, and slaine at the first brunt. When duke William perceived this inconuenience (as he that well and thoroughlie understood the full points of warre as well as the best) he gaue a signe to his men (according to an order appointed before hand upon anie such occasion) that they should giue backe, and make a countenance as though they did flee, which was quicklie done by the Normans, and with all they imbatelled their footmen in a new order, so that their horsemen shifted themselves on the wings: ready to rescue the footmen if their arraie should happen to be disturbed.

The policie of
duke William
to disorder his
enemies.
H. Hunt.
Will. Malm.

By this wilie stratagem and policie of warre, the Englishmen were deceiued: for they beholding the Normans somewhat thinking backe to bring themselves into the aboue said order, thought verelie that they had fled, and thereupon meaning to pursue them before they should recover their ground, they brake their arraie, and began to follow the chase: whereupon the Normans (perceiuing now that all things came to passe as they desired) speedilie returned, and casting themselves together quicklie into ar-*Ex 6. libro Poly-
cratice. que de
magis curialium.
John Sarish.* rie, began to charge them againe afresh, and so hauing them at that aduantage, they slue them downe on euerie side. The Englishmen on the other part fought soze, and though their king was beaten downe among them and slaine, yet were they loth to flee or giue ouer; so sharpe was the battell, that duke William himselfe had three horses slaine vnder him that day, and not without great danger of his person.

A soze fought
ten battell.
King Harold
slaine.

Will. Malm.
Marth. West.

The English-
men put to
flight.

Chron. de bel-
lo.
Wil. Geme.
The Nor-
mans fall into
a ditch.

Giral. Camb.

Wil. Malm.
Hen. Hunt.
Marth. West.

Some of the Englishmen got them to the height of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themselves to win the hill of them, so that it was long yer the Normans could preuaile, being oftentimes driuen downe into the botome of the ballie beneath. At length the Englishmen, perceiuing themselves to be ouermatched and beaten downe on euerie side, and thereunto greatlie discouraged with slaughter of their king, began first to giue ground, and after to scatter and to run away, so that well was he that might then escape by flight. When they had fought the most part of all that saturday, the Normans followed the chase with such eger rashnesse, that a great number of them falling with their horses and armour into a blind ditch (shadowed with reed and sedges which grew therein) were smouldered and pressed to death, yer they could be succoured or get anie reliefe. The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the spoile of the field, burning also the dead bodies of their people that were slaine at the battell, giuing licence in semblable manner to the Englishmen to do the like. Of the death of Harold diuerse report diuerlie, in so much that Giral. Cambrensis saith, that after king Harold had receiued manie wounds, and lost his left eie, he fled from the field vnto the citie of Westchester, and liued there long after, an holic life, as an anchozet in the cell of S. James, saith by S. Johns church, and there made a godlie end. But the saieing of Giral. Cambren. in that point is not to be credited, because of the unlike-*7e must m
that there
was one li
chard duk
Normand
before Rol* lihood of the thing it selfe, and also generall consent of other writers, who affirme vniuersallie that he was killed in the battell, first being stricken thorough the left eie by the scull into the braine with an arrow,

whereupon falling from his horse to the ground, he was slaine in that place, after he had reigned nine yngheths and nine daies, as Floriacensis doth report. He was a man of a comelie stature, and of a habitie courage, albeit that for his balancie he was highlie renowned and honored of all men, yet through his pride and ambition he lost the hart of manie. There were slaine in this battell, besides king Harold and his two brethren, Girth and Leofrike, what on the one side and on the other, aboue twentie thousand men.

Floric.
Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.
The chome-
cleas of Nor-
manbie haue
of English
men slaine
67974, and of
Normans
6013.

The bodie of king Harold being found among other slaine in the field, was buried at Waltham, within the monastirie of the holie crosse which he before had founded, and indowled to the behoofe of such canons as he had placed there, with faire possessions. Verelie (as some old writers haue reported) there was nothing in this man to be in anie wise disparaged, if his ambitious mind could haue bene staied from courting the kingdome, and that he could haue bene contented to haue liued as a subject. Among other manifest proofes of his high balancie, this is remembered of him, that being sent against the Welshmen (as before is partlie mentioned) knowing their readie nimblenesse in seruice, and how with their light armed men they were accustomed to annoy and distresse those that should assaile them, he likewise (to match them) prepared light armed men for the purpose, & so being furnished with such bands of nimble men and light soldiers, entered vpon the mountains of Snoddon, and there remained amongst the enemies for the space of two yerres. The soze afflicted the Welsh nation, toke their kings, and sent their heads vnto the king that sent him about his businesse, and proceeding in such rigorous manner as might moue the hearers to lament and pittie the case, he caused all the male kind that might be met with, to be miserable slaine: and so with the edge of his sword he brought the countrie to quiet, and with all made this lawe; that if anie Welshman from thenceforth should presume to passe the limits ouer Wllas ditch with anie weapon about him, he should lose his right hand. To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this chieftaine, the Welshmen were then so soze brought vnder, that in maner the whole nation might seeme to falle, and to be almost vtterlie destroyed. And therefore by permission of the king of England, the women of Wales toined themselves in marriage with Englishmen. Finallie, hereby the blood of the Saxons ceased to reigne in England after they had continued possession of the same, from the first comming of Hengist, which was about the yere of our Saviour 450, or 449, vntill that present yere of king Harolds death, which chanced in the yere 1069. So that from the beginning of Hengist his reigne, vnto Harolds death, are reckoned 916 yerres, or (after some) 617, as by the supputation of the time will easilie appere. By all the which time there reigned kings of the Saxons blood within this land, except that for the space of twentie yerres and somewhat more, the Danes had the dominion of the realme in their possession: for there are reckoned from the beginning of S. Swaines reigne (which was the first Dane that gouerned England) vnto the last yere of S. Hardicnute (the last Dane that ruled here) 28 yerres, in which meane space Cgelsted recovering the kingdome reigned 2 yerres, then after him his sonne Edmund Ironside continu-*1069* ed in the rule one yere; so that the Danes had the whole possession of the land but 25 yerres in all. Touching this alteration, and others incident to this Island, read a short aduertisement annexed (by waie of conclusion) to this historie, comprising a short summarie of the most notable conquests of this countrie

Ex 6. libro Poly-
cratice. que de
magis curialium.
John Sarish.

trie one after an other, by distances of times successefulle.

The rule of this realme by Gods providence allotted to duke William, his descent from Rollo the first duke of Normandie downe wards to his particular linage, he was bese begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts concubine, a pleasant speech of hirs to duke Robert on a time when he was to haue the yle of hir person, a conclusion introduced for the sequelle of the chronicle from the said duke of Normandies coronation, &c. with a summarie of the notable conquests of this land.

The twelfth Chapter.

NOW, forsomuch as it pleased God by his hid and secret iudgement so to dispose the realme of England, and in such wise, as that the gouernance therof should fall after this maner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this historie (being now come to the conquest of the realme, made by the foresaid duke of Normandie) to set downe his pedegree, thereby to shew how he descended from the first duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptisme called Robert.

The said Rollo or Rou, was sonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Onian, who hauing two sons, the said Rou and Conrin, and being appointed to depart the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other according to the maner there vsed, in time when their people were increased to a greater number than the countrie was able to susteine) refused to obeye that order, and made warre there against the king, who yet in the end by practise found meanes to sea the foresaid Onian, and his sonne Conrin, so that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus lost his father and brother, was compelled to forsake the countrie, with all those that had holpe his father to make warre against the king. Thus driuen to seek aduentures, at length he became a chistian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, surnamed le Simple, whose daughter the ladie Gilla he also married: but the departing this life without issue, he married Popée daughter to the earle of Beffin and Watvile, whome he had kept as his wife before he was baptised, and had by hir a sonne named William Longespée, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longespée or Longspata, had to wife the ladie Spota, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whome he had issue Richard the second of that name duke of Normandie, who married the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whome no issue proceeded: but after his deceasse, he married to his second wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Danish line, by whom he had three sonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Hauger. He had also by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwife called Emma, married first to Egelred king of England, and after to R. Canute: Heloise, otherwife Alir, bestowed vpon Gestepe earle of Britaine: and Matw coupled in marriage with Cules earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name married Judith, sister to Gestepe earle of Britaine, by whome he had issue three sonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as ma-

nie daughters: Alir, married to Keignold earle of Burgogne, Celenor married to Baldouine earle of Flanders; and the third died young, being affianced to Alfonse king of Nauarre. Their mother deceased after she had bene married ten yeeres, and then duke Richard married secondlie the ladie Estric, sister to Canute king of England and Denmarke, from whome he purchased to be diuorced, and then married a gentlewoman called Hauie, by whome he had issue two sonnes, William earle of Arques, and Hauger archbishop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldest sonne to Richard the third, died without issue, and then his brother Robert succeeded in the estate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a burgesse of Fleis, William surnamed the bassard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conquest king of England. Of whose father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleasant remembrance for a refection after the perusing of the former sad and sober discourses.

In the yeere of Christ 1020, Robert, the second sonne of Richard the second duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour and wisdom gouerned his dukedome tenen yeeres, for performance of a perrance that he had set to himselfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; leauing behind him this William a young prince, whome seuen yeeres before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whose beautifull fauour, louchie grace and presence, at hir dawning on a time then as he was tenderlie touchen, for familiar utterance of his mind what he had farther to say, would needs that night she should be his bedfellow, who else as truelesse should haue lient alone: where when she was bestowed, thinking that if she should haue laid hir selfe naked, it might haue seemed not so maidenlike a part: as when the duke was about (as the maner is) to haue laid by hir linnen, she in an humble modestie laid hir lords hand, and rent downe hir smocke afunder, from the collar to the verie skirt. Whereat the duke all smiling did aske hir what thereby she ment: In great lowlines, with a seate question she answered againe, My lord, were it met that any part of my garments dependant about me downeward, should perrance to be mountant to my foreignes mouth vplward: Let your grace pardon me. He liked hir answer: and so and so forth for that time.

This duke before his voiage, calling at firste all his nobilitie vnto him, caused them to sweare fealtie vnto his young sonne William, whome he then at his iournie betooke vnto the gouernance of earle Gilbert, and the defense of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king. So Robert passing forth in his pilgrimage, shewed in euerie place and in all points a magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleasant withall; who once in Turie not well at ease, his litter was borne toward Jerusalem vpon Barabens shoulders, & meeting with a subiect of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy returne aske after me, tell them that thou saluest their lord carried to heaven by diuels. The Normannobilitie during duke Roberts life, did their dutie to the young prince faithfully, but after they heard of his fathers death, they slackened apace, euerie one chifing for himselfe as he list, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their souereigne. Whereby not manie yeeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by kafe the childes coline germane, was slaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themselves was sore troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Ran. lib. 6. ca. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ran. lib.

Ran. lib.

Ran. lib.

Wil. Malm. lib. Ran. idem.

It must note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

ic. a Dun.

lune. or. hromic. f. 102. e hauc. ylt. rine. and of ang.

ro Poly. sue de. iulian. rish.

prince William his sonne for part of his tender peeres.

A notable aduertisement touching the summe of all the foresaid historie, wherein the foure great and notable conquests of this land are brieflie touched, being a conclusion introductorie, as is said in the argument.

1 Britaine inhabited by Brites.

2 Britaine conquered by the Romans.

3 Britaine conquered and overcome by the Saxons.

In the former part of this historie it is manifest to the heedfull reader, that (after the opinion of most wryters) Brites did first inhabit this land, and called it then after his owne name, Britaine, in the yere after the creation of the world 2855, and in the yere before the incarnation of Christ 1108. ¶ Furthermore, the said land of Britaine was conquered by C. Julius Cesar, and made tributarie to the Romans in the 50 yere before the natiuitie of Christ, and so continued 483 yeres. So that the Britains reigned without tribute and vnder tribute, from Brites, vntill the fourth yere of the reigne of king Cadwalladar, which was in the yere of our Lord 686. And so the Britains had continuance of the gouernement of this land the space of 1794 yeres. Then was the realme of Britaine an heptarchie, that is, diuided into seuen kingdoms. And Britaine receiued the faith of Christ in the 7 yere of the reigne of king Lucius, which was in the 187 yere after the birth of Christ. ¶ Pert after the Britains entered the Saxons, in the third yere of king Hoptiger; and in the yere of our Lord 450; and they gouerned vntill the last yere of king Athelstane, which was in the yere of Christ 938. So that the time of the Saxons first entrance into this realme, and the time of their regimēt was the space of 487 yeres. ¶ Holobert, in the time of their gouernement, that is to say, in the 9 yere of king Witricus, which was in the yere of

our Lord 87, the Danes entred into this land, spoiling and persecuting the people therein most grievously. At the last, Sweno or Swaine the Dane obtained possession roiall, in the yere of Grace 1012, whose time of regimēt lasted about thre yeres. After whom his sonne Canutus succeeded, and reigned 19 yeres. After him Harold his sonne, who ruled thre yeres: and after him Hardicnute the sonne of Canutus, whose gouernement continued but thre yeres. This Hardicnute was the last king of the Danes, at which time the Danes were expelled and hunted out of the realme, which was in the yere of our Lord 1042. So that it may appere by this collection, that the Danes ruled as kings in this land by the space of 28 yeres. Hereby also it is euident, that from the time of the first entrance of the Danes into this realme, vntill their last expulsion & riddance, was 255 yeres. ¶ Finally the Normans entred this land likewise, and conquered the same as before is expessed, in the yere of our Lord 1067, which is since, vntill this present yere of our Lord 1585, drawing nere to the number of 600 and od yeres.

Now let these alterations of regimēts be remembered [touching the which read a notable animaduersion in the description of Britaine, pag. 28, 29] and teach vs that therein the iudgements of God reuealed themselves to speciall purposes. And what soeuer hath bene mentioned before, either concerning the subuersion of people, the desolation of prouinces, the ouerthrow of nobles, the ruine of princes, and other lamentable accidents diuerslie happening vpon sundrie occasions: let vs (I say) as marte as will reape fruit by the reading of chronicles, imagine the matters which were so manie yeres past to be present, and applie the profit and commoditie of the same vnto our selues; knowing (as one wisely said) *Post sacram paginam chronica vniuersi veritatis typum gerere*, that next vnto the holie scripture, chronicles doe carit credit. But note to the sequel, and first to duke William of Normandie,

3 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Danes.

4 Britaine conquered and possessed by the Normans.

Thus farre the historie of England from Noah and his sonnes, &c: to William duke of Normandie. Hereafter followeth a chronologicall continuation beginning at the first yeere of the said dukes reigne ouer this land, vntill the 25 yeere of the Queenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, &c: whose daies God in mercie prolong (like the daies of heauen) in peace and prosperitie, &c.

